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EPIGRAPHIA INDICA

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Vol. XIX. 1927-28.

EDITED BY

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GOVERNMENT EPIGRAPHIST FOR INDIA

CALCUTTA

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

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ADDITIONS AND CORRECTIONS.

VOLUME XVIII.

- Page 149, l. 10 from bottom —For 'who, one after another, were crowned on their thrones by Āryavarman,' read 'who, one after another, crowned on their thrones Āryavarman'.
- Plate between pp 248 and 249.—The legend on the seal reproduced here does not read *Śrīmad-Amoghavarshadēvāya*. We can read it as: *Ś[r]ī[ma]ta(t)-Hari [4] chandradēva [sya]*
- Page 321, ll. 13-14 from bottom —For 'Tailapa's successor, Vikramāditya V', read 'Vikramāditya V, grandson of Tailapa and successor of Īrīvabedāṅga Satyāśraya'.

VOLUME XIX.

- Page 5, l 29 —For finale read final.
- „ 5, l. 41 —For murada read murada
- „ 8, l 5 —For bending a read bending at
- „ 15, para 2, l 6 —For (s e.) 9083 read (s e, 8) 903
- „ 15, para 2, l. 8 —For  read 
- „ 17, last para , l 2.—For Udum (vb) ara read Udumv(b)ara
- „ 18, text l 7 —For चटु(ज)रविषयस(ज)° read चटुस(ज)रविषयसस(ज)°.
- „ 18, text l 16 —For (८००) read (८००)
- „ 19, l 1 —For Valākā (or Balākā) read Valākā or Valāka (Balākā or Balāka).
- „ 28, translation (V 20), l. 1 —For Lakkhā-dēvi read Lakkhā-dēvi.
- „ 35, translation (Ll 26-32), l 4 —For panam read pāṇam.
- „ 38, l 31 —Mr. N L Rao would read *hāga marana bhāṇḍ* and translate it into 'on each sale of a cart of wood' In l. 37 of this page he prefers to read *moṛānu* which he translates as 'one winnow'.
- „ 40, l. 23 —Mr N L Rao explains *sandage*-wick as 'a wick of the shape of a condiment called *samdage*' which has a flat rounded bottom and a tapering head and is in use even in these days
- „ 40, f n 1 —For ank read rank
- „ 42, ll 21, 25 and 26 —For *Khuñjaliyagada-vishaya* read of *Khuñjaliyagaḍa*.
- „ 42, l 48 —For ni read in
- „ 44, f n 8.—For °yitva read °yitvā.
- „ 45, text l. 26 —For °vassu dhā read °vasudhā.
- „ 45, text l. 30 —For Asārēpi read Asārēpi.
- „ 45, text l. 34 —For Śambhōh read Śambhōh.
- „ 45, text l 37.—For °Ganē[ṣ] varēṇa read Gaṇēś[ṣ] atēṇa,
- „ 46, l. 16 —For सितौय read सित(स)तौय.
- „ 46, l 42 —For *Purāna* read *Purāna*
- „ 46, l 43 —For *Sutradhara* read *sūtradhāra*.
- „ 47, l. 7 —For *Prithvirāja* read *Prithvirāja*.

Page 54, para 3, l 5 —For Kañchanadēvi read Kañchanaśrīdēvi

„ 59, text l 7 —For त[च]स(या) read तच(या)

„ 59, f. n. 3.—For °ल्लिखि read °ल्लिखितो

„ 60, f n 2 —For °विक्रम° read विक्रम°.

„ 61, text l 23 —For सर्वोच्चय° read सर्वोच्चय°

„ 63, text —Mark 1, 2 and 3 for the first 3 lines.

„ 64, f. n. 1 —For Kaed read Read

„ 65, text l 28 —For =ayur- read =āyur-.

„ 66, Inscription No II, text ll 1 and 2 —For sa-bhikuniyē read cha bhikuniyē

„ 67, Inscription No IV, text ll 1 and 2 —Perhaps we have to read Ōkhārikāyē as in the other inscription of the year 299 (*Ind Ant*, Vol XXXVII, p 33)

„ 70, l 5 —For Pramvāra read Pravāmra

„ 70, l 19, and p 71, l 15 —For Śvētapāda read Śvētapada as in the plate

„ 72, l 21 —For Samgāma read Samgama

„ 73, text l 34 —For ch=ānumamtā one might read v=ānumamtā also

„ 73, text ll 37 and 38 —Correct Agnishtōma-sahasra (sra)ś=cha | Vājapēya-śata(tē)shu cha | into Agnishtōma-sahasrēna Vājapēya-śatēna cha |.

„ 73, text l 40 —Correct śushatī into śushyatī and read sarīt-sarā (ō) for sarīsarā (ō),

„ 74, l 13 —For Āudrahādī read Āudrahādī as on p 71.

„ 74, l 20 —For amāvāsyā read amāvāsyā

„ 74, l 38 —For pavitraka read pavitraka.

„ 74, l 39 —For Dēśilaka read Dēśi.

„ 77, para 2, l. 1 —For Vankēśvara add the following as a foot-note —

[Vanka is the Prakrit form of Skt Vakra, a name of Śiva.—N P. C The Hindustani *bānkā* meaning a beau or crooked is also allied to it and is applied to Kṛṣṇa (as in Bānkā-Bihār) also —H. S]

„ 80, text l. 26 —For व(द्) वच read व(च) वच

„ 82, f n 10 —For Svasi read Svasti

„ 84, para 4, l 4 —For Vaträguna read Varäguna.

„ 91, l 2 —For Penner read Pennar.

„ 91, l 3 —For Kṛṣṇa read Kṛṣṇā

„ 95, l 28 —For Tonḍavādī read °vādī.

„ 95, l 30 —For Gollapalli read °palli

„ 98, text l 3 —For vīkyātaḥ read vīkhyātaḥ

„ 99, text l 32 —For svarṇṇam=ēkām read svarṇṇam=ēkam.

„ 102, text l 5 —For प्रयाग° read प्रयाग°

„ 102, text l 10 —For आत्मनवमायमा read आत्मनवमाय मा°

„ 103, text l 18 —For कक्ष° read कक्ष°

„ 104, f n 3 —Add [Are not these the names of trees?—Ed]

„ 106, l. 4.—For Unnatarāga read Unnatarāma

„ 108, translation of v. 1 —For unequalled read unequalled

Pages 109 to 115 —In names like Rājasimha, Narasimhavarman, Kshattriyasimha and Narēndrasimha, for °simha read °simha.

Page 112, f. n. 4.—For Mahāvamsa read Mahāvamsa

„ 114, translation of v. 2 —For moon ¹² read moon ¹³

„ 114, f. n 17.—For samhita read samhitā and for foretelling read foretelling.

„ 115 f n 7, l 3 —For Kalage read Kalī age,

Page 116, l 4 —For Chandrapurī read Chandrapuri as in the plate and pp 118-21.

„ 117, para 2, l 2 —For Gānginī read Ganginī as in the text and translation.

„ 118, f n 6 —For unamended read unemended

„ 119, f n 3 —For incisedi n read incised in

„ 124, serial no 71 —For Vāasanēyin read Vājasanēyin

„ 124, serial no 73 —For Nandēsvara read Nandūsvara

„ 124, serial nos 75, 76 —For Prakāsavara read Prakāśavara.

„ 124, serial no 84 —For Vārhaspatya read Bārhaspatya.

„ 124, serial no 97 —For Saunaka read Śaunaka

„ 128, para 2, l 10 —For Dūkata read Dūtaka

„ 128, f n. 8 —For c 337 read c 389, 390

„ 130, f n 9 —For सगुख read सगुख

„ 131, article no 22, para 1, l 4 —For prates read plates

„ 133, text l 81 —For फलैयु read फलैयु°

„ 134, l 2 —Omit : c

„ 134, l 9 —For theeight read the eight

Pages 134 to 137 —For Chandapāka read Chāndapāka

Page 135, para 4, ll 2 and 7 —For Ganga read Ganga

„ 136, text l 34 —For °vīgrahī (hi) kah° read °vīgrahī (hi) kah.°

„ 136, text l 35 —For °pākēnah read °pākēnah

„ 137, translation of ll 32 to 35 —For Kamsūraka read Kamsūraka.

„ 139, para 3, l 12 —For dāyās read dāyas

„ 139, f n 3 —For Marātha read Marāthā

„ 140, para 3, l 2 —For tālukā read tāluka

„ 141, f n 5 —For °वगना read °वगना

„ 142, text l 11 —For? दिव्य° read° दिव्य°

„ 148, f n. 2 —For 3 read 2

„ 151, para 2, l 12 —For bounaries read boundaries

„ 151, last line —For Paramēs- read Paramēs-

„ 155, para 2, l 7 —For limgga- read limgga-

„ 157, para 2, l 4 —For Sultā nof read Sultān of

„ 157, para 5, l 2 and page 163, translation (v 16) —For Shatkona read Shatkōṇa.

„ 157, para 6, l 3 —For Since read Since

„ 159, f n 4 —For Sargdharā read Sragdharā

„ 162, f n 6 —For Chūdara read Bhūdharma

„ 163, translation (v 12), l 2 —For Choda read Chōda

„ 163, f n 2 —For Vardyaṇvāna read Vardyaṇvāna

„ 173, translation of v 25 —For Kubērawith read Kubēra with.

„ 175, para 2, l 4 —For Rāshtrakūtā read °kūta

„ 181, f n 3 —For ānusrā read anu°

„ 182, f n 7 —For bhāḡināh read bhāvīnāh

„ 184, l 7, page 187, l st para l 6, and page 189, 2nd para of article D, l 5 —For Bāsavura read Bāsavūra or correct Bāsavūra of p 185, l 22

„ 194, f n 4 —Supply 4 in this foot-note.

„ 198, l. 14 —Add " Lord of " at the end of the line.

„ 199, text —Add note " For revised text see C I I, Vol II, Pt 1, p 16."

„ 203, text —Add note " For revised reading by Sten Konow, see C. I. I., Vol. II, Pt i, p 79."

Page 205, text —Add note “ For revised reading by Sten Konow, see *C I. I*, Vol. II, Pt 1, p. 113 ”

- „ 205, Remarks, l 11 —For *Prākṛit-Sprachen* read *Grammatik der Prakrit-Sprachen*
 „ 206 —To the heading of article No 33 add the following note “ For author's remarks see also *C I I*, Vol II, Pt 1, p 161 f.”
 „ 206, article No 33, para 5, l 2 —For *Kharoṣṭhi* read *Kharoṣṭhī*.
 „ 208, text l 3.—For *dronivadrana* read *dronivadrana*
 „ 210, f n, l 7 —For *Siva* read *Śiva*
 „ 212, text l 13 —For °द्वौ° read °द्वौ°
 „ 212, text l 15 —For च[त्क]टक read च[त्क]टक
 „ 212, text l 18 —For सि(सि)(ह)ह(स)द(ह)ननौ and जगच्चयीस read सि(सि)ह(ह)सद(ह)ननौ and जगच्चयीस[]
 „ 212, l. 21 —Add note Reading of four letters after *gōtrē* is not certain.
 „ 212,—For the second foot-note 3 read 4.
 „ 214, article No 35, para 2, l 3 —For *vanda-saikkum* read *vand=asaikkum*.
 „ 220, f n 2 —For *krimih* read *kṛimih*
 „ 228, f n 1 —For *J A* read *Ind Ant*.
 „ 233, translation of v 6 —For *stone-pieces* read *stone-palaces*.
 „ 239, l 27 —For *Vākpati* read *Vākpati*
 „ 239, f n 6 —For *geneology* read *genealogy*
 „ 241, text of Grant B, l 1 —For *-kēsara=* read *-kēsara=*
 „ Grant B, l 6 —For *V (B) appai=* read *V (B) appai=*
 „ 242, Grant B, l 7 —For *-āvadatayā* read *-āvadātayā*.
 „ l 8 —After *-nāyakah* insert |
 „ l 10 —After *-trukta* ? insert |
 at the end of the line replace = by -
 „ l 14, sub-line 2 —Insert = at the end
 „ l 14, sub-line 3 —Separate *astuvah* into *astu vah*.
 Grant A, l 8 —For *sa* after [4 ||*] have *Sa*.
 „ l 15 —For *-āvadhārya* read *=avadhārya*.
 „ 242, f n 6 —For *trin-* have *trin-*
 „ 243, Grant A, l 24 —For *narēn-drar=* read *narēndrar=* and for *yasaska-rāṇi* read *yasas-*
karāṇi
 Grant B, l 18 —Delete - at the end of the line.
 l 22, end Replace = by -
 l 28 —For *Vishnuh* [i*] *rāj-* have *Vishnuh* [i*] *Rāj=*.
 „ 243, f n 9 —For *bhōktrībhih* read *bhōktrībhih*
 „ 244 (v 3) —Insert - between ‘moon’ and ‘like’.
 „ 244, line last but 2 —For *Monday* read *Wednesday*
 „ 245, last line —For *plate* read *plates*
 „ 247, l 11 beginning Insert [h*] between °*rtha bhāga*
Second side, l 7 —For *Bhāradvājas=Chhāndogō* read *Bhāradvāja=śChhāndo°*.
Second side, l 8 —For *Gārgyas* read *Gārgyaś=*
 „ 248, f n 3, l 1 —After foot-note change 6 p into 2, p. 122, above
 „ 250, against No 62 —For *Jātū ernna* read *Jātūkarṇṇa*
 „ 250, against No 71 —For *Bāhvricha* read *Bāhvrichya*

- Page 253, l 3 —For “bahuṁrihi” have “bahuṁrihi”
- „ 254, Enter 2 at the beginning of the last foot-note commencing with “Ep Ind.”.
- „ 255, l 9, and para 2, l 5 —For Pulibūmra read Pulibūmra
- „ 256, text-line 2 —For हारिति read हारितो as in the plate
- „ 256, f n 5 —Correct हारिति into हारोति
- „ 256, text l 3 —For भुवन° read भुवन
- „ 257, f n 8.—For f n 2 read f n 1.
- „ 258, l 3 —For Mātris read Mātris
- „ 258, article No 43, l 3 —Omit hyphen after Madras
- „ 259, para 3, l 3 —For Sōmaśaraman read Sōmaśarman
- „ 260, l 13 —Correct कश्यप and रक्षितो by a note into कश्यप and रक्षित.
- „ 260, f n 7 —Commence this note with “Read सम्मानयति”
- „ 263, article No 45, para 2, l 8 —For Śubhakara read Śubhākara.
- „ 263, f n 2 —For jīhvāmuliya read jīhvāmūliya.
- „ 264, ll 4, 8, 11 —For Kumuranga read Kumuraṅgi and for Mahādēvi read Mahādēvi
- „ 265, para 3 l 2 —For gunar read gunarh
- „ 265, para 3, l 13 —For yath=arhan(m) read yath=ārhan(m).
- „ 266, l 13 —For as under read asunder
- „ 267, text l 2 —For प्रसासाङ्ग read प्रसासोङ्ग(सौङ्ग).
- „ 267, text l 5.—For तेनेत्यगुणि read तेनेत्य गुणि.
- „ 267, f n 6 —For p 267 read p 266
- „ 268, text l 15 —After सट insert []
- „ 268, text l 23 —Join व(व)स्वा and कष°.
- „ 268, text l 28 —For पादा read पादो
- „ 269, text l 45, end —For “नुदन्ति[] read° नुदान्.[]
- „ 270, text l 51 —For कोखेडु read कोखेडु°
- „ 270, text l 60 —For सीद read [सीद]
- „ 270, text l 61.—Remove the two dots after उक्तीषण°.
- „ 270, f n 3 —For protty read pretty
- „ 271, translation ll 42-61, l 13 beginning —For dēdda read dēḍḍa.
- „ 272, para 4, l 7 —For Yaddhamalla read Yuddhamalla
- „ 272, line last but one —before oppaga insert =
- „ 274, para 2, l 4 —For Yatribhuvanāṅkuśa read ya Tribhṛva°.
- „ 275, translation (Verse 1), l 3 —For kottāms read lottams.
- „ 275, last para l 4 —For (foot note 4) read (foot-note 5 on p 274 ante)
- „ 275, last para ll 5 and 7 —For ch varga and t varga read cha-varga and ta-varga.
- „ 277, last line —For of the plate read found elsewhere in the plate
- „ 278, para 2, line last but one —For Itā read Itā
- „ 278, l 13 from bottom —For Badagāma (l 30) read Va(Ba)dagāma (l 30).
- „ 278, l 10 from bottom —For Badapañcala read Varapañchāla (l 30 f)
- „ 278, l 5 from bottom —For Bhāskara or Bhāsara-tengarī (31 and 37) read Bhāsana (l. 31)
or Bhāskara-tēngarī (l 37)
- „ 279, l 9 —For Kāhyāni read Kālyāni.
- „ 279, l 10 —For Phōmpātīpā read Phōmphāniyā as in the text
- „ 279, l 20 —For Bōbāchadā (44) read Vōvātuḍā (44)

Page 279, f n 2 — *For strekes read strokes and for dear read clear.*

„ 280, text l 4 — *For katite read katī tē*

„ 280, text l 10 — *For gōpī- read Gōpī-*

„ 280, f n 9 — *For nā=nyādhi° read n=āny-ādhi°.*

„ 281, text l 25 — *Omit hyphen after kritsnā*

„ 281, text l 32, and page 282, text line 35 — *For Bhū= read bhū-.*

„ 281, text line 33 — *For Vālū=sigāmē read Vālūsīgāmē*

„ 281, f n 8 — *For p 281 read p 280*

„ 282, text l 39 — *For Bhōgāubhūvāi read Bhōgāu-Bhuvāi-.*

„ 282, text l 40 — *For vadasō read Vadasō*

„ 282, text l 42 beginning — *For ka read kē and for Pamśivo- read Pamśivō-.*

„ 282, text l 46 — *For ārupā- read Ārupā-.*

„ 282, text l 48 — *For [sī] mivā° read [Śī]mivā°*

„ 283, translation, v 1 — *For Brahma read Brahman.*

„ 284, line 1 — *For -Gōpī- read -Gōpī-*

„ 284, f n 1 — *For Bhātērā read Bhātēra*

„ 284, f n 3 — *For f n 7 on p 283 read f n 8 on p 280*

„ 285, translation ll 29-51, l 8f — *For Bhōtilahātika read Bhōthilahātāka.*

„ 285, ll 29-51, l 15 — *For Bhāskaratēngarī read °tēngarī.*

„ 285, ll 29-51, l 18 — *For Vāmāyī read Dhāmāyī*

„ 285, ll 29-51, l 19 — *For Bhuvāi read Bhūvāi*

„ 285, ll 29-51, l 23 — *For Nadakutīgāma read Nadakutī°*

„ 285, ll 29-51, l 25 — *For Vanangajōtti read Vanangajōttī.*

„ 285, line last but one — *For Itākhālā read Hayēkhālā*

„ 286, l 2 — *For Śimivāka read Śimivāka*

„ 286, l 2 — *In After Bhātapadā enter “1 house belonging to the barber Gōvindā (and)”.*

„ 286, l 7 — *Omit note 1 above wory-worker*

„ 287, para last but one, l 8 — *Remove the word ‘see’ and ‘by’ after (1), (2) and (3).*

„ 287, last para, l 3 — *For vedamgam read vede°*

„ 288, l 5 — *For Atakur, the Solapuram read Ātakūr, the Śōlapuram*

„ 288, l 7 — *For Malkhed read Mālkhēd*

„ 288, ll 12, 24 and 30 — *For Karhad read Karhād.*

„ 288, l 22 — *For Kāñchi read Kāñchī*

„ 292, text l 3 — *Put hyphen after कोस*

„ 294, text l. 16 — *Omit after °मि.*

EPIGRAPHIA INDICA.

VOLUME XIX.

No 1—THE ZEDA INSCRIPTION OF THE YEAR 11.

By STEN KONOW.

Zeda is a village near Und (Ohind) in the North-West Frontier Province, situated in 34° 3' N and 72° 32' E. Here I Loewenthal noticed "an unshapen piece of rock lying at the entrance of the village", on which there was an inscription in Kharōshthī characters.¹

The stone, which is now in the Lahore Museum, is, according to Cunningham, a rough block of quartz, 4 feet long and 1 foot broad. The inscription has been edited by Messrs Cunningham,² Senart,³ and Boyer,⁴ and some remarks concerning its date and interpretation have been published by Messrs E. Thomas,⁵ G. Buhler,⁶ R. D. Banerji,⁷ H. Luders⁸ and myself.⁹

I now edit it from estampages kindly placed at my disposal by Dr. F. W. Thomas.

The inscription consists of three lines and covers a space 2 feet long and about 8 inches broad. The size of individual letters varies from almost 4 inches in the beginning to 1 to 1½ inches towards the end. M. Senart thought that ll 1 and 2 are perhaps incomplete, but such does not seem to be the case.

The stone is very rough and the inscribed portion is damaged in several places. The reading and interpretation are therefore beset with considerable difficulty, and this difficulty is increased because the shape of individual characters is not consistent. In spite of all the care and ingenuity which has been bestowed on the record, it has not, therefore, been possible to read and explain every passage with certainty, and I have not been able to arrive at satisfactory results throughout, and I sincerely hope that the new plate may induce other scholars to examine the record and publish their remarks so that they can be utilized for the final edition in the *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*.

The characters are of the same kind as in contemporary inscriptions. I may mention some details with regard to individual letters.

¹ Cf. his remarks, *J. A. S. B.*, XXXII, 1863, p. 5.

² *Archæological Survey of India*, V, pp. 57 ff. and Plate XVI, 1.

³ *Journal Asiatique*, VIII, xv, 1890, pp. 135 ff. and Plate opposite p. 139.

⁴ *Journal Asiatique*, X, iii, 1904, pp. 465 ff.

⁵ *J. R. A. S.*, 1894, p. 535.

⁶ *J. R. A. S.*, N. S., IX, 1877, p. 91.

⁷ *Ind. Ant.*, XXXVII, 1908, pp. 46-72.

⁸ *Sitzungsberichte der Königlich Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften* (henceforth quoted as *S. B. A. W.*), 1912, p. 826.

⁹ *S. B. A. W.*, 1916, pp. 801, 800, *Orientalische Zeitschrift*, VIII, p. 230, above Vol. XIV, p. 132.

Ka is usually angular, thus in *Kanishkasa*, l 2, occasionally, however, it is rounded, as in *kue*, l 2. Similarly *kha* has an angular top, as in the Pālātū Dhērī and Jaulān inscriptions, in *khade*, l 2, but the same rounded shape as in the Āra record in *danamukhe*, l 2. *Ja* has the regular shape with a straight upright in *rajami*, l 2. In *pujane* in the same line it has been bent so as to avoid running up into the *u*-mātrā of *kshu*, l 1, and in *-rajasa*, l 3, the upper right-hand termination has been bent backwards.

Only the cerebral *n* is used throughout¹. The *e*-mātrā has been added at the top in *-phagune*, l 1, but projects from the middle of the vertical in *pujane*, l 2.

De in *khade*, l 2, has the same shape as in the Āra inscription, with the *e* mātrā at the bottom and the top resembling that of *na*.

The rare *pha* occurs in *-phagune*, l 1, and has the regular shape.

Ya is narrow and angular as in the Sue Vihār inscription, and *śe*, with the *e*-mātrā in the left corner, in *ise*, l 1, has almost the same shape as in that record.

Sa has different forms. The very last letter of the inscription has a strong backward bend, evidently in order to avoid its running into the *ja* standing above it, the first *akshara* is *sam*, where the *sa* looks almost like *ra*. Similar forms, without any break or bending of the vertical, are also found elsewhere, thus the second *sa* of *masasa*, l 1. A more regular form is found in *Kanishkasa*, l 2, the *sa* which opens l 3 is a semi-circle opening towards the left and provided with a short top-stroke, etc.

The compound *rjh* in *marjhalasa*, l 2, shows the loop shape of *r*. In the compound *shh* in *Kanishkasa*, l 2, the verticals of *sha* and *la* form one unbroken line as in *Vajreshka* in the Āra record.

There are several flaws and accidental strokes, which resemble letters and considerably add to the difficulties of interpretation. The easiest portion of the whole record is l 1, which contains the date, and which has been written in very large letters. Abstracting from insignificant details such as the transliteration of the nasal and the addition of an *e* in *-phagune* I accept the reading of M. Boyer, who again agrees with M. Senart except in the reading of the numeral figure after *di*, which the latter read 10. *sam 10 1 ashadasa masasa di 20 utaraphagune ise kshunam*². There cannot, I think, be any doubt with regard to the figure 20. There is a distinct indenture in the middle, and it is quite distinct from the figure for 10 which occurs after *sam*. I also think that the *ne* of *utaraphagune* is certain. The restoration of that word is due to M. Senart, Cunningham and Thomas read *udeyana gu* 1. The *e* of *ise* was recognised by Professor Bühler.

It will be seen that the date contains one detail which is not usually met with in Kharōshthī records, viz, the mentioning of the nakshatra current on the particular day when the inscription was engraved. There is only one other Kharōshthī epigraph where the same arrangement is found, viz, the Und inscription, where I read *sam 20 20 20 1 chetrasa masasa divase atham di 4 4 rsa l'kshunam sa viranakhha (?) puriashade*. Und and Zeda belong to the same neighbourhood, and it is probable that the addition of the constellation was customary in that region. It should be borne in mind that both inscriptions are essentially private records. I shall have something to say about the conclusions which can possibly be drawn from these dates later on.

L 2. The first four *aksharas* were read *choṇam uspa* by Cunningham, *bhanam ula* by M. Senart and *khanam uspha* by M. Boyer, who is the only one who has attempted to give a continuous translation of the whole record. He was of opinion that three different donations are recorded in the inscription, the first one being a *khanam*. This word he took to be a synonym

¹ See my remarks above, Vol. XIV, p. 131 f.

² For the transliteration *ksh* cf. my remarks, *Deutsche Literaturzeitung*, 1924, pp. 1899 ff.

of Sanskrit *khāta*, a ditch, a fosse, a well, and he connected it with the following six letters, which he read *usphamu. cha*, and the word *danamukha* which follows later on, the meaning of the whole being, according to him the donation of *Usphamu. cha*, a well. I may state at once that an interpretation which reckons with three different donations, by different persons, recorded in one and the same epigraph, is not in accordance with the practice in Kharōṣṭhī inscriptions and *a priori* very unlikely to be right. The supposed personal name *Usphamu cha* has, moreover, a rather suspicious look, and, finally, this reading is almost certainly wrong.

Professor Lüders¹ saw that the second *akshara* has an *e*-mātrā and read *khane*, and he rightly read the next two letters *kue*, corresponding to *kupe* in the Āra inscription, explaining *khane kue* as a dug well, as distinguished from a natural one. He also pointed out that the form *kue* is used in the Pāja and Muchaī inscriptions. A similar form *kuo* also occurs in the Mount Banj epigraph. This analysis shows the way to the correct interpretation of our record, and there is only one point where I think it necessary to deviate from him. The second *akshara* cannot be *ne*, because the *e*-stroke is never added at the bottom of the vertical of *na*. We find it above the top in *Kaneshkasa* in the Māpikīāla inscription, and, as I have already remarked, it sometimes occupies the same place in our record. Our *akshara* is in reality identical with the *de* of *devaputra* in the Āra inscription and we must certainly read *khade*, corresponding to Sanskrit *khāta*, dug.

Then follow four *aksharas*, which were read *lharadasa* by Cunningham. The first one was left untransliterated by M. Senart, while M. Boyer read *mu* and Professor Lüders *ve*. Cunningham's *kha* is out of the question, and so far as I can see M. Boyer was right in reading *mu*. Professor Lüders states that *ve* is fairly clear in an estampage in his possession. A comparison of the estampage before me and M. Senart's plate seems, however, to show that the apparent *va* is in reality the continuation of the long fissure running below the ensuing seven *aksharas*. The next letter was read as *ra* by Cunningham, but Professor Lüders is no doubt right in stating that it may be *ro*. I fail to understand how Messrs. Senart and Boyer arrive at their reading *cha* of the third *akshara*. It is certainly *da* as read by Cunningham.

Muradasa, or probably *murodasa*, is the genitive of a word *murada* or *muroda*, which has a distinctly un-Indian appearance. It is tempting to compare it with the words *murta*, *murndaga* and *murunḍa*, which seem to be different attempts at rendering a Śaka word which the Indians sometimes translated with *spāmin*,² and I think that we must accept that explanation. We know that the title *murunḍa* was used by Śaka chieftains and Indo-Skythian rulers in India down to the 4th century A D, when the *Śakamurundas* are mentioned in Samudragupta's *Allaḥābād prasasti*, and I do not think that it can reasonably be doubted that it was this same *Śakamurunda* or an older indigenous form of the word which the Chinese rendered with their *Sai-wang*, the designation of the tribe which was expelled by the Yue-chi after the latter had been conquered by the Hsiung-nu.³ I am aware of the fact that *wang* has been considered to be part of the name of the tribe, and not the usual word for "king", "ruler", and that Professor A. Hermann,⁴ on the authority of the late Professor de Groot, wanted to change *Sai-wang* to *Sai-yü*, i.e., *sak-yü* or, according to the Nankin pronunciation, *sak-giok*, which he identified with *Sacaraucae*. The difficulty, however, which has puzzled some Sinologists in the designation *Sai-wang*, Saka lords, or, Saka kings, and caused them to try to find another explanation of the word *wang*, seems to me to disappear in the face of the corresponding designation *Śakamurunda*. The Indian translation of this term by *Śakanripati* is an exact parallel to the Chinese word

¹ l c

² Cf Lüders, *S B A W*, 1913, pp 422 f, Konow, *S B A W*, 1916, pp 790 ff, *Das indische Drama*, § 18

³ Cf e g, O Franke, *Beiträge aus chinesischen Quellen zur Kenntnis der Türkvölker und Skythie*, *Zentralasiatische Studien*, Berlin, 1907, pp 46 ff

⁴ Pauly's *Real Encyclopädie der Classischen Altertumswissenschaft*, sub voce *Sacaraucae*

The designation *Śālamurunda*, *Sai-wang* is not exactly synonymous with *Śāla*, *Śāla*. Not all the Śakas were Śakamurundas. We now know that the Kushānas, who followed up the Yüe-chi conquest of the Tokhara country by an invasion of India, acted as the successors of the Śakas. We also know that the home-tongue of the Kushānas was the language which we know from numerous documents recovered in the southern oases of Chinese Turkistan, and especially in and about Khotan. I have myself called this language Khotanī and thought that it was related to, but not perhaps quite identical with the tongue of the Śakas. The prevalent opinion is, however, that Khotanī is simply the speech of the Śakas. In reality there is only a difference in the terms chosen to designate the language. The necessary inference from all that we know at the present moment is that Khotanī is a Śaka dialect or, according to most scholars, the Śaka language, in other words, that the Kushānas, and consequently the Yue-chi, were Śakas, not however exactly the same tribe as the Sai-wang. The difference was not of an ethnic nature but, if we may judge from the designation *Sai-wang*, it had some reference to the system of government or to the title used by the rulers of that particular tribe. The title *murunda* was not used in the country where we find the Śaka language or dialect used in literature and administration. We there find other designations, *rre*, genitive *rrundi*, king, and *shshau*.¹ Though *rrundi* later on also occurs in the form *rrundī*, there can be no question about identifying it with *murunda*, where *mu* evidently belongs to the base. *Shshau*, on the other hand, is the title which was used in the coin-legends of Kanishka and his successors, *shaonano*, *shao Kaneshki Koshano* written in Greek letters, with the same representation of a short *u* through *o* as in *kozoulo* for *kuṣūla*. The title *shaunānu shau* is not met with in Eastern Turkistan. We can, however, infer that it was known from the fact that the designation of the Buddha as *gyastānu gyastī*, i.e., the god of gods, is evidently framed in imitation of this title. There can be no doubt that it is an adaptation of the imperial Persian title, and we have no reason for thinking that it was originally in use among the Śakas of Eastern Turkistan. We know from the *Kālaśāchārya-kathānālā* that the Śakas who invaded India before Vikramāditya used a slightly different form, *shahānu shāhi*, which is evidently borrowed from Middle Persian, and this form was adopted by the Kushānas in their Brāhmī inscriptions and also occurs in the Allahābād *prasasti*. *Shaunānu shau* is the same title, but it is not simply borrowed, but translated, the Middle Persian *shāhi* being replaced by the indigenous word *shau*, formed with another suffix *-an* from the base *lshāi*. We must necessarily infer that the Śaka chiefs of Eastern Turkistan, the ancient Yüe-chi, used this title, in addition perhaps to *rre*, before they introduced the imperial Persian titulature. Their rulers were accordingly called *rre* or *shau*, while the chiefs of the *Śālamurundas* were designated as *murunda* or some older form of this word.

Now if *murada*, *muroda* of the Zeda inscription is the same word as *murunda*, it would be of interest if we could settle the question about its exact meaning. An etymological explanation of the word, which is perhaps possible, has been given by Professor Hermann Jacobsohn.² He thinks that it is formed from the same base as the Greek words (*epi*)*melētēs*, *meletōr*, *meledōnos*, caretaker, supervisor, and is about synonymous with *lshatrapa*. If such be the case, it becomes probable that the title *lshatrapa* used by the Śaka rulers in India is merely a translation of the old term, so that the *Śālamurundas* of the Allahābād *prasasti* are the Western Kshatrapas.³

The meaning care-taker, office-bearer and ruler seems to suit the context in the Zeda inscription. *Murodasa*, i.e., probably *murorḍasa*, is followed by a word which was read *marḍulasa*

¹ Cf. *Orientalische Zeitschrift* VIII, pp. 220 ff.

² *Arter und Ugrofinnen*, Göttingen, 1922, pp. 106¹, 200.

³ Is it conceivable that the title *meridarkhes*, which is used in Greek inscriptions of the Seleucid age and sphere and in Egypt, is an adaptation of the Iranian title based on a popular etymology of the word? Cf., about this title Dr. F. W. Thomas, *Zeitschrift für Indische Sprache*, pp. 362 ff.

by Cunningham and *mardakasa* by Messrs Boyer and Luders, while M Senart states that he cannot understand how Cunningham arrived at his reading of the second *akshara*. The *r*-loop is, however, quite distinct, and the upper part of the compound only differs from *da* in having a short stroke to the left of the *op*. M Boyer derives *mardaka* from the base *mrīd*, to be gracious, and takes it to be a designation of the following word *Kanishka*. He admits that we should rather expect an honorific title of a different kind, but thinks that the designation "compassionate" is well suited in the case of the famous protector of Buddhism. He also mentions, however, the possibility of explaining *mardaka* as a patronymic.

So far as I can see, however, the reading *mardaka* cannot be maintained. The short stroke at the top of the *akshara* is the characteristic which distinguishes *ṛha* from *da*, and I have, therefore, thought¹ it necessary to read *marṣhakasa* and explained² *marṣhaka* as an older form of the Khotanī word *malysakī*, which occurs in the *Maitreyasamiti*,³ where it is used to render Sanskrit *grihapati*, the sixth of the *ratnas* of a *chakravartin*. The *grihapati* is characterized⁴ by the divine eye, through which he discerns hidden treasures and secures them for his master. *Marṣhaka*, *malysakī* is derived from the Iranian base *marz*, corresponding to Sanskrit *mrī*, to touch, to clean, to rub, and evidently means an official who has to examine treasure, a tutor of treasure and com

If *marṣhaka* is the same word as Khotanī *malysakī*, we must draw the conclusion that the *l* of the latter is derived from an older *r* and that the change of *r* to *l* in this and in similar cases is subsequent to the date of the Zeda inscription. That the Iranian tongue of the Khotan country underwent certain changes between the first centuries of the Christian era and the oldest texts in which it is found has been shown by Professor Luders,⁵ and I can now add an example, which seems to be absolutely certain. The Khotanī postposition *bendī*, on, near, concerning, is found as *vamī*, i e, *vāndī*, in the Kharoshthī documents from Niya. We learn from this fact that the development of *ā* to *e* in this word took place after the second century, and also that the language to which *bendī* belongs was spoken in the southern oases at the time when the Niya documents were written.

The words following after *murodasa marṣhakasa* are certainly *Kanishkasa rajamī*, as seen by M Senart, while Cunningham read the finale *mī* as *gam*. *Kanishka* is of course the well-known Kushāna emperor, and it seems necessary to infer that the preceding words *murodasa marṣhakasa* are titles used to characterize him, for we know that there is not a single Kharoshthī inscription where the name of a ruler is used without any title being added. We should, of course, expect to find some of the usual designations, as in the contemporaneous Sue Vihār inscription, where *Kanishka* is styled *mahārāja*, *rājātirāja*, *devaputra*. But then it should be remembered that we have not before us an official record, but a private document, so that we need not expect to find the official titles. And we know that the title *murunda*, which I identify with *muro[n]da*, was used in India long after *Kanishka*'s days, and *Kanishka*'s accession meant a considerable strengthening of the power of the Indo Skythian rulers. The result would naturally be a strengthening of the national feeling of the Śakas, and it would be intelligible if national titles were used at least in records drawn up at the request of Śaka individuals, as may have been the case with the Zeda inscription. There is, accordingly, nothing extraordinary in the use of the designation *murada* or *muroda*.

¹ *S. B. A. W.*, 1916, p. 801

² *Orientalische Zeitschrift* VIII, p. 230

³ Ed Lepmann, Strassburg, 1919, p. 67

⁴ Cf Senart, *Essai sur la légende du Buddha* 2^{ed.} Paris, 1892, p. 29

⁵ *S. B. A. W.*, 1919, pp. 763 ff.

The explanation of the second title *marṣhaka* is more difficult. If my analysis of the word is right, it might characterize Kanishka as a ruler rich in treasure. Now we know that there was an Indian tradition¹ about four "sons of heaven", the rulers of India, China, the Yüe-chi and the Roman empire, and the country of the Roman emperor was considered to abound in treasure. The title *marṣhaka* might accordingly be used in order to convey the idea that Kanishka had won the wealth of the Roman empire, and as we know that the Roman title *Cæsar* itself is used, in addition to the common titles *mahārāja*, *rājātirāja*, *devaputra*, in the Āra inscription of Kanishka II, the use of *marṣhaka* might be considered as the first step in that direction. We should, of course, like to know the reason for such a reference to the Roman empire in the two records, and expect it to be the result of a victorious war with the Roman armies. We do not, however, hear about any such thing having happened.

We know, on the other hand, that the Roman power in Asia was waning during the reign of Hadrianus (A.D. 117-138), who withdrew from Mesopotamia, which was then occupied by the Parthians. Buddhist texts preserved in Chinese translation² further state that the king of the Parthians tried to close the West to Kanishka, who then defeated him. If Kanishka's date coincided with the reign of Hadrianus and if the tradition about a victorious war with Parthia is based on fact, it would be conceivable that the idea of a ruler of a country abounding in treasure was transferred from the Roman to the Parthian emperor, and further, after Kanishka's triumph over the latter, to him, and that might be the reason for the use of the title *marṣhaka* in our record and of the designation *kaisara* in the Āra inscription. It is at present impossible to make any definite statement. But, at all events, it seems to me that the terms *muroda* and *marṣhaka* must be considered as titles characterizing King Kanishka.

What follows after *rajam* is the most difficult passage of the whole record. Cunningham read *dharya dadabhasa Idamukhastrape a de asa*, M. Senart *dadabhai da[na]mukha [pe adhia] sa [daadaasa] ti [dha]*, and M. Boyer *[to]yadalabhaiṇṇānamukha sapeadhia sasasushe satī vudhe*. He explained *sapeadhia* as a compound of *sapea*, which he identified with Pāli *sappāya*, and *dhia*, Sanskrit *dhīyā*, and saw in *sasasushe* a Sanskrit *sasyasosha*. He thus arrived at the translation: the gift of Uspahama cha, a well for the obtainment of rain-clouds in the kingdom of the compassionate Kanishka, with the intention of making something salutary, after a drying up of the crops had set in.

I am unable to follow the French scholar in this interpretation. I have already remarked that the preceding portion of the inscription cannot be explained as done by him. And I do not know of any instances where a well was dug in order to obtain rain-clouds, in other words as a kind of magic. Moreover, it would be more natural to aim at producing rain than at attracting rain-clouds, and, finally, it may reasonably be doubted whether the word *lābha* would be used with *tōyada*, a cloud.

If we now turn to the plates, it seems to me that M. Boyer's reading is wrong in several places.

The first letter after *mi* runs up into a fissure in the stone, but seems indeed to be a *ta*. The lower part, it is true, seems to end in a curve opening towards the left, which evidently led Cunningham to read *dha*. There is, further, apparently a stroke projecting from the lower part towards the left and running into the next *akshara*. It may be the *o*-mātrā, and, with every reserve, I accept M. Boyer's reading *to*.

Then follows *ya*, but the right-hand stroke is clearly broken and then bent downwards, so that we must apparently read *yam*. The following *akshara* is certainly *da*, and the whole word, therefore, seems to be *toyamda*. I do not know what to make out of this word. It may perhaps

¹ Cf. Pelliot, *Young Pao*, 1923, pp. 97 ff.

² Cf. Sylvain Lévi, *J. A.*, LX, viii, 1896, pp. 444 ff., *Ind. Ant.*, XXXII, 1903, pp. 381 ff.

mean some appliance for drawing water or some channel or feeder for conducting water to the well, but as long as even the reading is not certain, it is useless to try to fix the meaning.

The ensuing *akshara* cannot be *la*. It consists of an upper curve, continued downwards in a line which first projects towards the right, then ends in a knee with a vertical running down to the bottom. There is a faint cross-bar in the middle, which, however, seems to be accidental. So far as I can see, the only possibility is to read *cha*. If the cross-bar were not accidental, we might think of the shape of *chha* which is used in the Aśoka inscriptions and in Central Asian documents to denote the old Sanskrit *chh*, which is always carefully distinguished from the Prakrit *chh* derived from *lsh*, etc.¹ But there does not seem to be any reason for thinking that the thin stroke visible through the middle of the vertical really belongs to the *akshara*.

After this *cha* M. Boyer read *bhai*, but there is a distinct *u*-loop at the bottom of *bha*, and we must read *bhui*. This *bhui* cannot be anything else than Sanskrit *bhūyah*, and *toyamda* (?) *cha bhui* seems to be one of those parenthetical sentences which are sometimes met with in Kharōṣṭhī records.²

Then comes *danamukha*, the only word in the whole passage about which there cannot be any doubt.

The ensuing *akshara* was read *stra* by Cunningham, while M. Boyer saw in it a *sa*. It seems to me that the cross-bar is far too distinct to be accidental. On the other hand, I cannot follow Cunningham in reading *stra*, for the compound letter *sta* always has a straight vertical, while the main portion of our letter is a rounded line ending in a rounded bend to the left at the top, and another one to the right at the bottom. So far as I can see, it is exactly the same letter which stands at the beginning of l. 4 of the Sue Vihār inscription, where it is certainly *hi*. I therefore read *hi*, and I follow M. Boyer in taking the ensuing *akshara* as *pea*, reading accordingly *hipea* instead of his *sapea*.

I am not certain about the ensuing *aksharas*, which M. Boyer read *dhia*. There seems to have been a good deal of peeling off, and the result are some curious strokes at the top of the apparent *dhi* and at the bottom of the second letter. They seem, however, to be accidental and I accept M. Boyer's *dhia*, but I take the following *sa* to belong to the preceding letters and read the whole as *hipeadhiasa*.

Now if we compare other Kharōṣṭhī inscriptions mentioning the digging of wells,³ it will be seen that the person or persons at whose request the well was dug, are always mentioned. We must therefore, I think, necessarily infer that *hipeadhiasa* is the name of a person. I cannot analyse this word or words. *Hipea* reminds us of Greek names such as Hippeos, Hippias and *Dhia* might be an adaptation of some Greek name. Cf. *Diya* in the Beshagar column inscription. It would not, however, be safe to make any definite statement about the etymology of the name. The only thing which seems to be certain is that *Hipeadhiasa* is the name of the donor, perhaps a double name, *Hipea Dhiasa*, in which case *Hipea* should probably be considered as the genitive of a base *Hipe* or *Hiper*.

¹ This sign is only met with twice in later Kharōṣṭhī inscriptions, viz., in an unpublished Manshira inscription of the year 68 and on the Mathurā Lion Capital, where it has not, however, been recognized but been treated as a compound *chf* so that the word *palichhina*, Sanskrit *parichchhinna*, has been read *palishfena*. There is no other instance where it could possibly have been used, all the other occurrences of *chh* representing the derived Prakrit sound, which was no doubt different from old *chh* and which I now transliterate as *lsh*.

² Cf. Lüders, *J R A S*, 1909, p. 650, *S B A W*, 1918, p. 763.

³ Muchai *sahayana kue vashifugana*, Mount Banj *makaḍakaputrasa kuo danamoho*, Pāya *Anamla-putreya Sathghamirena kue karite*, Shakardarra *kuvo khadao Traṇivad[r]janasa danamukho*, Āra *khade kuye Druhafoṭena Poshapuris putr[e]sa*, Kala Sang *[saha*]yarapa Pipalakhana kuo*, Margat *kue sahaya [raṇa*...] darapa*.

The next letter is again *sa*, and then follows, so far as I can see, a *rva*, though it may be *la* as read by Cunningham. In M. Senart's plate the right-hand hook of the letter has disappeared and the *akshara* runs into the following one, so as to produce the appearance of a *śu*, and the apparent *e*-stroke, which clearly belongs to the *akshara* following after *rva*, looks as if it belonged to the second one. The letter following after what I read as *rva* consists of a vertical bending at the top towards the left and provided with a cross bar. The apparent *e*-mātrā protrudes below the upper bar and seems in reality to be an *i*. With every reserve I therefore read *sti*.

Then follows an unmistakable *va*. In M. Senart's plate it runs into the preceding *akshara*, and thus M. Boyer arrived at his reading *she*, without taking any notice of the unusual place of the *e*-mātrā. This *va* I take together with the next *akshara*, which I read *da*, cf. the shape of *d* in *di*, l. 1.

Then follows *ti*, and then two letters which M. Boyer read *vudhe*. The *u* of *vu* is not certain, and I prefer to read *va*. The stroke at the right-hand corner of *dhe* seems to me to be a flaw in the stone. I therefore read *vadha* and connect *vadha* with the ensuing *akshara*, which is certainly *sa* or *se*. I accordingly read *sarvastivadativadhase*.

Messrs. Senart and Boyer took the last *akshara* *sa* together with the two following ones, which they read as *putra*. The *pu* is certain, but the *tra* does not, so far as I can see, exist. If we compare the fourth *akshara* from the end in l. 3, which is certainly *tra*, it will be found to be quite different. It seems to me that a portion of the stone has peeled off in this place, to the right of the *u*-loop of *kshu* in l. 1. It was therefore left open, and the context goes on to the left of the *u*-loop, with an *akshara* which M. Boyer took to be *ba*, but which seems to me to be *ja*. The vertical has been bent to the right, so as to cover a portion of the open space, but the *ja* is, I think, easily recognizable.

Then follows *na*, with a sloping line running downwards from the middle of the vertical. M. Senart read the whole as *na*, while M. Boyer thought it necessary to read *npa*, a compound which is in itself very unlikely, and which would, at all events, scarcely look like our *akshara* but be provided with an angular *pā*-hook. I take the letter to be *ne*, with the *e*-mātrā placed as in *Sakyamune* in the Wardak vase inscription. *Pujane* corresponds to Sanskrit *pūjanē*, in the honouring of, and is synonymous with the common *pujāe*.

The last three *aksharas* of l. 2 were read by M. Senart as *Liaka* and this, taken together with the letter *sa* at the beginning of l. 3, makes up the genitive *Liakasa*, which M. Boyer connected with his *saputrabanpa* into a compound *saputrabanpaliakasa*, to which he assigned the meaning "together with his sons Banpa and Liaka". Even if we were to accept the reading *banpa*, it seems to me that it would not be quite easy to follow M. Boyer in his analysis of the compound.

The name *Liaka* is also known from the Taxila copper-plate of Patika, the son of the Kshatrapa *Liaka Kusuluka*, and we should naturally infer that the *Liaka* of our inscription was a descendant of *Liaka Kusuluka*, the more so because he is evidently designated as a Kshatrapa. The reading of the word following after the first letter of l. 3 is not, it is true, certain, but there can be little doubt that it means "of the Kshatrapa". M. Senart read *chhaharasa* and M. Boyer *chhala-pusa*. The former was partly influenced by the Patika plate where *Kusuluka Liaka* is usually supposed to be designated as *Chhaharasa Chukhsasa cha chhatrapa*, Kshatrapa of Chhahara and Chukhsa. In my opinion, however, there cannot be any doubt that we must read *lshaharata*, there being room for two *aksharas* in the damaged portion at the end of l. 1. Moreover, M. Boyer was certainly right in reading the third *akshara* as *pa*. The second one is scarcely *ha*, and it is also different from *la*, the upper vertical standing more to the left than the lower one. There is, moreover, a stroke towards the right at the bottom. One might think of reading *ira*, but such a compound is scarcely possible. It is perhaps possible to assume that the engraver has misunder-

stood his draft and placed the upper vertical too far to the right, while *tra* was in reality intended. As there cannot well be any doubt about the meaning I would, therefore, with every reserve, read *lsha[tra]pasa*

We are not in a position to decide the question about the nationality of the family of the Kshatrapa Liaka. If he was descended from the Kshatrapa Liaka Kusuluka of the Patika plate, we should be inclined to think that he was a Śaka, because the date of the Patika plate is referred to the reign of the King Moga. The designation *Kusuluka* seems to indicate relationship with the Kushānas, for *Kusuluka* is probably connected with the designation *Kujūla* used about the first Kadphises. We know from the coin-legend of Liaka Kusuluka that the second *u* of *Kusuluka* was long and that the *s* was pronounced with voice, for the Greek legend is *Kozoulo*, as on the coins or *Kujūla* Kadphises.

If the Kshatrapa Liaka was a descendant of Liaka Kusuluka, we should think that he ruled in the neighbourhood of Taxila, in which case his province may very well have included the present Zeda.

After *lsha[tra]pasa* M. Senart read *pa a da ta dana* and M. Boyer *thupa dhola unamita dana*. The latter translated the whole passage as follows: the gift of Chhalapa together with his sons Banpa and Liaka, a stūpa resplendent in whiteness and of great height. We should accordingly here have the record of the second donation mentioned in the inscription. Abstracting from the general objection to such an interpretation which I have already mentioned, I may draw attention to the curious arrangement which M. Boyer supposes to be followed in the enumeration of the gifts: first a well, then a resplendent stūpa, and thirdly, as we shall see, a temple servant. It would be difficult to find any logical reason for such an arrangement, and I agree with M. Sylvain Lévi¹ that we should expect the state of things to be different.

An examination of the plate will, moreover, so far as I can see, lead us to other results than those arrived at by M. Boyer, also in the passage following after *lsha[tra]pasa*.

The first *akshara* cannot possibly be *thu*. It consists of a rounded top, continued to the right in a vertical ending in a loop, which I follow M. Boyer in considering as an *u-mātrā*. There cannot, in my opinion, be any reasonable doubt about the nature of the letter: it is *u*, of the same kind as the *u* of *utaraphagune*, l. 1, only shorter, and the *u*-loop has not been continued up to the vertical. Then follows *pa*, as given both by M. Senart and by M. Boyer. The third *akshara*, on the other hand, cannot be *dho*. It consists of a broken vertical, bent towards the left at the top, and provided with the hook which we know from the usual *ka*. A similar break in the vertical is also found in one of the *las* of the Mānikāla silver disk, and similar forms occur in the Āra and Mānikāla inscriptions and on the Kanishka casket. I think it necessary to read *ka*.

Then follows an *akshara* consisting of an upper curve connected with the lower part by a vertical. It is impossible for me to understand how it can be read otherwise than as *cha*. The next letter is clearly *a* and not *u*, there being no trace of an *u*-loop at the bottom, and I am unable to see how M. Boyer arrived at his reading *unamita*. The *a* is followed by a distinct *ma*, which M. Boyer leaves out of consideration. With regard to the next *akshara* M. Senart's reading *da* is clearly preferable to M. Boyer's *na*, even if we were to admit that the dental *na* were used in this place. The lower portion of *da* is, however, bent towards the left and I think that I can see traces of a complete *u*-loop. I therefore read *du*, and the following *akshara* cannot possibly be *mi*. It seems to me to be an unmistakable *ka*. Then follows *ta* as read by Messrs. Senart and Boyer. The whole passage accordingly runs *upakachaamadū kata*. I analyse it as follows. In *upakachaa* I see the dative of *upakacha*, which consists of *upa* and the Prakrit word *kachcha*, which is given as a Dēśī word for *lārya* in the *Dēśināmamālā* ii 2, and which corresponds to a

¹ Cinquantenaire de l'école pratique des hautes études. Mélanges publiés par les directeurs d'études de la section des sciences historiques et philologiques. Paris, 1921, pp. 91 ff.

Sanskrit *kritya*¹ *Upakachaa* accordingly means "for the benefit of", and it should be connected with the ensuing *madu*, Sanskrit *mātuḥ*, of his mother.

Kata I take together with the following word, for which I unhesitatingly accept the reading *dana*

The concluding portion of the inscription was read by M Boyer as follows *anuga punavar-dhase Saghamitrāsa dana*, the gift of Samghamitra a servant, in order to increase his merit I have the same objections against this reading and interpretation which I have mentioned above: the improbability of a registering of many gifts in one and the same inscription, the absence of any intelligible reason for the arrangement of the three entries, and my inability to accept the suggested reading. It might also be questioned whether Sanskrit *punya* could become *puna* or *puna* in the dialect of the inscription. We should certainly expect *puṇa* as in the Kharōshthī manuscript of the *Dhammapada*.

The two first *aksharas* are certainly *anu*. M Boyer draws attention to the shape of the ensuing *akshara ga*, which is turned towards the left and provided with a curve towards the right. He thinks that we are here faced with fissures in the stone. It seems to me, however, that such cannot be the case, and that we must read *gra*. *Anugra* might stand for *aṇuga*, with a spirantic pronunciation of *g*, but I have my doubts about the possibility of translating *anuga*, standing alone as it does, by "servant". Moreover, I think it necessary to connect *anuga* with what follows and here I cannot accept M Boyer's reading *puna*, or, in my transliteration *puna*. There is no trace of an *u-mātrā*, and, so far as I see, the first *akshara* cannot be *pa*, but only *he*. The *akshara na* next seems to have an *e-mātrā*, but I think that *na* is intended. I therefore read *anagrahena*.

The following word seems to be *vardhase* as read by M Boyer. M Senart's plate favours this reading, while the *r* before *dh* is not distinguishable in my estampage. As stated by M Boyer *vardhase* or *vadhase* may be an infinitive or the dative of a base *vardhas*.

The reading *Saghamitrāsa dana* was established by Cunningham and accepted by his successors. I do not think it possible to read the letter after *tra* as *sa*. It is the same *ra* which we find in *rajamī*, l 2. Nor can I see how the two last *aksharas* can be read *dana*. The first one cannot, I think, be anything else than *ga*, with a backward turn of the top, and the last one is evidently *sa*, turned back so as to avoid its running up into the *akshara* standing above it. A similar distorted *sa* is found before *Mira Boyarasa* in l 4 of the Gudufara record, where its shape likewise seems to be due to considerations of space.

Who the *Samghamitrārāja* was, we cannot say. *Samghamitra* seems to be used as a title in the Jaulā inscription b and it is conceivable that it is here used as an honorific designation of Kanishka. It is, however, more likely that *Samghamitrārāja* was some person connected with the place where the well was dug.

The date of the Zeda inscription is about one month later than that of the Sue Viṇār epigraph of the 28th Daisios Sam 11, the Macedonian month Daisios roughly corresponding to the Indian Iyaishtha, the month preceding Āshādha. I have already drawn attention to the fact that the dating is fuller than is usually the case in Kharōshthī records, the name of the *nakshatra* Uttara-phalguna being mentioned as current on the 20th Āshādha. Professor Jacoby has kindly drawn my attention to the fact that we can infer from this statement, that the months were *pūrṇimānta* just as I have shown it to be the case in the calendar used in the Gudufara record². The *nakshatra* Uttara-phalguna belongs to the *śukla paksha* where it may occur between the 5th and 8th day.

¹ Cf Pischel, *Grammatik der Prakritsprachen*, § 284

² See above Vol. XVIII, p 272 f.

The *pūṛṇamānta* reckoning was no doubt an ancient Indian one, while the counting of all the days of the month as a continuous series seems to be of foreign origin, as stated in my edition of the Gudufara record

With regard to the era used in our inscription, it has never been doubted that it is the so-called Kanishka era, but there is no consensus of opinion about the nature and the initial point of that reckoning. I do not think that anybody would now be prepared to maintain, as was consistently done by the late Dr Fleet, that Kanishka was the founder of the Vikrama era, after Sir John Marshall has succeeded in analysing the different strata of archaeological finds in ancient Taxila. He has conclusively proved that Kanishka succeeded the Kadphises kings¹. Most scholars seem to be of opinion that Kanishka's accession marked the beginning of the Śaka era. Professor Rapson, the latest authority who has dealt more fully with the question, says² "The evidence obtained by Sir John Marshall from his excavations of the ancient sites of Takshaśilā proves conclusively that the period of Kanishka's reign must have been somewhere about the end of the first century A D, and a comparison of this evidence with the statements of Chinese historians and with the dates supplied by inscriptions makes it seem almost certain that Kanishka was the founder of the well-known era which began in 78 A D"³.

I fail to see how Sir John's description of his excavations can be explained as done by Professor Rapson. I may quote his own words⁴ "The chronology of this period is very uncertain, but it seems probable that it was about 50 or 60 A D that Kujūla Kadphises and Hermaeus wrested the Kābul valley and Taxila from the Parthians, and a few years later that Kujūla was succeeded by Wima Kadphises, who consolidated and enlarged the empire which his predecessor had won. To about this period belong the coins of the nameless ruler commonly known as Soter Megas, who may have been a successor of Wima Kadphises—there seems to have been a break between the reigns of Kadphises II and Kanishka—Then followed, in the second century of our era, the great and powerful Kanishka, the most famous of all the Kushāns, and after him Huvishka and Vāsudeva. Kanishka made his winter capital at Purushapura, the modern Peshawar, and extended his conquests over a wide area, from Central Asia to the borders of Bengal, and it is probable that this empire was maintained intact by his immediate successors. The death of Vāsudeva probably occurred in the first half of the third century A D."

I do not think that this statement can be reconciled with the assignation of the establishment of the Śaka era to Kanishka. On the other hand, it is in thorough agreement with what Professor Luders remarks⁵ "The exact determination of the era depends before all on the question whether we should identify the king of the Ta-Yüeh-chü Po-t'iao, who sent in the year 229 A D an embassy to China, with Vāsudeva, the successor of Huvishka"⁶. In that case the era would start at the earliest with 130 and at the latest with 168 A D. None of the grounds which Oldenberg⁷ has

¹ According to M. Sylvain Lévi, *Journ. Asiat.* XII, n, 1923, p. 52, Kadphises is not a personal name, but derived from the name of the country which is variously called *Kapīśū*, *Kamboja*, etc.

² *The Cambridge History of India*, I, p. 583.

³ I shall not in this place enter into a discussion of M. Foucher's theory that the Śaka era is not originally a separate era but simply a continuation of the "Maurya" era, with omitted hundreds, because I have done so in my edition of the Gudufara record above, where I also hope to have shown that it is impossible to follow Professor Rapson in the conclusions he draws from the statements contained in Chinese historical tradition.

⁴ See *A Guide to Taxila*, 2nd edition, Calcutta, 1921, pp. 16 f., Sir John's latest account of his explorations.

⁵ *S. B. A. W.*, 1912, p. 830—*Ind. Ant.*, XLII, 1913, p. 137.

⁶ Cf. Chavannes, *T'oung Pao*, II, v, pp. 489 f.

⁷ *Nachrichten der Göttingischen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften*, Phil. Hist. Klasse, 1911, pp. 427 ff. *Journal of the Pal. Text Society*, 1910-12, pp. 1 ff., especially pp. 17 f.

adduced against this supposition is decisive. On the other hand, the identification of Po-t'iao with Vāsudeva is, as observed by Chavannes, merely permissible and not necessary, besides there still remains the possibility that a later and another Vāsudeva is meant."

And, as a matter of fact, Sir John's statement agrees with everything that we know from Chinese sources.

It is a curious fact, which has often been commented on, that Kanishka's name never occurs in the historical books of the Chinese. It is difficult to think that such would have been the case, if he had ruled at a time when China was in contact with the Western Countries and received regular accounts of what was happening there, and it seems probable, therefore, that his time was subsequent to A.D. 125, when China was cut off from Eastern Turkistan,¹ where Kanishka's power, according to Huen-Tsang, made itself felt.

Buddhist texts preserved in Chinese translations, on the other hand, more than once speak of Kanishka as a great and powerful ruler. Huen Tsang, who tells us about his conquests, also quotes what pretends to be a prophecy of the Buddha, according to which Kanishka's accession was to take place in the year 400 of the Nirvāṇa. M. Sylvain Lévi has made it probable² that Huen-Tsang's source was the *Vinaya* of the Mūlasarvāstivādins. According to M. Foucher³ Kanishka reigned in the fifth century of the Maurya era, which was still in general use at the time of his accession. Later on, when the actual state of things was forgotten, and people no more knew anything about the Maurya era, which had, in the meantime been replaced by other reckonings, the memory of an interval of 400 years was still retained, but now this interval was referred to the era of the Nirvāṇa. I do not think it necessary to make further comments on this theory in this place, because there is not the slightest reason for believing in the existence of the Maurya era. But most scholars will unhesitatingly agree with M. Foucher that the tradition of an interval of 400 years between the Nirvāṇa and Kanishka is due to some sort of misunderstanding.

There are, as is well known, more than one estimate of the interval between the Buddha and Kanishka to be found in the Chinese Buddhist works.⁴ The biography of Vasubandhu places Āśvaghoṣha, who was an older contemporary of Kanishka, in the sixth century of the Nirvāṇa, and, according to the *Samyuktatratnapitaka*, which was translated into Chinese in A.D. 472, Kanishka was a contemporary of the Arhat K'i-ye-to, of whom we hear that he had left the world in the Buddha's time but reappeared seven hundred years afterwards in the kingdom of Kipin.⁵ This tradition, which is certainly older than Huen-Tsang, places Kanishka in the second century of our era.

In this connexion the statement found in the same work and quoted above, according to which Kanishka fought the Parthians, receives some additional significance as compared with the use of the title *marjhaka* in our inscription.

There are, moreover, some indications which seem to point to a considerable increase of the Kushāṇa power and a simultaneous strengthening of the national pride of the Indo-Skythians in the second century of our era. In the first place we find rulers using the same titles as the Kushāṇas in Eastern Turkistan, where even a Kushanasena is mentioned about this time. And secondly, some facts connected with the history of the Western Kshatrapas point to the same conclusion. I am speaking of the coins and inscriptions mentioning the name of Chashtana.

¹ Cf. *Acta Orientalia*, II, p. 133.

² *J. R. A. S.*, 1914, p. 1016.

³ *L'art gréco-bouddhique du Gandhāra*, II, p. 510.

⁴ Cf. F. W. Thomas, *J. R. A. S.*, 1913, pp. 646, 649, 1031, and the literature quoted by him.

⁵ Cf. Lévi, *Journ. Asiat.*, IX, viii, 1896, p. 463; *Ind. Ant.*, XXXII, 1903, p. 386.

According to Professor Rapson,¹ "all that is known as to the duration of Chashtana's reign, both as kshatrapa and mahākshatrapa, is that it must be included, together with the reign of his son Jayadāman as Kshatrapa, in the period limited by the years 46 and 72=A D 124 and 150" From the Andhau inscriptions² we know that his grandson Rudradāman was associated with him as rājan in Kāthiāwār in Śaka 52, i e., A D 130. He cannot, accordingly, have been born much later than A D. 90, and his father Ysamotika must have held sway about the time when the Śaka era was introduced.

Now the names of Chashtana and Ysamotika point to the conclusion that they were of the same nationality as the Śakas and Kushāpas. Dr Morgenstierne tells me that, according to Professor Andreas, *Chashtana* is evidently identical with Pashto *chashtan*, a master, and the name Seistanhas, up to the present day, preserved the memory of ancient Śaka settlements in Afghānistān.³ And *Ysamotika* is derived from the word *ysama*, earth, which is well known from documents and books written in the Iranian language of the southern oases of Chinese Turkistan.⁴

Now Ysamotika's name only occurs in the inscriptions and coin-legends of his successors. One coin, which has now disappeared, has, it is true, been ascribed to him, but Professor Rapson is no doubt right in thinking⁵ that it was in reality a coin of Chashtana with the name of his father only legible in the inscription. *Ysamotika*, however, is practically synonymous with *Bhūmaka*, and I quite agree with M. Sylvain Lévi⁶ in thinking that the two names designate one and the same person, *Bhūmaka* being only a barbaric Sanskrit translation of the real name.

Now we must recall the state of things prevailing when *Bhūmaka* entered on the stage. Vikramāditya had long ago replaced the Śaka rulers in Central India. A national era had been introduced, which had even been used by the Śaka Kshatrapa Śoḍāsa, and Indian notions had gradually reasserted themselves. If *Bhūmaka* were one of the first governors appointed after the Śaka re-conquest in A D 78, it would be natural for him to adopt an Indianized name, though he was a *Kshaharada*, i e., was, in some way, connected with the line of Liaka Kusuluka.⁷ The use of the title *rājan* by Nahapāna, who is also designated *Kshaharāta*, Chashtana and his successors, may be due to similar considerations.

The state of things became different with or during the rule of Chashtana. He reintroduced the national name of his father, and this fact becomes easily intelligible if we assume that the power of his nation was essentially increased in his days. It is not necessary to assume that this increase began in India itself. If M. Sylvain Lévi was right in explaining⁸ Chen-t'an Ki-m-ch'a of the *Sūtrālanlāra* as Kanishka, king of Khotan, it is conceivable that Kanishka started on his career in Eastern Turkistan, after the Chinese had lost their hold on the country, and that these events were rumoured in India and awakened the national pride of the Śakas, this awakening being reflected in the introduction of the name *Ysamotika* instead of the Indianized *Bhūmaka* in the inscriptions and coin-legends of Chashtana.

¹ *Catalogue of the Coins of the Andhra Dynasty, the Western Kshatrapas, the Trakūṭaka Dynasty and the "Bodhi" Dynasty*. London, 1908, pp. cxii ff.

² *Ep. Ind.*, XVI, pp. 19 ff.

³ Cf. The important paper contributed by Dr F. W. Thomas to the *J. R. A. S.*, 1906, pp. 181 ff.

⁴ Cf. Lüders, *S. B. A. W.*, 1912, pp. 406 ff., where attention is also drawn to the curious use of the compound *ys* in order to denote the voiced *s*.

⁵ *I. c.*, p. 71.

⁶ *Journ. Asiat.*, XI, v, 1915, p. 1919, cf. Konow, *S. B. A. W.*, 1910, p. 814.

⁷ *kshaharada*, *kshaharāta* can of course be a title or the name of a family.

⁸ *Journ. Asiat.*, IX, viii, 1896, pp. 452 ff., *Ind. Ant.*, XXXII, 1903, pp. 383 ff.

Now we know that Chashtana's capital was Ujjayinī and that his name was known to Ptolemy. After Kanishka had consolidated his power in India he would naturally enter into relations with the Śaka rulers of Ujjayinī. Now Ujjayinī was the centre of the scientific study of astronomy after new methods which were taken over from the Greek astronomers. The results of this study are laid down in the Siddhāntas, and if the late Dr Thibaut was right in thinking¹ that these works may very well be based on some Greek source older than Ptolemy, I do not see any reason against applying their methods to the date of the Zeda inscription, in order to settle the question about the initial point of its era by calculating which year or years fulfil the condition Āshādha 20 coupled with Uttara-phalgunā

I have therefore asked my Dutch friend, Dr W. E. van Wijk, to examine the date in the light of the Siddhāntas. I have taken it for granted that Kanishka's accession cannot be dated earlier than the initial point of the Śaka era and not much later than A.D. 135. I have therefore formulated the question as follows: in which year during the period A.D. 89 to A.D. 150 did the 20th Āshādha coincide with Uttara-phalgunā

Dr van Wijk has discussed the question in the *Acta Orientalia*,² and I shall, in this place, only summarize the results of his calculations. If these are made according to the system of the *Sūryasiddhānta* and the equal space system, seven years during the period would answer the conditions, viz., the expired Kalyuga years 3191, 3216, 3221, 3229, 3240, 3246 and 3248.

This result is not very encouraging. I have, however, already mentioned that we possess a second record, from the same neighbourhood, with the same details regarding the date as in our epigraph, viz., the Und inscription of the year 61, where the 8th Chaitra is coupled with the nakshatra Pūrvāshādha.

Applying the same methods to this date, Dr van Wijk finds that the choice is, in this case, much more limited. It is, of course, sufficient to examine the state of things in the seven years coming 50 years after those which were found to be possible equivalents to the Zeda date. And among these only three years fulfil the condition: Chaitra 8 coupled with Pūrvāshādha, viz., the expired Kalyuga years 3241, 3279 and 3296.

If it is allowed to calculate the dates of the Kanishka era at the hand of the *Sūryasiddhānta*, its initial date would accordingly fall in one of the years A.D. 79, 117 or 134. Dr van Wijk has reckoned with current years. If the years were expired, the corresponding years would be 78, 116 and 133 respectively.

Dr van Wijk has further calculated the two dates according to the system of the first *Āryasiddhānta*. His result is that in that case only the expired Kalyuga years 3229 and 3279 fulfil the conditions required by the Zeda and the Und inscriptions respectively. He therefore thinks that, according to the equal space system, this latter correspondence is most acceptable.

In his second paper, however, he maintains, that the equal space system is a late and artificial one, and that we must, therefore, reckon with unequal spaces. He arrives at the result that June 19 A.D. 139 is the only date which fulfils the conditions of the Zeda record, and February 26 A.D. 189 those of the Und inscription. The initial date of the Kanishka era would accordingly be A.D. 128-129. Such a dating would explain the absolute silence about Kanishka in Chinese historical sources, which seems to show that his accession cannot be placed before A.D. 125. It would follow that the earliest known date of Vāsudēva corresponds to the rainy season A.D. 202, and the latest one to the rainy season A.D. 226, in which case Vāsudēva can very well be identical with Pō t'iao, whose embassy is stated to have reached China in A.D. 229.

¹ *Astronomie, Astrologie und Mathematik*, pp. 45 ff.

² Vol. III, pp. 83 ff., V, pp. 168 ff.

I now give my reading and translation of the record

TEXT.

- 1 Sam 10 ashaḍasa masasa di 20 uttaraphagune 1śe kshunamī
- 2 khade kue [mu]rodasa marjhakasa Kanishkasa rajamī [to]yamda oha bhur
danamukha Hipea Dhiasa sarvastivadativadhasa pujane Liaka-
- 3 sa ksha[tra]pasa upakachaa mad[u] kata dana anugrahena va[r̥dha]se Sa-
ghamitrarajasa


TRANSLATION.

Anno 10, on the 20 day of the month Āshādha, in Uttaraphalgunī, at this instant this well was dug, in the reign of the lord, the master of treasure Kanishka,—and further a “watergiver”—as the gift of Hipe Dhiā for the increase of the Sarvāstivāda, in honouring of the Kshatrpa Liaka, for the benefiting of his mother, the gift was made by the favour and for the increase of Samghamitrarāja

No 2 —BARAH COPPER-PLATE OF BHOJADEVA, VIKRAMA-SAMVAT 893.

By HIRANANDA SASTRI

This copper-plate, as the District Magistrate of Cawnpore wrote to the Director General of Archaeology in India, while forwarding it for examination, was discovered on the 17th of March 1925 in the house of one Muhammad Baqar when the foundations of a new house were being dug up in the village of Barah which is said to have been inhabited during the Mughal period and lies on the south side of the main road from Cawnpore to Kalpi at a distance of 23 miles west-south-west from the District Head-Quarters and 4 miles east of Akbarpur with which it is connected by a branch metalled road. It measures 23 $\frac{3}{8}$ " by 16 $\frac{3}{8}$ ", being $\frac{3}{16}$ " thick and weighs 1,250 tolas. The three big holes drilled at the left side of the plate show that there must have been a seal attached to it, though it is not forthcoming now. The plate was thoroughly cleaned under the direction of the Director General of Archaeology in India and is now preserved in the Provincial Museum, Lucknow. I edit the record from the original plate as well as from the excellent estampages kindly supplied to me by Sir John Marshall the Director General of Archaeology in India. Only one side of the plate is inscribed, there being 16 lines of writing on it. The size of the letters which are well shaped and deeply cut averages from 1" to $\frac{1}{2}$ " in height, and $\frac{7}{8}$ " to $\frac{3}{4}$ " in breadth. The record is written in the Nāgarī script of the period and in Sanskrit prose, excepting a somewhat defective śloka at the end (ll 15-16) which gives the name of the Dūtaka.

There are no orthographical peculiarities worth noting excepting the use of the *upadh-mānīya* in ll 7 and 12 and the usual employment of *va* for *ba* as well as the doubling of *t* before *ra* as in *puttra* (l 3). The year when the grant under notice was issued is given in l 16 where it is expressed by letters or letter numerals and a numerical figure. That it is 893 of the Vikrama era is pretty certain but the way in which it is written does not appear to be so. As put down here it would read *samvatsrō hrā* (i e) 9083. The *t* in the ligature *tsrō* should go with *samvat* and the symbol *srō* be taken as representing hundred like the old symbol . The next symbol undoubtedly represents 8. Thus, I think, the year should be read¹ as *samvat* 100×8 (i e 800) 90 3 (i e, 893).

The object of the inscription is to record that Bhōjadēva granted the *agrahāra* called Valākāgrahāra which lay in the Udumbara-vishaya of the Kālāñjara-mandala in the Kanyakubja-bhukti to the Brāhmanas born of the family of Bhatta-kāchāra-gvāmin who

¹ I have read it in consultation with Rai Bahadur Gaurishankar H. Ojha.

belonged to the Bharadvāja-gōtra and was a student of the Vājasaneyā-śākhā, with all its income barring such as had already been granted to gods and Brāhmanas. The document would show that the original grant was issued by *sri-Śarvvavarmmadēva* and sanctioned by *Mahārāja Nāgabhatadēva*. It would further show that, owing to the incapacity of the controlling officer (*Vyavahārin*) in the reign of *Rāmabhadradēva*, it was disturbed for some time and *Bhōjadēva*, the grandson of *Nāgabhatadēva*, revived it on the old terms in the year 893 of the [Vikrama era] on the fifth day of the bright fortnight of Kārtika which corresponds to Wednesday, 18th October, A.D. 836.

The charter was written by *Rudrata*, the *Dūtaka* being *Bālāditya* who was the son of *Rājyabhattārikā*. I have already stated that the donor of the grant was *Bhōjadēva*, the son of *Rāmabhadradēva* and the grandson of *Nāgabhatadēva*. That he was the *Gurjara Pratihāra* king of Kanauj is too clear to require demonstration. The genealogy¹ given in the document is too strong a proof to require further support. The point worth consideration is the identity of the *Śarvvavarmman* spoken of in the document. We are told that the grant made by this chief was confirmed by *Nāgabhatadēva*. This statement would make *Śarvvavarmman* to be the contemporary of *Nāgabhata* who flourished *cir* 816² A.D. The fact that he is described as a *Paramēśvara* would show that he was a subordinate prince. The epithet of *Paramēśvara* reminds us of *Śarvvavarmman*, the *Maukharī* king who is likewise called *Paramēśvara* in the *Asīrgadh*³ Seal inscription. But the identification depends on the contemporaneity of the *Pratihāra* king *Nāgabhata*. The *Maukharī Śarvvavarmman*, as I have shown elsewhere,⁴ was the son of *Īśānavarmman*, who flourished about the year 611 of the Vikrama era, that is, *cir* 554 A.D., and that he ruled about the last quarter of the sixth century of the Christian era or some two hundred years before *Nāgabhata*, the ambitious *Pratihāra* ruler who confirmed the grant. So *Śarvvavarmman* of this inscription cannot be the homonymous prince of the *Maukharī* dynasty, nor can we identify him with the *Śarvvavarmma-Mahārāja* of the *Nirmanda*⁵ grant of *Samudrasēna* or other rulers of the same name who came long before him. The only prince whose identification will fit in with this chief, as far as I am aware, is the one mentioned in the *Sanjān* plates of *Amōghavarsha* which have recently been published in this journal.⁶ The contents of this valuable document have been fully dealt with by Prof. D. R. Bhandarkar. It tells us that *Gōvinda III*, perhaps the most remarkable *Rāshtrakūta* king who flourished *cir* 793-815, vanquished *Nāgabhata* of the Imperial *Pratihāra* dynasty, who was the son of *Vatsarāja* or the father of *Rāmabhadradēva* and the grandfather of *Bhōjadēva*, the donor of the grant under notice. Further, it informs us that the same *Rāshtrakūta* king after his victorious return from the north came to the *Narmadā* on whose banks, at the foot of the *Vindhya*s, he temporarily settled in the kingdom of a petty ruler called *Mahārāja-Śarvan*. It was here that a son was born to him who was called *Amōghavarsha* alias *Mahārāja-Śarvan*. *Māraśarva*, as has been remarked by Prof. Bhandarkar, is the same as *Mahārāja-Śarvan* and the *Śrībhavana* of the *Radhanpur* plates of *Gōvinda III* must have been his capital.⁷ To which dynasty this prince belonged, we are not told in any of these inscriptions. But that he must have been an important ruler seems to be clear. Our charter shows that he must have held sway over the tract around *Kālāñjara* where the *agrahāra* or the *Brāhmana* village *Valāka* (or *Valākā*) lay, otherwise he could not have made a gift of it. That he was a tributary of *Nāgabhata* can safely be surmised from the fact that the grant made by him was confirmed by the latter.

¹ For the genealogy of this dynasty see Kielhorn's *Northern List*, No. 10, and the *A. S. R.* for 1903-04, pp. 277 ff., *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XVIII, p. 100.

² V. A. Smith, *Early History of India*, (4th ed.), p. 393, Konow *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XII, p. 290.

³ Fleet *C. I. I.*, p. 219.

⁴ Above, Vol. XIV, pp. 118-4.

⁵ Fleet *C. I. I.* p. 290.

⁶ Above, Vol. XVIII, pp. 235 ff.

⁷ *Ibid* p. 241, and Vol. VI, p. 250.

Subsequently, when his liege lord, namely Nāgabhatta, was routed by the mighty Rāshtrakūṭa king he, 'driven by fear, quickly went to conciliate his mind by choice heirlooms such as the Rāshtrakūṭa king had never received before and feet by prostrations'¹ About the beginning of the ninth century of the Christian era, the throne of Kanauj passed from one ruler to another very quickly. After Vajrāyudha, came Indrāyudha who was dethroned about 810 A.D. by Dharmapāla king of Bengal and was succeeded by Chakrāyudha who 'was consecrated with the consent of the kings of all the neighbouring states.'² About 816 A.D. he was dethroned by Nāgabhatta the Gurjara Pratihāra king Śarvavarmman, apparently, must have taken advantage of the situation and extended his territories towards the north, but had to submit to Nāgabhatta, when that ruler conquered Kanauj Nāgabhatta was worsted by Gōvinda III, but Bhōja, his grandson, was the undisputed master of Kanauj at the time to which our charter belongs. So, in both the cases, that is in the time of Nāgabhattadēva as well as Bhōjadēva, confirmation of the grant by the liege lords was necessary. That the grant was impeded, as remarked above, during the reign of Rāmabhadradēva would lead us to surmise that the rule of this king was not free from turmoil.

As stated above, the grant is dated 893 of the [Vikrama] Samvat i.e. 836 A.D. So this copper-plate carries the long period of the rule of Bhōjadēva back to some four years and becomes the earliest known dated document of his time.

Besides the donor, his ancestors and the donee, the grant mentions Bālāditya, the son of Rājyabhattārikā, and also Rudrata. No details being given about them, their identity remains obscure. Rudrata like the names Mammata, Jayyata, Kariyata, etc., seems to be a Kashmiri appellation. The word प्रवृत्त would show that he acted as a herald in reading out the *śāsana* of Bhōjadēva.

It may be remarked here that this charter also employs the territorial terms *bhukti*, *mandala* and *vishaya* in the same sense in which they are used in charters like the Nālandā copper-plate³ of Dēvapāladēva.

The localities mentioned in this charter are these Mahōdaya, Kanyakubja, Kālāñjara, Udum(vb)ara and V(B)alākāgrahāra. Of these, Mahōdaya, as herein described, was a *skandhāvāra* or camp only and was not identical with Kanyakubja (or Kānyakubja) for that is mentioned separately. Generally, Mahōdaya is taken to be a synonym of Kanauj or Kanyakubja, but our charter clearly shows that it cannot always be taken as such. Fleet⁴ was perfectly right when he remarked that the epithet of *skandhāvāra* or camp could not have been an appropriate one for a *rājadhānī*, like Kanauj, and that there must have been several Mahōdayas. Kanyakubja and Kālāñjara are the modern Kanauj and Kālāñjara respectively. Valāka, (or Valākā), the *agrahāra* village which was the object of the grant, and Udumbara, the head-quarters of the district (*vishaya*) where it was situated, I have not been able to locate definitely.

TEXT.⁵

- 1 श्रीं स्वस्ति । श्रीमहोदयसमावासितानेकनीहस्त्वश्वरथपत्तिसम्पन्नस्कन्धा-
वारात्परमवैष्णवी
- 2 महाराजश्रीदेवशक्तिदेवस्तस्व पुत्रस्तत्पादानुध्यातः श्रीभूयिकादेव्यामुत्पन्नः
परममाहेन्दरो

¹ Above, Vol. VI, p. 250

² Above, XVII, pp. 310 ff

³ From the original as well as the impressions

⁴ Smith, *Early History of India*, p. 393

⁵ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XV, p. III.

⁶ Expressed by a symbol

- 3 महाराजश्री[व]त्सराजदेवस्तस्य पुत्रस्तत्पादानुभ्यातः श्रीहृन्दीदेव्यामुत्पन्नः परम¹-
गवतीभक्तो
- 4 महाराजश्री[ना]गभटदेवस्तस्य पुत्रस्तत्पादानुभ्यातः श्रीमदीशदेव्यामुत्पन्नः
परमादित्यभक्तो
- 5 महाराजश्रीरामभट्टदेवस्तस्य पुत्रस्तत्पादानुभ्यातः श्रीमहेशदेव्यामुत्पन्नः परम¹-
गव-
- 6 तीभक्तो महाराजश्रीभोजदेवः ॥ श्रीकन्यकुम्भभक्तो । श्रीकाकचरयच्छलान्त-
- 7 ऋपाति उदु(म्ब)रविप्रयस(म्ब)द्वलकाकाग्रहारे समुपगतान्मूर्ध्निव यथास्था-
- 8 वनियुक्तान्प्रतिवासिनश्च समाज्ञापयति । उपरिलिखिताप्रहारस्त-
- 9 र्वीयसमेत आचन्द्रार्कचितिकालम्पूर्वदत्तदेवब्रह्मदेयवर्जितः परमेश्वरश्री-
- 10 शर्व्वर्म्भदेवशासनं । महाराजश्रीनागभट्टदेवानुमति² दृष्ट्वा भगवन् महा-
- 11 राजश्रीरामभट्टदेवरान्ये व्यवहारिणी त्रैगुण्यात्किञ्चित्कालं विवृतं ज्ञात्वा स-
- 12 या पित्रो ऋ पुण्याभिवृद्धये । भरद्वाजसगोत्रवागसनेयसब्रह्मचारिभट्टकाच-
- 13 रस्वाम्यन्वयसन्नाम्नापानामन्तरा विच्छेदसप्रमाणीकृत्य प्राग्भागाक्रमेणैवो-
- 14 त्सङ्कलित इति विदित्वा भवद्भिस्समनुमन्तव्यः प्रतिवासिभिरप्याज्ञात्रवश-
विधेयैर्भूत्वा स]र्व्वी-
- 15 या एषाम्समुपनेया³ इति ॥ रुद्रटेन प्रयुक्तस्य शासनस्य स्थिरायतेः ।
कृतको बालादि-
- 16 त्योश्च राज्यभट्टारिकासुतः ॥ सम्वत्⁴ १०० (X) ८ (-८००) ८० ३ (i.e. ८८३)
कार्तिक शुदि ५ निवृत्त ।

TRANSLATION.

Om. Hail ! From the camp furnished with a number of ships, elephants, horses, chariots and foot-soldiers and situated at the prosperous Mahādāya—(there was) the illustrious Mahārāja Dāvaśaktidēva, a most devout worshipper of God Vishnu, his son born of Bhūyābhādēvi was the illustrious Mahārāja Vatsarāja, who meditated on his (father's) feet and was a most devout worshipper of God Mahēśvara, his son, born of Sundaridēvi, was the illustrious Mahārāja Nāgabhatadēva who was greatly devoted to (the goddess) Bhagavatī and a meditator on the feet of his (father); his son who meditated on his feet was the illustrious Mahārāja Rāma-bhadrādēva born of Isatādēvi and much devoted to Āditya (the Sun-god) and his son born of Appādēvi was the illustrious Mahārāja Bhōjadēva who, a meditator on his (father's) feet, was the great worshipper of (the goddess) Bhagavatī—(he, i.e., Bhōjadēva) (thus) commands all the residents and the officers appointed to their respective posts, that have assembled at the agrahāra

¹ We may read परम for the sake of uniformity

² It was first correctly read by Rai Bahadur Daya Ram Sahni.

³ Read यथा स

⁴ See *supra* p 15

印

of **Valākā** (or **Balakā**) attached to the **Udumbāra** district which is included in the subdivision of **Kāṇājara** in the division of **Kanyakubja** —

Seeing the *śāstana* of the illustrious **Paramēśvara Śarvvavarmmadēva** and the approval of the illustrious **Mahārāja Nāgabhaṭadēva** and finding that the allotment was, for the time being, obstructed through the incapacity of a legal officer during the reign of the illustrious **Mahārāja Rāmabhadradēva**, the above-mentioned *agrahāra* together with all the income, exclusive of all the gifts already granted for gods and **Brāhmanas**, has been given away by me to endure as long as the Moon, the Sun and the Earth exist, for the increase of the merit of my parents, to the **Brāhmanas** born of the family of **Bhaṭṭa-kāchāra-svāmin** of the **Bhāradvāja-gōtra** and the **Vājasaneyā-sākhā**, after having rejected the obstruction (of the grant) which took place for some time, and in accordance with the same old apportionment Thus understanding, you should assent to it, the residents (of the village) also being obedient on hearing the order should take all the dues to these donees.

Here, **Bālāditya**, the son of **Rājyabhattārikā**, was the *dūtaka* of the *śāsana* of long duration which was brought into force by **Rudraṭa**

Composed on the fifth day of the bright fortnight of **Kārtika** in the **Samvatsara 393**.

No 3—MAMDAPUR INSCRIPTION OF THE REIGN OF KANHARA SAKA 1172.

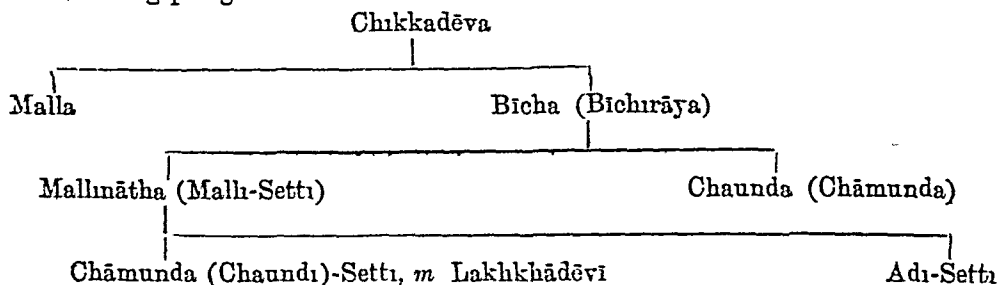
By LIONEL D BARNETT

There are several towns or villages bearing the name of **Mamdāpūr** ("Muhammad's Town") in the Bombay Presidency, but the **Mamdāpūr** where the present inscription was found as a village in the **Gōkāk taluka** of **Belgaum District** lying in lat $16^{\circ} 6'$ and long. $74^{\circ} 59\frac{1}{2}'$ On the Indian Atlas, sheet 41, the name is spelt "Mumdapoor" The inscription was found on a well-preserved stone tablet built into the wall on the left hand inside the local temple of **Basavēśvara**, and is 3 ft $11\frac{3}{4}$ in high by 2 ft $7\frac{1}{4}$ in wide There is no information as to sculptures The text is here edited from an ink-impression prepared for the late Dr Fleet and now preserved in the British Museum—The character is a very good and typical **Kanarese** hand of the period, upright and decorative, but becoming at the end somewhat crabbed as the mason became tired with his long task The average height of the letters in the first two lines is about $\frac{1}{2}$ in, and then gradually decreases to about $\frac{3}{8}$ in The cursive forms of *m*, *y*, and *v* are all found. That of *y* occurs only 4 times altogether, the others are much commoner, that of *m* being found 19 times and that of *v* 8 times in lines 1-10 alone The curious little hook on the top of a letter which seems to denote a short *u*, and to which I have called attention in dealing with the **Mādagihāl** inscription (Vol XV, p 316), appears in ll 51, 54, 55, and 64, it is not certain whether we should read *kottar* or *kottarū* in ll 52 f and *Ādi-settiyar* or *Ādi-settiyaru* in ll 53 f, where the hook on top of the *r* looks like the ordinary *vrāma*—The language in ll 1-46, which are mostly in verse, is **Sanskrit**, ll 47-66 are in **Kanarese** prose, of the early mediæval dialect After *r* consonants are usually (but not invariably) doubled, and *v* is changed to *b* (e.g. *ṣarbbā*, l 5) In the **Sanskrit** we may note the word *jagajjhampa* (l 19), on which see Dr Fleet's note above, Vol XII, p 251, and in the **Kanarese** *vajra-bāṣaniga* (l 62), *kambha*, *banaba* (?), and *haral* (l 65), and *nūle* (l 66), on which see *in loco*

The matter of the inscription is as follows After paying homage to **Śiva-Chandraśekhara** (v 1), **Viṣṇu** in his **Boar** incarnation (v 2), and **Śiva-Pārvatī** (v 3), and describing the ocean, **Mēru**, **Jambū-dvīpa** (v 4), **Bhārata-varsha**, the kingdom of **Kuntala**, in the latter the province of **Kūṇḍī** (v 5), a town in the latter, which was the first of a **Thirty** (v 6)

and in the vernacular was named Kurumbetta (v 7), it proceeds to extol the Yadu race and its scion the Yādava king Bhīllama (v 8), his son Jaitugi [I] and his son Simhana (v 9), of whom the last-named is here said to have been a patron¹ to Bhōja and overcome Arjuna, the Gūrjaras, Māgadhas, Chōlas, Gaudas, the Turaga-pati (i.e. the Aśva-pati), and Ballāla (v 10), Simhana's son Jaitugi [II] (v 11), and the latter's son Kanhara, who is now reigning after overthrowing his enemies and restoring the Vedic religion (vv 12, 13), with his younger brother Mahādēva as Heir-Apparent (v 14). Then comes a prose *prasaṣṭi* of Kanhara (ll 18-20), giving him his usual titles, and stating that he had conquered the Mālavas and Gūrjaras, that he was suzerain to the Tailānga king, and that he was reigning at Dēvagiri. Next we are introduced to one of his great officers. The minister Bīcha, son of Chikkadēva, subdued, for his master Kanhara, the lands from Himālaya to Sētu and enjoyed half the kingdom, his eldest son was Malla (vv 15, 16). Malla's son Chāmunda conquered the Pāndya kingdom, the Konkan, the region around the Kāvērī, and other lands (vv. 17, 18). Chāmunda's preceptor is Vāgīśvara, his wife is Lakkhādēvi (vv 19, 20), and he has set up many images of Śiva (v 21). Then follows a prose *prasaṣṭi* of Chāmunda (ll 30-38), which states that he suppressed the arrogance of the haughty Hoysala emperor Sōmēśvara and that besides setting up a "sapphire *linga*" in a certain "white temple" he consecrated in the Trikūta-prasāda of Kurumbetta two *lingas* of Śiva and an image of Mādhava, in the name of his father Mallinātha (Malla) and his brother Dēva-Setti, in the Śaka year (elapsed) 1172, and determined to give this sanctuary into the charge of an eminent divine. This divine is Vimalaśīva or Vimalaśambhu, disciple of Bhūṣankara, disciple of Tryambakēśa, in the succession of Lakṣhādhyāna, a sage in the spiritual lineage going back to the mythical Durvāsas (vv 23-27). A prose passage gives the praises of Vimalaśīva (ll 43-45), and a verse states that the gift was duly made (v 28). Now comes a series of prose details of endowments to this sanctuary (ll 47-66), the first of which mentions a former foundation in Śaka 1167 by Ādi-Setti, a son of Malla (ll 47-48), who now gives the village of Sabbetta (ll 53-54). Prominent among the donors is the guild of merchants (Banañju, on whom see above, Vol XVI, p 332), among whom Chāmunda was a shining light (ll 56-65).

As regards the Yādava kings and their exploits here mentioned, it is sufficient to refer to *Dynast Kanar Distr*, pp 518-27, and *Bombay Gaz*, I ii pp 239 ff, 243, 245. The family of Settis descended from Chikkadēva figures also in the inscriptions published in *J Bo Br As Soc*, Vol XII, pp 25 ff, 42 ff, Vol XV, pp 383 ff, *Ind Ant*, Vol VII, p 304, and *PSOCI*, No 21 (cf above, Vol VII, App, Nos 351, 357), and from these sources we can establish the following pedigree —



Two dates are given. The first is Śaka 1172 elapsed, Sādhārana; Vaisākha kṛi 5, Saturday (ll 35-36). This is practically correct, for the *tithi* specified, if calculated by "true" *Sūrya-Siddhānta*, ended 19 h 33 m after mean sunrise on Friday, 22 April, A D 1250, i.e. 1.33 A.M. on Saturday morning. The late Mr R Sewell², who with his usual kindness

¹ [The context would show him to be his enemy. *Ambhōjāta* or *ambhōja* does not necessarily signify moon-lotus or water lily —Ed.]

² [This and the following article were contributed several years before the sad death of this veteran scholar. See above Vol XVIII, p 261 f n. 1 —Ed.]

verified my calculations in this paper, informs me that the result is practically the same by the *Siddhānta-Śirōmanī* and the "true" *Ārya-Siddhānta*, and that by the mean system of the latter the date was quite regular. The second date is Śaka 1167, Viśvāvasu; Pushya ba 8, Monday, the *uttarāyana-samkrānti* (l 47). This is utterly irregular. If the Southern Cycle is intended, the *tithi* corresponded to Friday, 12 January A.D. 1246, and the *uttarāyana-samkrānti* occurred on Monday, 25 December, A.D. 1245. If we emend Viśvāvasu to Krōdhu, the result is slightly more satisfactory, giving the *tithi* in connection with Saturday, 24 December, A.D. 1244, and the *uttarāyana-samkrānti* would then fall on Sunday, 25 December, but this solution hardly commends itself. The result is no happier if we try the Northern Cycle, in which Viśvāvasu corresponded with Śaka 1164 current, and Mr Sewell tells me that calculations by the *Siddhānta-Śirōmanī* and both the true and the mean *Ārya-Siddhānta* shew similar discrepancies.

The geographical names mentioned are the kingdom of Kuntala (l 7), the Three-thousand of Kūṇḍi (ll 8, 61), Kuṛumbetta, an "immemorial town of the Banañjus," which gave its name to a *kampana* of 30 towns (ll 10, 34 f, 48, 54, 61, 65), Dvārāvati (l 18), Dēvagiri (l 20), the Sētu (Adam's Bridge) and Himālaya (l 22), the Konkani (l 24), the river Kāvērī (l 24), Huligere (l 36), Sabbetta, in Kuṛumbetta (l 54), Bāgavāḍi (l 55), Aghapatti (l 57), Ahichchhattra (l 58), Ayyāvāle (l 59), and Kākatyabāda (l 64), besides the kingdoms of the Gūṛjaras (ll 13, 19), Māgadhas (l 14), Chōlas (l 14), Gaudas (l 14), Mālavas (ll 19, 44), Tailāngas (l 19), and Pāṇḍyas (l 23). On Kūṇḍi see Dr Fleet's note in *Ind Ant*, Vol XXIX, p 278 ff. Kuṛumbetta seems to be the village styled "Kurbet" in the *Bombay Postal Directory*, "Shindī Kurbet" on sheet 247 of the Bombay Survey, and "Kooreebet" on sheet 41 of the Indian Atlas, which lies in lat 16° 12½' and long 74° 50'. Its Sanskrit name (ll 9-10) is mutilated, only the ending *-giri* is legible. Dvārāvati is the modern Dwārakā in Kāthiāwār, and Dēvagiri is now Daulatābād, in the Nizam's Dominions. Huligere is Lakshmēshwar, in lat 15° 7' and long 75° 31'. Ahichchhattra and Ayyāvāle are several times mentioned in connection with the Banañjus cf above, Vol. XVI, p 332. Bāgavāḍi (now Bāgewāḍi) is the "Bagehwarree" of the Indian Atlas, which shews it in lat 16° 18' and long. 74° 47½'. Aghapatti, which also had some connection with the cult of the Banañjus, seems to be no longer traceable¹. Kākatyabāda is possibly Kākti, in Sāngli State.

TEXT²

[Metres vv 1, 11, 14, 20, *Anushtubh*, vv 2, 3, *Śikharinī*, vv 4, 5, 10, 15-18, 21, *Brāghdarā*, vv 6, 9, 12, 22, 23, *Sārdūlavikrīḍita*, vv 8, 25, *Mālinī*, v 13, *Āryā*, v 19, *Trishṭubh*, v 24, *Vasantatilakā*, v 26, *Rathōddhatā*, v 27, *Gītī*, v 28, *Praharshinī*. V 7 is apparently *Āryā*, but the text is imperfectly preserved.]

- 1 ॐ Om namah Śivāya || Namas=tumga-śiraś-chumbi-chandra-chāmara-chāravē |
trailōkya-nagar-ārambha-mūla-stambhāya Śambhavē || [1*]
- 2 Sthirā yad-damshtr-āgrē nivasati tadiya-dyuti-chayō Hiranyāksha-sparśa-
prabhava-durita-dhruvasana-dhīyā | vi-
- 3 yam(ya)d-Gamgā-pūrē dhruvam=iva³ vigāham vidadhati(tē) Harih krōḍa-kṛīḍah
sa jayati yati-stutya-vibhavaḥ || [2*] Jayaty=ā-kalpa-śrī-kalita-kamanīy-
āmrīta-ka[ra]-

¹ I take this opportunity to correct an error in my paper on the Belgaum inscription A. above, Vol XIII, p 21, l. 46, where the division of words should be °*prasannarumm=Aghapatīpura*°

² From the ink impression.

³ The stone mason has actually cut *dhruvakṣara*, and then made a slight indentation in the loop at the bottom of the *kā*, to shew that it is to be read as *ma*.

- 4 prabhā śi(ā)tya-prāna-pranayī-Gīryā-Sāmkara-yutāḥ | nija-śrī-pād-ābja-prapañ-
jāṣat-śrīti-pramathanam jagat-prēdurbbhāva-prathama-[mī]-
- 5 thūnam punya-kathanam || [3*] Aśi śrī(śrī)mān=udanvān=bahir=I(1)va parikhā
sthūla-vēl-āchalasya prakār-ākāra-dhāmno bhuvana-pura-bhuvah sarbba-lō-
- 6 k-ōttamāyāḥ | tan-madhyē bhāti Mēsur=nnirūpama-sumanō-harmya-sādharmya-
chēsur=dvipas=tad-dakshin-āsām=adhi(dhī)vasati purā-jāta-jambū-samā[nah || 4*]
- 7 Taj-Jambū-dvīpa-madhyē vilasati Bharata-kshētam=ānamda-pātram tatr=āstē
Kurūtaḥ-ōrbhi jana-janita-yasā[6*]-śrī-sukh-āgāra-gurbhi | tasmin=susmēra-
Lakshmi-¹
- 8 mudita-janāpad-āganya-pūny-aika-kōśah sampat-sampūrīt-āsah sa jayati jagatī-
mamdanam Kūṁdī-dēsah || [5*] Dēsō tatra chakāsta vāstava-jana-śrī-
vartta[nam]
- 9 pattanam pūrp-ānēka-tatāka-kūpa-sarasi(śi)-sampattī-śōbh-āspadam | yat=sarbbatṛi(tra)
latānta-pallava-phala-kshōpija-ramy-ōrbharam tṛi(tri)śāsad-grāma-var-ādī[— ∪]
- 10 giri-nāma śrīmatām=āśrayah || [6*] Tad=iha Kurumbettam=iti prakhyāta[m*]
lōka-bhāshayā nagaram | yatra sur-ālaya-kalāsah sārddham sandihyātē
²[— — ||] [7*]
- 11 Rāj-āvalah || Mudita-muditam=āsīt=pārtthivānām kulānām yad=uru Yadu-kulān
tat=Kṛishṇa-janm-ābhīramam | nripatir=ajan tatra kshatra-dharm-aika-dhāmā
ra[nā]-
- 12 vitarana-Rāmō Bhīlāmah sārbbabhaumah || [8*] Tasy=ābhūt=tanayah samagra-
vinayah śrī-Jaitugi-kshmāpatih susvāyatta-chatus-samudra-rasān-ālamkāra-bhū-
[mamḍalah ?]
- 13 tat-putrah kṛita-Śārngapāṇi-charaṇ-āmbhōjāta-pūjā-pa(pha)lam bhējē rāja-samāja-
pūjita-mahā-simhāsanam Gī(Śi)mhanah || [9*] Api cha || Bhōj-āmbhōjāta-
rājō=Bījūna-vana-paraśu[r*]=Gūrjar[— — ∪]
- 14 dabhra-brāta-prōchhamḍa-vātō Magadha-naga-paviś=Chōla-Paulastya-Rāmah | Gauda-
kshvēd-Ē[m*]duchūdas=Turaga-pati-sati-navya-vaidhavya-dātā Bālāla-sthūla-kūla
prapatana-tatīni-pūra-ramhō [∪ —]
- 15 hah || [10*] Tat-putrō dhavala³-chchhatra-chchhāyā-vīśrāmṭta-bhūtalah | Jaitugi-
kshmāpatīs=chakrē pratāpam hṛidayē dvishām || [11*] Dhattō=sy=Ānaka-
dumidubhēr=iva sūtō yaś=chakravartī-śrī[am — —]
- 16 Kṛishṇa iv=ātinimmalam=alamkurbhan=Yadūnām kulam | lil-ōnmūlita-rāshṭra-
kamṭaka-chamū-chakrām mahi[m*] pālayan=vēd-ōddhūra-parah sa Kanhara iti
khyātō jagatyām [∪ — || 12*]
- 17 Api cha || Āśih-para-bhūśura-kara-sēsh-ākshata-śaila-parisarē yasya [1*] prasaranti
dāna-dhārā-jala-janitā nūtanā nadhya(dya)h || [13*] Yathā Rāmasya Saumitī-
(tri)r=yyathā [² Dharmma]-
- 16 sya Phalgunah | yuvarājō=nujas=tasya Mahādēvas=tath=ābhavat || [14*]
- Svasti [1*] Śrī-Prithvi-vallabha-mahārājādhirājah paramēśvarō Dvārāvati(tī)-
puravar-ādhiśvarō Vishnu-vamē-ōdbhavō Yādava-kula-kamala-[kal]-




¹ There are traces of a letter at the end of the line, the metre shows it to be superfluous.


² One or two syllables are lost here, apparently beginning with a b or bh.

³ The va was begun as a fa, and finished as va.

- 19 kā-vikāsa-bhāskarō¹=rī-rāya-jagajjhampū(pō) Malava-rāya-Madana-Trinētrō Gūrjjara-
vāran-āmkuśas=Tailānga-rāya-sthāpan-āohāryyō rāya-Nārāyanah sakala-kalā-pā[rā]-
20 yana ity=ādi-nām-āvali-virājamāna-Bhuja-bala-Prandha-pratāpa-chakravartti-śrī-Kanhara-
mahīśvarō Dēvagurī-skandhāvarō sukha-samkathā-vinōdam=ā-chamdr-ārka-tāram
rāyām karōti || Tat-pāda-pa[dm-ōpajivi?]
21 Śrī(śrī)mān=utsāha-dhimān=abhavadh(d)=abhimatas=Chikkadēv-ātma-jātah khyātah
pamch-ānga-mamtra-sthiti-nirupama-śakti-tray-ōdātta-chuttah | śrī-Bīchah siddha-
vāchah pratnripa-rathini-dhvamsa-gandha-dvipēmdra[— — —]
22 prājya-rājy-ōnnati-karana-patuh prēshanā-Vāta-jātah || [15*] Ā Setōr=ā Himādrōr=
bbhuvam=avichalitām Kanhar-ōrbbiśvarasya svāyatti-kriya labdhv=ānvabhavad=
abhimatam tasya rājy-ārddham=ēsh[ah | — —]²
23 jyēsthō garisthah sakala-guna-ganair=Mmalla utphulla-kirtti-jyōtsnā-sampādita-śrī-
kalita-kuvalayō³=bhūd=asau bhūtal-ēmduh || [16*] Pāmdya-dhvamsa-prachamdah
[— — — —]
24 dana[—]⁴=Komkan-ātamka-damdah Kāvērī-tira-durgg-ādhipa-vipula-śraḥ-karttana-
krūra-kāmdah | damdādhiśa-prakāmdah sakala-jana-manō-hāri-vidyā-karamdaś=
Chāmumdas=tasya sū[nu — —]⁵
25 ti jagad-abhisht-ārthā-krid=dāna-saumdah || [17*] Api eha || Udyamy=ōdyamya
bhūtyah pratnripa-dharapi-mamdal-ōparyy=aśēshan=ākramy=ākramya dēśān=gaja-
turaga-mahā-ratna-sūti-pradēśān [*] ādāy=ādāya ⁶b[— — —]
26 nam=abhiśatam Kanhar-ōrbbiśa-lakshmīm=ānandy=āpandya bhāgyam suchram-
anubhavaty=ēsha Chāmumda-rājah || [18*] Vāgiśvarō yasya gurur=munimdrah
Śiv-āgama-jñāna-vi[— — —]
27 tāh⁷ | śrī(śrī)-Sōmanāthah sva-kul-ādihidēvaś=Chāmumda-damdādhipatis=sa
dhanyah || [19*] Rūpa-saumdarīya-saubhāgya-lāvanīya-guna-bhūshanā |
Lakshkha-dēvi sati yasya La[kshmir=iva]
28 Mura-dvishah || [20*] Sō=yam Chāmumda-rājah sujana-jana-manō-vāmochehrit-
āmartya-bhūjah sampann-āshtānga-bhakti-krama-vihita-Śiv-ānghri-dvay-āmbhōja-
pūjah | nirmāy=ānēka-dha[rmān ? — —]
29 jagati yāsah-punya-lakshmi(kshmi)-samētah prāsādāni prabhūtāny=anu-nagaram=asau
dēvatānām vidhattē || [21*] Rāmō Dāśarathur=yyathā kīḷa tathā tirtthēshu
nānā-nadi-tirēsh[— — — — pa]-
30 ttanēshu paritō limgāni bhū-mamdalē | subhr-ābhramkasha-kūṭa-kōṭashu muni-
śrēsthah pratisthāpayaty=udyat-kirtti-lat-āmkurēshv=iva kṛti Chāmumda-
damdādhipah || [22*] Svasti samasta- * * *
31 vistāra-lakshmi(kshmi)-samtōshita-jagaj jana-hṛdayah śaran-āgata-pratyartti-pārtthiva-
sadayah samada-Hoysala-chakravartti-Sōmēśvara-mada-nivāranō rā * * *
32 śrēsthī-gandha-vāraṇah suduhsaha-niya-pratāp-ātēśaya-bhānumān prēshanā-Hāmumān
chatur-upāya-Chaturānanah pamch-ānga-mamtra-pamch[ānanah]
33 shādgunya-Shadānanah śrī(śrī)-Sōmanātha-dēva-charan-ārādhanā-pavitrikṛta-kara-
sarōruhas=sakala-saj-jana-kalpa-mahiruhō Lakshkha-dēvi(vi)-manah-saumōhana-
Makara-kētuh sau[ryya-Ka]-

¹ This is written with a regular *avagraha*, quite modern in form² The gap may be filled by reading *taj-jō*⁵ Written with an *avagraha*⁴ The letter after *na* seems to be incomplete, being like a *da* without a top. Perhaps we should read *Malaya-Madana-hrit*⁶ Perhaps *sūnur=nyayati*⁶ Possibly *ch*.⁷ The gap may be filled by reading *viśuddha chētāh*

- 34 pi-kētuḥ śri(śri)man-mahāpradhānas=sarvy-ādhikāri(rī) Chāmumda-damdādhupah
svaki(ki)ya-yaśo-dhavalā-prāsāda-madhyē gagana-mahā-mi(ni)la-līngam pratishṭhāpya
tasminn=anādan Kurum[be]-
- 35 tta-pattanē Trikūta-prāsādē svasya pītur-Mallināthasya nāmnā bhrātur=Ḍḍēva-
śrēsthinō nāmnā cha dvā-saptatī-śat-ōttara-aahasra-samkhyā=atitē Śaka-
sam[vatsarē]
- 36 Sādhārana-vatsarē varttamānē Vaiśākha-māsasya kṛishna-pakṣhē pañchamīyām
Śanaishchara-vārē Śiva-līnga-dvayam Mādhava-pratimām cha pratishṭhāpya
Hulige[re]-
- 37 nagarē sukha-samāvāsam kṛtvā dharmm-ārttha-kāmān=yathā-kālam=anusaran tad-
dharmma-sthānam lōkōttamasya tapōdhanasya hastē samarpayā[tav]ya[m=ī]-
- 38 t dhyām(yam) kṛtvā ||  Śrī-Kailāsa-nivāsina. Paśupatēh śishyēna
Durvāsasā mēdinyām=avatāritē=tivimalah Śaiv-ānvayē dēśikah | Lakṣhādhyā-
[na]-
- 39 padēna viśva-viditō jajñē jagad-vamditas=tat-santāna-sarōja-bhānur=abhavat śrī¹
Tryambakēśō guruh || [23*] Tasmāt prasanna-Śiva-bōdhaka-chakravartī
ksh[mā-chakra]-
- 40 vartti-mukut-ārchchita-pāda-padmaḥ | Śaiv-āgam-āmbunidhi-śita-karō babhūva
Bhūśamkarah prasamit-ānata-janma-bhūtiḥ || [24*] Nikhila-nigama-vidyā-
vārddhis=tasya śi[sh]y[ō Vi]-
- 41 malaśiva-muni(ni)mdrō varttatē Sāmavēdī | nripati-mukuta-chūdā-chumbit-āmgṛis-
tapōdhi[r*]=Dravida-vishaya-janmā namra-janm-āpakāri || [25*] Vādi-vāgmi-
kavi-danti-kēsari Śaiva-[śāsa]-
- 42 na-payōdhi-chamdrāmāḥ | kirtti-kāmdahita-viśva-din-mukhō mōdatē Vimalaśambhu-
dēśikah || [26*] Sahridaya-hṛdaya-sarōjam praviśya pulakāmi janayati
tad-amgē | Vimala[śiva]-
- 43 sūkti-lakṣmī(kṣmī)h sāhitya-kalā-vilāsa-nīja-bhūṣhā || [27*]  Svasti
yama-niyam-āsana-prān-āyāma - pratyāhāra - dhāraṇā - dhyāna - sam(sa)mādhī-sampamna-
parama-bhaṭṭāra[ka]-
- 44 Śaiv-āchāryya-nikhila-nigama - vidyā - mahārnnava - karṇna(rṇṇa)dhāra - vādi - vāgmi - kavi-
chakravartī Mālavēmdra-pramukha-chakravartī-chakravāla-kirīṭa-kōṭi-kṛidā-
durllahita-pād-ā[mbhō]-
- 45 ruhah prabala-tapah-praka[r*]sha-prasamita-pranata-durita-nivaha-mahā-dēśika-Vimāla-
śiva-muni(ni)mdrah sakala-bhūtalē tapō-vidyā-vibhavaṇ=nnirupama itī nischitya
- 46 tasmai śri(śri)-Vimalaśivāya damdanāthas=Chāmumdah krama-yugayōr=nnipatyā
bhaktyā | sthānam tat=paramam=adād=vitīrnnā-dhārō nirbādha[m] sakala-
nīpāś=cha vamdaniyam || [28*] Śr[ī]
- 47  Svasti śri(śri)-Śaka-varsha 1167 neya Viśvāvasu-samvatsarada Pushya-
ba 8 85 | uttarāyana-samkramaṇa-punya-dīnadalu Ā-

- 48 di-settiya tamdey=appa śrīman-mahāpradhānam Malli-settiyarum mumnam śrīmad-
anādiya Banamju-vattanam Kurumbettadalu śrīman-mahāprabh[u]
- 49 mūlga Holli-gavumda-mukhyav=āgi mūla-sthān-āchāryya samasta-śāsanigara mumda=
ittu-komdu mādida brahma-puriya hamneradu vṛitti(tti)ya [brā]-
- 50 hmauargge dhārā-pūrbhakam=āgi kotta vāmana-mudreya nālkum kall=olagana
nivēśanad=olage tamma hamneradu maneyim mūdalu *
- 51 kkam batteg=emdu rāji-hastada yik-kai-vareyam kaladu vūlida nivēśanavam ā
br[ā*]hmaṇar[u] ā Mallēśvara-Dēvēśvara-Mādhava-dēvargge kottaru | mattam=
ā dēvar=ā[chāry]ya-
- 52 ra mathakke ā śāsanigarū ā brahma-puriya [dēvālyada] paulya ni(ni)lada |
25 hastad=agalada | nivēśanavam pauly-vidida temka deseya[lu² ko]-
- 53 tṭaru | mattam=ā brahma-puriya paduvalu dāriyam temkal[u] ā śāsanigarū ā
dēvaiggey=amgaḍige limga-mudreya kalla nadisi kottar | mattam=ā dēvaigge
Ā-
- 54 di-settiyar ā Kurumbettada pravishṭa vādam Sabbettavam ā dēvar=aniga-
bhōga-ranga-bhōgakke sarbba-bādhā-parihāram=āgi kottar | mattam=ā
dēvargge ā śāsanigar[u] * * *
- 55 mūdalu Bāgavādiya batteyam paduval[u] kotta tōta l ā mathakke tōta l
banabege kotta nivēśana l mattam=śāsanigar[u] dēvaige kotta ga * *
- 56  Svasti samasta-bhuvana-vikhyāta-pamcha-śata-vira śāsana-labdh-ānēka-guṇa-
gaṇ-ālamkṛita satya-śauch-āchāra-chāru-charitra-naya-vinaya-vijñāna Vir-āvatāna
Vira-Ba[nam]-
- 57 ju-ga(sa)maya-dharmma-pratipālana-viśuddha gudda-dhvaja-virājita-ānūna-sāha-
ōttumgarum punya-prasamgarum | Aghapatti-gur-ūtpatti-Baladē[va-Vā]-
- 58 sudēva-Khandali-Mūlabhadra-vamś-ōdha(dh)avarum | Ahicchhā[ttra*]-puri-
lalanā-lalāta-talakarum | Hari-Viṛmchi-Pamchānana-Jinēmdra-pūjā-niratarum śrī(śrī)-
Padmā[vati]-
- 59 dēvi(vi)-labdha-vara-prasādarum Vira-Nārāyana-dēva-charana-smarana-parinat-
āmtahkaranarum=appa śrīmad-Ayyāvaleyy=aynūbbar=svāmigalu [mu]-
khyā-samasta-mummuri-damdamgalum ēlu-vare hamnomdu-vareya ubhaya-nānā-
dēsagalum chatuh-samudra-mudritam=appa bhū-mamdalaḍa sakala-[sā]-
myavamtaram samaya-chakravartti Kalidēva-settiyarum Kūmdī mūrum-sāsirada
Kurumbetta-kampanada modala anādiya Banamju-vattanam Kurumbettaia
y * *
- 62 vajra-baisanigi(ge)y=āgi kulliddu tamma samay-āchārada tējamaṇ=uddharisuva
rāya-śrēṣṭhiy=appa Chāmumdarāja mādida Trikūṭa-[prāsāda]-
- 63 kke ā sthalada mūrum balada gāvumḍugalam sāmyavamtarumam muthd=
ittu-komdu ēlu-vare ha[m*]nomdu-vareya valage jala-mārgga-pāla-
mā[r]gga[da]-
- 64 l[u] āne mānikava hērid-adam sumkav=ill=emdu kotta parihārad=ettu kōna
mūvattu yippattu [i*] Kākatya¹bādādali śrī-Mallēśva(śva)ra-dēvara
ni(ni)v[ē]dyak[ē] kotta gadde pamne[ra]-

¹ This word is added in smaller script over the word bādādali.

- 65 du mattaru [*] Kurumbettada mūlīga Holli-gaṇḍa śrī-Mallēśva(śva)ra-dēvara
namdā-divi(vi)gege tamna māmnyad-olage koṭṭa harala keya kambha 100
banaba 1 *
- 66 Nāgarasaru Kapila-Bhava(?)dēvarige bi(bhi)ksheyake nūleyah koṭṭa kambha
200 [||*]

TRANSLATION

(Line 1) Ōm ! homage to Śiva !

(Verse 1) Homage to Śambhu beauteous with the yak-tail fan that is the moon kissing his lofty head, the foundation-column for the construction of the city of the triple world !

(V 2) Victorious is that Hari whose majesty is praised by the saints and who took in sport the form of a boar, on whose tusk-tip dwells the constant mass of his peculiar radiance (and) with the design of dissipating the guilt arising from the touch of Hiranyāksha affords as it were an assured bath in the flood of the celestial Ganges

(V 3.) Victorious is the union of the Mountain's Daughter and Śankara enamoured in eternal love, which has the lustre of a lovely moon endowed with splendour for as long as the æon endures, the primal Pair in the birth of the universe who dissipate the sorrows of folk bowing at their blest lotus-feet, (and) who are the theme of holy speech

(V 4) There is a splendid ocean, like a moat without to the massive mountain on its shores which has a form shaped like a rampart for the city of the earth, which of all worlds is the noblest, in the midst of the latter shines Mēru, beauteous in its likeness to a peerless palace of gods, a continent like (in shape) to an ancient jambū-tree occupies the region to the south thereof

(V. 5) In the midst of this Jambū-dvīpa is conspicuous the Land of Bharata, a vessel of joy In it lies the region of Kuntala, weighty with homes-pleasant with fortunes of glory arising for its folk In it is supreme the province of Kūṇḍa, which is a unique storehouse of incalculable merit (earned) by its people rejoicing in brightly smiling Fortune, and which fills the regions of space with its wealth, an ornament of the world

(V 6) In that province shines a city, a veritable haunt of popular fortune, a seat of splendour in its wealth of many full tanks, wells, and lakes, which everywhere has its lands charming with flowers, buds, and fruit-trees, (and) which bears the name of . giri, the first of thirty towns, a dwelling of happy men

(V 7) This town here is known in vernacular speech by the name of Kurumbetta, in it is confounded with the finials of the celestials' dwellings

(L. 11) The Royal pedigree —

(V 8) The mighty race of the Yadus, which has been peculiarly happy among princely families, is pleasing because of the birth of Krishna (from it) In it was born a king who was a singular seat of knightly duty, a Rāma in winning his way through battles, the Emperor Bhīllama

(V 9) He had a son perfect in courtesy, the blest king Jaitugi, who held in due control the [circle] of the earth having as girdle-ornament the four oceans His son Simhana occupied the great throne worshipped by companies of kings, which was the fruit of the adoration paid (by him) to Śārngapāni's lotus-feet

(L 13) Moreover —

(V. 10) A moon to the lotus Bhōja, an axe to the forest Arjuna, a furious storm-blast to the feeble crowd of the Gūrjara a thunderbolt on the mountain Magadha, a Rāma to that Paulastya the Chōla, a Śiva to the poison the Gauda, a bestower of new widowhood to the dames of the Lord of Horses, a river's raging flood in dashing upon the massive bank Ballāla (was he)

(V. 11) His son Jaitugi, who had the earth reposing under the shade of his white parasol, set his majesty¹ in the heart of foemen

(V. 12) His son, who carries the fortune (*śrī*) of an Emperor (*chakravartin*) as Vasu-
dēva's son [Kṛishna] carries the Fortune (*Śrī*) of the Discus-bearer (*Chakravartin*), adorning
like Kṛishna the perfectly stainless race of the Yadus, protecting the earth wherom he has with
sportive ease torn up by the roots the banded armies that were as thorns to his kingdom, intent
on restoration of the Vēdas, is famed under the name of Kanhara in the world

(L. 17) Moreover —

(V. 13) At the side of the mountains of sacramental rice² (*thrown upon him*) by the
hands of Brāhmanas busied in benediction gush forth new rivers arising from the water of the
streams of *dāna* [largesses or ichor of elephants in rut]

(V. 14) His younger brother, the Heir-Apparent Mahādēva, was to him as Lakshmana
to Rāma, as Arjuna to Yudhishṭhira

(Ll 18-20) Hail³ King Kanhara, the Emperor strong of arm and magnificent in
majesty, who is resplendent with titles such as — "Great Emperor, darling of Fortune and Earth,
supreme Lord, master of Dvārāvātī best of towns, scion of the lineage of Viṣṇu, a sun for the
efflorescence of the buds of the lotuses of the Yādava race, a *jagajjhampa* to hostile kings, a
Siva to the Love-God the Mālava king, a goad to the elephant the Gūrjara, a master architect
of the Tailānga king, a Nārāyana of kings, perfectly versed in all arts," is reigning for
as long as moon, sun, and stars at the standing camp of Dēvagiri in enjoyment of pleasant
conversations⁴

(L. 20) One [that finds sustenance] at his lotus-feet —

(V. 15) The blest Bīcha, Chikka-dēva's son, was fortunate, energetic, and prudent,
agreeable, famous, having a mind exalted by the triad of peerless powers⁵ for maintaining five-
membered policy,⁶ approved of speech, a furious great elephant for destroying the hosts of rival
kings, skilful in aggrandising the prosperous kingdom of , a Hanumān in (*fulfilling*)
commissions

(V. 16) Having made subject to king Kanhara the whole untroubled land from Sētu
to the Mountain of Snow, he obtained and enjoyed an acceptable half of the kingdom [His]
eldest [son], much honoured for all kinds of virtue, was Malla, a moon on earth, who filled
the circle of the world⁶ with splendour acquired from the moonlight of his blossoming glory

(V. 17) Terrible in destruction of the Pāṇḍya a rod for the troubles of the
Konkan, a cruel arrow for cutting off the numerous heads of the lords of the fastnesses
on the banks of the Kāvērī, eminent among generals, a casket of learning attracting the
minds of all men, his son Chāmunda is [successful?], fulfilling the objects desired by
the world, impassioned for bestowing bounty

(L. 25) Moreover —

(V. 18) Again and again imposing control upon the provinces of many hostile kings'
lands, again and again invading all countries that are the native places of elephants, horses, and
precious stones, again and again taking desired again and again gladdening king
Kanhara's fortunes, this Chāmunda-rāja has long enjoyed a happy lot

¹ Literally, "heat", the figure hence is that of *śṛṅghāṇā*, or "peculiar causation"

² *Śēṣh ākshata*, in Kanarese *śēshe* or *sēse*, "raw rice over which incantations have been pronounced and which
is thrown on the heads of the bride and bridegroom during the marriage ceremony and other joyous rites" (Kittel,
Dict., s v *śēshe*)

³ *Vinōdam* is to be taken as gerund see Speijer, *Ved u Skt Syntax*, § 224, Pāṇini III iv 25 ff

⁴ Viz of *prabhu*, *utsāha*, and *mantra*

⁵ On the five members (*angas*) of policy cf Kāmandaka's *Nīti sāra*, XII 36, *Śisupāla vadha*, II 28, with
Mallanātha's note, etc

⁶ A play on *kurajaya*, which means both "lotus" and "circle of earth"

(V. 19) Fortunate is this General Chāmunda, whose preceptor is the great sage Vāgīśvara [purified of mind?] by the lore of Śiva's traditions, and of whose family the tutelary deity is the blest Sōmanātha,

(V. 20) Who has for consort Lakkhā-dēvī, adorned by the virtues of shapeliness, beauty, happy fortune, and loveliness, as Vishnu has for consort Lakshmi

(V. 21) This same Chāmunda-rāja, a celestial tree for the desires of worthy men's minds, performing adoration of Śiva's pair of lotus-feet according to the order of perfect eightfold devotion,¹ having created many pious foundations . . . being endowed with fame, godliness, and fortune, establishes in town after town numerous temples to the gods

(V. 22) Like Daśaratha's son Rāma, forsooth, the skilful General Chāmunda causes phallic images to be consecrated by most worthy sages everywhere in the circuit of earth, in holy places, on the banks of various rivers, . . . in towns on the peaks of bright cloud-grazing mountain-tops, which are as it were sprouts of the creeping plant of his lofty fame

(Ll. 30-38) Hail! the high minister and controller of all [departments], the General Chāmunda, gladdening the hearts of the people of the world by abounding fortune in all . . . , merciful to hostile kings seeking his protection, suppressing the arrogance of the haughty Hoysala emperor Sōmēśvara, a furious elephant to the *self* . . . , a sun in the exceeding degree of his irresistible splendour, a Hanumān in (fulfilling) commissions, a Four-faced [Brahman] in the four measures of policy,² a lion³ in five-membered counsel,⁴ a Six-faced [Kārttikēya] in possession of the six qualities,⁵ whose lotus-hands are purified by adoration of the god Sōmanātha's feet, a tree of desire to all good folk, a Love god ravishing the mind of Lakkhā-dēvī, [Arjuna] in valour, having caused to be consecrated in a temple white as his own fame a phallic image of sapphire (blue) as the sky, and having caused to be set up in the Three-turreted Temple in this immemorial town of Kurumbetta two phallic images of Śiva and an effigy of Mādhava in the name of his father Mallinātha and in the name of his brother Dēva-śrēsthin during the Śaka year passing the number one thousand one hundred and seventy-two, the cyclic year Sādhārana being current, during the dark fortnight of the month Vaisākha, on the fifth (lunar day), a Saturday, and having made an agreeable residence in the town of Huligere, pursuing religion, worldly ends, and earthly love, each in its due season, formed the idea that this holy establishment should be handed over into the charge of an ascetic supreme in the world

(V. 23) In the Śaiva lineage brought down to earth by Durvāsas, disciple of Paśupati who dwells in the blest Kailāsa, there was born a perfectly pure teacher known throughout the universe by the name of Lakshādhyaṇa (and) adored by the world A sun to the lotuses of his succession was that preceptor the blest Tryambakēśa

(V. 24) After him there was Bhūṣankara, an emperor among expositors of (the doctrine of) the gracious Śiva, one whose lotus-feet were adored by the diadems of emperors of earth, a moon to the ocean of Śaiva traditions, who stilled his suppliants' dread of rebirth

(V. 25) His disciple is the great sage Vimalaśiva, an ocean of all scriptural lore, a student of the Sāma-vēda, an ascetic whose feet are kissed by crests of monarchs' diadems, born in the Dravidian region, freeing suppliants from rebirth,

¹ The eight forms of worship are *archana*, *vaṇḍana*, *smarana*, *pāda sēvana*, *śṭava*, *pradaśhina*, *saṅghya*, and *ātma-nivēdana* or *ātmārpana* see Kittel's *Dict.*, s v *aṣṭavidha-bhakti kriya*

² Viz. the fomenting of discord among rivals, bribery, negotiations, and open warfare.

³ Literally, "a five faced being" It may also mean Śiva

⁴ See above

⁵ These are the six branches of military science, viz *sandhi*, *vigraha*, *yāna*, *āsana*, *dvaiddhāḍāva*, and *saṃgrāya*

(V. 26) A lion to the elephants disputants, orators, and poets, a moon to the ocean of Śaiva doctrine, making the face of all the regions of space to bud with his glory, the doctor Vimalasambhu rejoices

(V. 27.) The beauty of Vimalasīva's goodly utterances, naturally adorned by the graces of literary art, enters the lotus of the hearts of men of taste and generates horripilation on their bodies

(Ll. 43-45) Hail! "the supreme master accomplished in major and minor disciplines, sitting-postures, exercises of the breath, retraction (of the senses), meditation, and absorption,—the pilot over the ocean of the lore of all scriptures of Śaiva teachers,—the emperor of disputants, orators, and poets,—he whose lotus-feet are exceedingly gay with the sport of the tips of the coronets of a crowd of emperors headed by the Malava king,—the great doctor who by the high degree of his most potent austerities annuls the multitude of suppliants' sins,—the noble sage Vimalasīva is without peer on the whole earth in the magnificence of his austerities and learning" —being thus convinced —

(V. 28) Falling devoutly at his feet, the General Chēmunda gave to this blest Vimalasīva with bestowal of water this most excellent establishment, which should be free of exactions and honoured by all kings

(Ll. 47-51) Hail! on the holy day of the *uttarāyana-samlamana*, being Monday, the 8th (lunar day) of the dark fortnight of Pushya in the cyclic year Viśvāvasu, the 1167th (year) of the Śaka era, whereas Ādi-Sottī's father the high minister Malli-Sottī had formerly in the immemorial Banasīju town of Kurumbotṭa granted with pouring of water to the Brāhmanas of the twelve siefs of the Brāhman quarter, which he had founded in the presence of the Prior of the Mūla-sthāna and all the Controllers of Records headed by the high sheriff and *mālika*¹ Holli-Gāvaṇḍa twelve dwellings for themselves among the dwellings situate within the four stones inscribed with the figure of the Dwarf, these Brāhmanas granted to the gods Mallīśvara, Dēvīśvara, and Madhava² all the dwellings, save and excepting a strip of two cubits by the king's measure to serve for a road . . . on the east of their twelve houses

(Ll. 51-53) Also the controllers of records granted to the monastery of the Prior of these gods a dwelling of the same length as the wall of the temple of the Brāhmanas' quarter and 25 cubits in breadth, excluding the wall, on the southern side,

(L. 53) Also the controllers of records set up and granted to these gods for the bazaar a stone inscribed with the figure of a phallus on the west of the Brāhmanas' quarter, to the south of the road

(Ll. 53-54) Also Ādi-Sottī granted to these gods Sabbotṭa, a village forming part of Kurumbotṭa, for the personal enjoyment and theatrical entertainment of these gods, with immunity from all imposts,

(Ll. 54-55) Also the controllers of records granted to these gods 1 garden east of . . . and west of the road of Bāgavādī, 1 garden to the monastery, 1 dwelling for the *banabo*³ Also the controllers of records granted to these gods

(Ll. 56-66) Hail! they who are adorned by a series of many virtues obtained by the decrees of the Five-hundred men renowned over the whole earth, possessing truthfulness, pure conduct, agreeable behaviour, policy, courtesy, and intelligence, pure in maintenance of the Vira-Banasīja religion, splendid with the banner (bearing the doctors) of a hill, exalted in abundant boldness, holding holy conversation, scions of the races of Baladōva, Vāsudōva,

¹ On this word see the *Miraṅ* inser, below, p. 40, f. n. 1.

² These are the gods mentioned above on l. 30. Mallīśvara is the Śiva consecrated in the name of Mallinātha, Dēvīśvara the Śiva set up in the name of Dēva-śeṭṭi.

³ This word usually means a 'stack'.

Khandali, and Mālabhadra· originating from the Master of Aghapatti, ornaments on the brow of that lady the city of Abiechhattra, constant in the worship of Hari, Brahman, Śiva, and the great Jinās, having grace of boons from the blest goddess Padmāvatī, having souls matured by remembrance of the feet of the god Vira-Nārāyaṇa, to wit, the Five-hundred Svāmīs of the blest Ayyāvale, and all the chief bearers of *mummuri*-staves, and the dwellers in various lands on both sides (?) from the seven regions and the eleven regions, and all the liberty-holders of the land encompassed by the four oceans, and Kalidēva-Setti the emperor of the community, being seated in the *vajra-baisanige*¹ in _____ of the immemorial Banāñju-town of Kuṛumbetta, the first (town) of the county of Kuṛumbetta in the Kūṇḍi Three-thousand, headed by the *Giunḍus* and liberty-holders of the three sections² of that place, granted for the benefit of the Three-turreted Temple constructed by the royal merchant Chāmundaśrāja, who restored the glory of their community's practices, an immunity for bullocks and buffaloes thirty and twenty declaring that there should be no tolls on loads of ivory (?) and rubies in journeys by water and journeys on foot within the seven regions and the eleven regions, they granted for the offerings to the god Mallēśvara in the town of Kakatī a wet-field of twelve *mattar* The *mūḷiga* Holli-Gauda of Kuṛumbetta granted for the perpetual lamp of the god Mallēśvara 100 *kambha* and 1 _____ *banaba*³ of gravelly land (?) within his honorary estate Nāgarasa granted 200 *kambha* for alms to the god Kapila-Bhava (?) at the (*Festival of the*) Thread⁴

No 4—TWO INSCRIPTIONS FROM KOLHAPUR AND MIRAJ SAKA 1058 & 1066.

By LIONEL D. BARNETT

I have thought it best to publish the two following records together on account of the close connection of the subject-matter. Both were issued within a few years of one another under rulers of the same dynasty, the Śilāhāras of Karhād, namely Gandarāditya and his son Vijayāditya, and both record donations by that remarkable corporation of traders known as the Vira-Banāñjas or Vira-Valañjiyar, to whose records I have referred in my note on the Hulgūr inscription of the reigns of Jayasimha II and Kanhara (above, Vol XVI, p 332) In our first inscription we find them blowing their own trumpets with the note of fantastic and ludicrous exaggeration which they occasionally affected, and in the second we have a full list of the names of the various classes constituting the syndicate I have edited them from ink-impressions which formerly belonged to the late Dr Fleet, and are now in the British Museum

A—KOLHAPUR INSCRIPTION OF SAKA 1058

This record comes from the well-known town of Kolhāpur (anciently and more correctly spelt Kollāpura⁵), which is situate in the Kolhāpur State, in lat 16° 42' and long 74° 16'. It has been noticed in Major Graham's *Account of Kolhapoor*, p 357, in *Journ Bom Br As Soc*,

¹ Rao Bahadur R Narasimhachar has kindly pointed out to me that this term occurs thrice in *Ep Carn*, viz XI, Dāvangere 19, l 79 (*Harīharadalu vajra bayisanigey=āgi kuḷḷirdu*), V, Bēlūr 75, ll. 67, 68 (*Śrī-Vīrūpākṣha-dēvara dēya trī pādī-padmaḍa sannidhiyali vajra vasisanigeyan=ikkī kuḷḷirdu*), and IV, Kṛishnarājapēte 5, ll 3-5 (*hebbāqila ālada maradale simhāsana-vajra bayisanigeyan=ikkī kuḷḷirdu*), and is inclined to think that it is merely a synonym of *vajrāsana*, the posture defined in Yogic works thus *janghābhyām vajratat kritvā guda-pāśācē padāt=udhaya*. He would connect *baisanige* with Marathi *bais*° (Sanskrit *upaviś*°), "to sit"

² See above, Vol XIII, p 59

³ This word, denoting a measure of area, seems to be otherwise unknown, the common word *banate*, "stack," is inapplicable here

⁴ See Kittel, s v *nūlu*, and *Ind Ant*, Vol XXXVIII, p 52

⁵ On the spelling of this name see *Ind. Ant.*, XXIX, p 280, etc.

Vol II, p 266, and in Kielhorn's *List of Southern Inscriptions* above, Vol VII, App, No 319 and a transcript is given in *Elliot's Collection* (Vol II, fol 313a, of the Royal Asiatic Society's copy) The stone was found on the right side of the front of the Jain temple of Pārśvanātha near the Sukravāra gate of the town. It has a pediment rounded on the top, and containing some sculptures, viz in the middle, a Jina sitting cross-legged, with hands folded in his lap, full front, inside a shrine, a little to the proper right of this, another squatting figure, full front, with uplifted hands, still further to the right, a pitcher, on the left of the central Jina, a cow and calf, above these, the sun (on left) and moon (on right) Underneath this is the inscribed area, about 3 ft 1 in broad and 2 ft 2½ in high —The character is good Kanarese of the period, with letters varying in height from $\frac{5}{16}$ in to $\frac{1}{2}$ in. The cursive *y* occurs in *ayvattu* (l 26), and the palatal *ñ* in *pañcha-* (ll 1, 5, 33) —The language, except for the introductory Sanskrit verse, is throughout Kanarese prose, more or less in the ancient dialect in the formal titles and for the rest nearer to the medieval language The old *ḷ* is not found, instead we have *alid-*, l 33 Initial *p* in pure Kanarese and *tadbhava* words has become *h*, but still we find *palam pattu* on l 28 Lexically the record is valuable, as it contains many rare words of daily life, such as the titles of various classes of traders and other words, e.g. *mudgoḍe*, l 10, *śāsaniga* and *kāṇagāra*, l. 22, *hasara* as a measure of capacity, ll 26, 29 f, 32, *samgaḍi*, l 27, *maḷave*, ll 27, 28, *karuse*, l. 28, *bisige*, *ibid*, *lamka*, *ibid*, *maravi*, *ibid.*, *dandige*, ll 31, 32, and *hāḷe*, l 32 The word *dāyāda* in the sense of rival (l 7) is also noteworthy

The record begins with the stanza usual in grants to Jain temples (l 1), and then refers itself to the reign of the Śilāhāra Mahāmaṇḍuḷēśvara Gandarāditya (ll 1-5), to whom it gives the usual titles, including those of "Lord of Tagara best of cities," "scion of the lineage of Jīmūtavāhana," and "possessing the golden Garuda-banner"¹ Then it introduces in ll 5-10 one of his barons, the Mahāsāmanta Nimbādēvarasa, who among his many other titles is described as "an awful rutting elephant to the beds of the lotuses the barons of Tondai,"—in other words, successful in some military operations against the Tondai-mandalam—and who built in the market-place of Kavadeḡolla a Jain temple Next appears on the scene the important corporation of the Vira-Banañjas, with an enormous series of inflated self-bestowed titles of honour, and through specified representatives makes over to Śrutakirtti, prior of the Rūpa-nārāyaṇa temple at Kollāpura, certain revenues for the benefit of the temple at Kavadeḡolla (ll 10-32) A short formula (ll 32-33) winds up the document

The date is specified on l 24 as Śaka 1058, Rākshasa, Kārttika ba 5, Monday This is slightly inexact The *tithi* ba 5 was coupled with Tuesday, 29 October, A D 1135, but as it ended 1 h 34 m after mean sunrise (for Ujjain) on the Tuesday, and began 1 h 21 m after mean sunrise on the preceding Monday, it was current for the greater part of Monday, though strictly it could give its name only to the Tuesday²

The places mentioned are Tagara, l 2, the *nele viḍu* or standing camp of Valavāda, l 4, Kavadeḡolla, ll 10, 23, Ayyavole, also styled Ahichchhatra, ll 18, 23, Kollāpura, ll 20, 25, Miriñje, l 20, Kūṇḍi-pattana, the town of Kūṇḍi, l 21, Torambage, l 22, Mayisige, l 22, Balevavaṭṭana, l 23, and the *tīrthas*, l 33 Tagara, as Dr Fleet has shown, is the modern Tēr, or "Thair" (see *Journ Roy As Soc*, 1901, p 537, and above, Vol XII, p 253) Valavāda is not to be identified with certainty (see *Dyn Kanar Distr*, p 548, and *Ep Ind*, Vol III, p 209). Ayyavole is now Aihole or Arvali, in the Hungund tāluḷa of Bijāpur District On Kollāpura, now Kolhāpur, see the preceding page Miriñje is Miraj

¹ On the two last titles see Dr Fleet's remarks in *Dyn Kanar Distr*, pp 536, 538, 544-46, and above, Vol. XII, pp 251-59 On Gandarāditya see *Dyn Kanar Distr*, pp 547-48

² Mr. B Sewell, who with his wonted kindness checked and supplemented my calculations of the dates in this paper, told me that the same result was reached by using the *Siddhānta śirōmamā*.

("Meernj" on the Indian Atlas sheet 40) in lat 16° 48' and long 74° 12'. On the town of Kūṇḍi see *Ind Ant*, Vol XXIX, p 280 and on the Kūṇḍi province *ibid*, Vols XIV, p 16, XVI, p 20, XIX, p 244, and XXIX p 278 Torambage may possibly be Turambe, in the Kolhāpur State, near Gārgōṭi Baleyavaṭṭana seems to be Bahapattam or Valapattam, situate in the Chirakkal tāluka of Malabar District, in lat 11° 55' and long 75° 22' This town is mentioned in Ptolemy's Geography, VII. 1 § 6, as Βαλαίπατνα (in some editions wrongly spelt Βαλτίπατνα), and is the Παλαίπατμα of the *Periplus* (cf McCrindle, *Ancient India as described by Ptolemy*, p 45, and *Commerce and Navigation of the Erythrean Sea*, pp 127, 129, Lassen, *Alterthumer*, III, pp 181, 183), and probably Kern is right in identifying Balaipatna with the *Baladēva-pattana* of the *Bṛihat-saṃhitā*, xiv 16



TEXT.¹[Metre v. 1, *Anushtubh*]

- 1 © Śrīmat-parama-gambhīra-syād-vād-āmōgha-lāmcchhanam jiyāt-trailōkya-nēthasya
śāsanam Jina-śāsanam || [1*] Svasti samadhiyata-pañcha-mahā-śabda-
mahāma-
- 2 ndalēśvaram | Tagara-puravar-ādhiśvaram śrī-Śīlāhāra-narēmdram | Jimūtavāhan-
ānvaya-prasūtam | suvarṇa-Garuda-dhvajam mare-vokla²-sarppam | ayyana
- 3 sūngam | rīpu-mandalika-bhauravam | vidviṣhta-gaja-kaṇṭhīravam | iduvar-
ādityam | rūpa-Nārāyanam | Kal-yuga-Vikramādityam | Śaṇvāra-siddhi
giri-ḍu-
- 4 rgga-lamghanam | śrī-Mahēlakshmi-dēvi-labdha-vara-prasād-ādi-samasta-rāj-āvali
virāṇtar=appa śrīman-mahāmaṇḍalēśvaram Gandarādityadēvaru Valavādada ne-
- 5 le-vidinal=sukha-samkathā-vinōdadim rājyam-geyyuttam=ire | tat-pāda-padma-ōpajivi
samadhiyata-pañcha-mahā-śabda-mahāśāntam | vijaya-la-
- 6 kshmi-kāntam | rīpu-sāmanta-simantini-simanta-bhaṅgam | vira-vārāṅganā-priya-
bhujāṅgam | vairi-sāmanta-mēgha-vighatana-samīranam | Nāgaladēviya gandha-
vā-
- 7 ranam vidviṣhta-sāmanta-vilaya-kālam | sāmanta-ganda-Gōpālam | dāyāda-sāmanta-
Tār-āsura-vira-Kumāram | sāmanta-Kēdāram | Tonda-sāmanta-pundarika-
- 8 śhaṇḍa-prachanda-mada-vēdandam | Gandarādityadēva-dakṣha-dakṣiṇa-bhujā-dandam |
yāchaka-jana-manō-bhūlāshita-chintāmani | sāmanta-śrōmani | Jina-charana-
sarasīru-
- 9 ha-madhukaram samyaktva-ratnākaran=āhār-ābhaya-bhaishajya-śāstra-dāna-vinōdam
Padmāvati-dēvi-labdha-vara-prasādām | nām-ādi(di)-samasta-prasasti-saḥitam
śrīman-mahā-
- 10 sāmāntam | Nimbādēvarasaru | Kavadeḡollada bahya santēya mudḡodeyal-
mādisida basadiya Pārśvanātha-dēvar-ashtavīdh-ārchchanakkam=ā basadiya jirṇ-
ōddhārakka-
- 11 m=all=ippa rī(rī)shīyar=āhāra-dānakkam | Svasti [1*] Samasta-bhuvana-vikhyāta-
pañcha-śata-vira-śāsana-labdh-ānēka-guṇa-gaṇ-ālamkrita satya-śaucha-āchāra-chāru-
chāritra-nāya-vinaya-
- 12 vijñāna Vira-Balamja-dharmma-pratipālana-viśuddha gudda-dhvaja-virājamān-ānūna-
śāhas-ōttumga kīrtty-amga-ālimgita mja-bhuj-ōpārjita-vijaya-lakshmi-nivāsa-
lakṣha[s*]-sthalarum

¹ From the ink impression² Read *maṇu-vakka* or *maṇu-vamka*, as in other versions of this series of titles.

- 13 bhuvana-parākram-ōnnata Vāsudēva-Khandali-Mūlabhadra-ramāśōdbhavarum | Bhagavati-labdha-vara-prasādarum | tāvu kādi solādaum | maṇu-vakka-mārigalum | para-stri-para-
- 14 dhana-varjitarum chatush-shashti-kalegalol pravinar=appudaṇim | Brahman=annarum | chakram=ulludaṇim Nārāyaṇan=annarum | dṛiṣṭiyol=nōdi kolvudaṇim | Kālāgni-rudran=annarum | ko-
- 15 ndaran=aṇasi kolvudaṇim | Paraśurāman=annarum | tulidu kolvo(lvu)daṇim mad-āndha-gandha-sindhurad=annarum | giri-durggamam maṇe-vokkaram tegedu kolv=edeyol simhad=annarum
- 16 Pātālamam pokkaram kolv=edeyol Vāsugiy=annarum | ākāśadol=irddaram kolv=edeyol=Garutman=annarum | pempinal prithviy=annarum | binpinal kula-gi-
- 17 ny=annarum | gunpinal=mahē-samudrad=annarum | udyōgadal Rāman=annarum | parākramadol Pārthan=annarum | ſauchadol Gāmgēyan=annarum | sāhasadol=Bhīman=anna-
- 18 rum | dharmmadal Dharmma-putran=annarum | jūānadol=Sahadēvan=annarum | bhōgadal=Imdran=annarum | tyāgadal=Karṇan=annarum | tējadal=Ādityan=annarum | Ahichchhatram=enisuv=Ayyavole-pura-pa-
- 19 ramēśvararum=app=aynūrvvar=svāmīgalum gavaṇeyarum | gātriyarum | settiya-rum | setti-guttarum | gāmandarum | gāmandā=svāmīgalum | bira-
- 20 rum | bi(bi)ra-vanigarum | Kollāpurada Bilpāna¹-settiyūm | Gōvinda-settiyūm | Komara Annamayyanum | Mūrimjeya Bijja-settiyūm | Boppi-se-
- 21 ttiyūm | Gandarādityadēvara rāja-śrēsthī Vesapayya-settiyarum | ā mandalē-śvarana biḍina Bammī-settiyūm | Kūmdī-pattanad=Āditya-griha-
- 22 da sāsanigam heggade Bāva-settiyūm | Chaudhore Boppi-settiyūm | Toram-bageya prabhu Kannapayya-settiyūm | Mayisigeya kājagāṇam Chaudho-
- 23 re Goravi-settiyūm | Baleyavattāṇada(da) Śānti-settiyūm | Ayyavoley=aynūrvvara-sungam Hāliya-settiyūm | Kavadeḡollada prabhu Khapparayyan=ā-
- 24 dhi(di)y=āgi samasta-dēśam neredu | Śaka-varshada sāśirad=ayvatt-ēmteneya Rākshasa-samvatsarada Kārttika bahula pañchamī Sōmavāradandu śrī-Mūla-samgha-
- 25 Dēsi(śi)ya-gana-Pustaka-gachchhāda Kollāpurada śrī-Rūpa-nārāyaṇa-basadiy=āchāryyar=appa śrī-Śrutakirtti-traividya-dēvara kālam karchchi | dhārā-pū-
- 26 rrvakam=āgi kott=āyam=ent=endode adake hērimge ayvattu | javalakk=irppattu hasarak=aydu | ele hērimge nūru | tale-voreg=ayvattu | hasarak=irppa-
- 27 tt-aydu | tuppam=enney=emb=ivu kodakke sollage siddigeg=ara-vānam samgadig=or-mmānām dūsiga-vasarakkam=akkasālegam homge hanam | hattu malaveg=a-
- 28 y-valam | bhandiya karuseya malaveg=eradu bisige | javalakke palam pattu | lamkar=okkalali āru timgalge manetivige maraviy=emb=iv=ond=akkum | varshakke mam-
- 29 chav=ond=akkum | allav=arisinam sunthi bell=ulli baje bhadramustey=emb=ivu modal-āgi tōgi māruva bhandamgalge hērimge=ay-valam javalakk=ip-palam hasa-
- 30 rak=op-palam jirage melasu sāsaviy=emb=ivu hērimge=om-mānam javalakk=arip-vanam hasarakke sollage | uppu modal=āgi hadi(di)nemtu dhānyam-
- 31 galgam bhamdige kolagav=omdu hērimge mānav=eradu tale-voreg=or-mmānam bādu kāy=emb=ivu bhamdige hattu tale-vorege nāl=akkum | bhandige dandige vomd[u]

¹ Probably meant for *Bilhana*

- 32 sevey=aydu hūtey=eradarkkam dandige vomdu(du) sevey=eradu hūvina hedaliḡeḡe
māle vundu kumbaḡarallī hasarakke maḡake vundu || Int=iy=ā-
33 yaman=ahd-ātānte¹ Bānarāśī-Kurukshētr-ādīgalō! pañcha-mahā-pātakamam māḡida
phalam=akum ||  

TRANSLATION.

(Verse 1) Victorious be the command of the Lord of the Three Worlds, enjoined by the Jinas, which bears the infallible token of the blessed and supremely profound doctrine of possible predications !

(Lines 1-5) Hail ! while the *Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara Gandarādityadēva*, who is resplendent with the whole royal series (of titles) such as "the *Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara* who has obtained the five great musical sounds, Lord of Tagara best of cities, monarch of the blest Śīlāhāras, scion of the lineage of Jīmūtāvāhana, bearing a banner with (the device of) a golden Garuda, a serpent to adversaries, a lion to his father, terrible to opponent barons, a lion to the elephants his foes, a sun of casters (of missiles), a Nārāyana in comeliness, a Vikramāditya of the Kali Age, successful (even) on Saturdays, passing through mountain-fastnesses, obtaining grace of boons from the blest goddess Mahālakṣmī," was reigning in the standing camp of Valavāda with enjoyment of pleasing conversations —

(Ll 5-11) for the eightfold worship² of the divine Pārśvanātha of the temple constructed in the *mudgoḡe* of the market-place in Kavadeḡolla by one who finds sustenance at his lotus-feet, the *Mahāśāmantā Nimbādēvarasa*, who has all the titles of honour such as "the *Mahāśāmantā* who has obtained the five great musical sounds, beloved of the goddess of victory, a breaker of the hair-parting of the dames of hostile barons, a gallant dear to the courtesans of warriors, a wind dissipating the clouds opponent barons, a furious elephant to Nāgaladēvī, a time of world-dissolution to enemy barons, a Gōpāla to the worthiest of barons, an heroic Kumāra to the demon Tāra's rival barons, Kēdāra to barons, an awful rutting elephant to the beds of the lotuses the barons of Tondai, rod for the skilful right hand of king Gandarāditya, a wishing-gem for the desires of the souls of suitors, a crest-gem of barons, a bee to the Jina's lotus-feet, a mine of the gems of godliness, delighting to bestow food, protection, medicine, and teaching, obtaining grace of boons from the goddess Padmāvati," and for the restoration of outworn (parts) of the said temple, and for the supply of food to the holy men dwelling there —

(Ll 11-24) hail ! they who are adorned by a series of many virtues obtained by the decrees of the Five-hundred men renowned over the whole earth, possessing truthfulness, pure conduct, agreeable behaviour, policy, courtesy, and intelligence, pure in maintenance of the Vira-Balañja religion, splendid with the banner (bearing the device) of a bull, exalted in abundant boldness, embraced by the lady Fame, having their breasts a home for the goddess of victory (won) by their own arms, lofty in prowess (extending) over the world, scions of the races of Vāsudēva, Khandali, and Mūlabhadra, obtaining grace of boons from the Lady, unconquered when they strive, destroyers of adversaries, abstaining from the wives and property of others, like Brahman in being skilled in the sixty-four arts, like Nārāyana in having a *chakra* [discus, or association], like Kālāgni-rudra in slaying with their gaze, like Paraśurāma in seeking out and slaying slayers, like a rut-blinded furious elephant in trampling down and slaying, like a lion when they seize and slay those who take shelter in mountain-fastnesses, like Vāsuki when they slay those who come to the underworld, like Garuda when they slay those who are in the sky, like the earth in greatness, like the central mountains in weightiness, like the ocean in profundity, like Rāma in energy, like Prithā's son [Arjuna] in

prowess, like Gangā's son [Bhishma] in purity, like Bhima in boldness, like Dharma's son [Yudhishtira] in righteousness, like Sahadēva in knowledge, like Indra in enjoyment, like Karṇa in bounty, like the sun in brilliance, they who are the supreme lords of Ayyavole city, which is known as Ahichchhatra, to wit, the Five-hundred Svāmīs, the *gavares*, the *gātriyas*, the *selfis*, the *selfi-guttas*, the *gāmanḍas*, the chief-*gāmanḍas*, the men of valour, and the merchants of valour, Bilhaṇa (?)-Setti and Gōvinda-Setti of Kollāpura, Komara Annamayya, Bijja-Setti and Boppi-Setti of Miriñje, Vesapayya-Setti the royal merchant of Gandarādityadēva, Bammī-Setti of the Maṇḍalēśvara's household, the headman Rāva-Setti, who is recorder of the house of the Sun-god in Kūṇḍitown, Chaudhore Boppi-Setti, Kannapayya-Setti the sheriff of Toram-bage, Chaudhore Goravi-Setti the intendant of Mayāṣige, Sānti-Setti of Balejavatṭaṇa, Hāliya-Setti the lion of the Five hundred of Ayyavole, Khapparayya the sheriff of Kavaḍegolla, and others, (*representing*) the whole country, being assembled —

(Ll 24-26) on Monday, the fifth of the dark fortnight of Kārttika in the cycle year Rākshasa, the thousand and fifty-eighth (*year*) of the Śaka era, laved the feet of Śrutakīrtti Traividya-dēva, of the Pustaka-Gachchha in the Dēśiya-Gana of the Mūla-Saṅgha, who is the prior of the temple of Rūpa-nārāyaṇa in Kollāpura, and with pouring of water gave the following revenues —

(Ll 26-32) Areca-nuts, fifty on a load, twenty on a half-load, five on a *hasara*, betel-leaves, one hundred on a load, fifty on a head-load, twenty-five on a *hasara*, clarified butter and oil, a *sollage*¹ on each *koḍa*, half a maund on each *siddige*,² one maund on each *sangaḍi*.³ On each cloth-merchant's shop and goldsmith's shop, a *panam* on every gold piece Cotton, five *palas* on each *malave*, two *bisige* on each *malave* of *karuse* (*sold*) from carts, ten *palas* on each half-load. On each house of *lanhas*⁴ there shall be every six months (*a due of*) stools, tripods, and *maravi*,⁵ one of each, every year there shall be (*a due of*) one bedstead On goods sold by weight, such as green ginger, turmeric, dry ginger, garlic, *baje*,⁶ and *bhadramuste*,⁷ there shall be (*a due of*) five *palas* on each load, two *palas* on a half-load, one *pala* on a *hasara*, cummin, black pepper, and mustard, one maund on each load, a half-maund on each half-load, a *sollage* on each *hasara*, on salt and the other eighteen kinds of grain, one *kolaga* on each cart-load, two maunds on each load, one maund on each head-load, dry and fresh fruits, ten on each cart-load, four on each head-load, on each cart-load one *dandige*, five myrobolans, on each pair of *hūtes* one *dandige*, two myrobolans, on each basket of flowers one garland, for the potters, one pot on each shop

(Ll 32-33 - a Kanarese prose commonitory formula of the usual type)

B — MIRAJ INSCRIPTION OF SAKA 1065 AND 1066.

Miraj, the ancient Miriñje, is the chief town of the Miraj State in the Southern Maratha Country, and lies in lat. 16° 48' and long 74° 12' The present epigraph was found on a slab built into the wall in the gateway of the fort A photograph, from the stone, was published in *PSOCI* (No 96), and a notice is given in Kielhorn's *List of Southern Inscriptions*, above, Vol VII, App, No 322 — The stone bears on its top a triangular pediment containing sculptures, namely in the centre a *linga* on a stand, to the proper right of this a squatting bull facing it, above these, on the right the sun and on the left the moon The inscribed area

¹ A measure of capacity, $\frac{1}{2}$ of a *kudara* or *balla* (see Kittel, s.v. *sollage*)

² *Siddige* or *sidge* means properly a leather bottle As a measure, *sidge* is defined by the *Kīramūār Glossary* as a dry measure of 36 *tolas* in Kumta, Honavar, and Siddhapur, and 29 *tolas* in Bhatkal, and as a fluid measure of 38 *tolas* in Ankola and 28 *tolas* in Bhatkal (p 171)

Apparently something like a double *siddige*

⁴ Apparently "carpenters"

⁵ Some wooden article of furniture

⁶ The *acorus calamus* (Linn)

⁷ The *cyperus hexastachys* (Rottler) or root of *cyperus pectinatus* (Roxb)

below this is about 2 ft broad and 4 ft $1\frac{1}{2}$ in high —The character is good Kanarese of the period, with letters varying in height from $\frac{1}{8}$ in to $\frac{1}{2}$ in. The cursive form for *m* (above, Vol. XII, p 335) is found in *-sthānamum*, l 6, and that for *v* in *vēlā-vuramum*, l. 5, *gāvunda*^o, l 7. *Charumda*, l 14, and *Chavuda*, l 17 —The language is throughout Kanarese prose, of the transitional period between the ancient and the medieval dialects. The archaic *l* never appears — it has become *l* in *ēl* (l 9), *ēlatt*- (l 12), *alī*^o (ll 57, 59), *ilda* (l 58), and *r* in *ērchchhāsirada* (l 12). Initial *p* in pure Kanarese and *tadbhava* words has become *h*, except in *padīnarūvaru* (l 6), *perggade* (l 15), *Priyuguvārada* (l 18), *pīriya* (l 40, in a formula), *pasarigaru* (l 50), *gomma* (l 51), and *ponnalū* (l 56, in a formula). The use of gemitive as quasi-nominative (see *Journ Roy As Soc.*, 1918, p 105) is found in l 29, *setti-guttam tanna biṭi-āyam*. The lexical interest of the record is considerable, as it contains a large number of the special names of the classes of traders (notably *bachcha*, l 7, *mamka*, l 8, *bārīka*, l 8) and some other technical words, e.g. *hasara* as a measure of capacity (ll. 27 f.), *samdage* (l 29), *mōru* (l 37), *lrēnikāra* (l 44), *ponma*¹ (l 51), and *āthānāntara* (l 53).

The record opens with a copious list of the titles and special class-names of the members of the corporation of the Vīra-Banañjas (ll 1-12), and informs us that certain representatives of this syndicate, at a meeting held at Sedambāl in Śāka 1065, made a grant of various dues to the temple of Mādhavēśvara (Śiva) in Sedambāl, which had been built by Mādirājayya, the *mahā-prabhu* or high sheriff of that place (ll 12-32), and these grants were supplemented by others made by the inhabitants and traders of the town, which are also specified (ll 32-38). A short formula (ll 38-41) ends the first section. Then comes a paragraph (ll 41-54) recording that in the reign of the *Mahāmandalēśvara* Vijayāditya (son of the Śilāhāra Gandarāditya),² in Śāka 1066, two of his officials, Bhāyipayya-Nāyaka and Mālapayya-Nāyaka, granted to the same temple certain specified dues on the taxes collected in the town, the trustee being Sōvarāsi. A concluding formula (ll. 54-59) ends the record.

There are thus two dates. The first is given on ll 19-20 as Śāka 1065, Dundubhi, Bhādrapada śu 2, Friday. This is irregular, for the *tithi* śu 2 corresponded to Monday, 24 August, A.D. 1142, on which it ended about 15 h 14 m after mean sunrise (for Ujjain). The second date is given on ll 46-48 as Śāka 1066, Rudhīrōdgārī, Māgha kri 14, *Vaddavāra* (here apparently in the meaning of Thursday),³ the Śiva-rātri festival. Strictly speaking, this is slightly irregular. The *tithi* kri 14 was coupled with Friday, 4 February, A.D. 1144, when it ended about 13 h 57 m after mean sunrise. But it was current during the last 10 h 25 m of the preceding Thursday, 3 February, having begun 4 h 25 m before midnight on Thursday, and at that midnight began the Śiva-rātri, the moon being then in the *nakṣatra* Śravanā, and being still there at mean sunrise on the Friday (see Dewan Bahadur Swamikannu Pillai's note above, Vol. XI, p. 289); so the Śiva-rātri day was Friday.⁴

The places mentioned are Ayyāvale, also called Ahichchhatra, l 9, Miriñje, l 12, and its *nādu*, l 44, Bāge, l 14, Dōnikōdu, l 14, Tolakale, l 15, Kūndilī, l 16, Sedambāl ll 16, 19, 20, 45, 49, the *talas* of Priyuguvāra, Siriguppe, and Jugulakoppa, l 18, the *tīlhas*, ll 38-40, 55, 57, and the *nele-vīdu* or standing camp of Valavāda, l 42. On Ayyāvale (Ayyavole), Miriñje, and Valavāda see above (p 31). Bāge may possibly be connected with the Bāgadage or Bāgenādu Seventy, or the Bāge Fifty in the Tardavādi Thousand (see *Ind Ant.*, Vol. XXX, pp 265, 267, 380). Sedambāl is Shedbāl (the "Sherbal" of

¹ *Pommu* now means a tax on tobacco, but to understand that sense in our record would be an anachronism.

² See *Dyn Kanar Distr.*, p 548, and the preceding inscription.

³ See Mr Venkatasubbiah's *Some Śāka Dates in Inscriptions*, pp 57 ff.

⁴ This date has also been examined by Mr Venkatasubbiah in *Some Śāka Dates in Inscriptions*, p 107, and he comes to practically the same result.

the Indian Atlas sheet 40), in lat 16° 43' and long 74° 49½' The Siriguppe *tala* seems to be connected with the modern Shirguppe or "Shirgoopee," in lat. 16° 37½' and long 74° 47½', and that of Jugulakoppa with Jugal or "Joogul" in lat. 16° 36½' and long. 74° 44½'.

TEXT¹

- 1 ☉ Svasti samasta-bbhuvana-vikhyāta-paṁcha-śata-vira-śāsana-labdh-śnēka-guṇa-[gan-ā]-
- 2 lamkṛta satya-sauch-āchāra-chāru-charitra-naya-vimaya-vijñāna Vira-Banamja-
[dharmma-pra]-
- 3 tūpālana-viśudhdha gudda-dhvaṇa-yirājita-ānūna-sāhas-ottumga kirtty-amgan-ālimgita
[mja]-
- 4 bhūja-vijaya-lakshmi(kshmi)-nivāsa-vaksha[s*]-sthala bhuvana-parākram-ōnnata
Vāsudē[ra-Kha]-
- 5 ndali-Mulabhadra-vamś-ōdbhavarum dvātrimsād-vēlā-vuramum-ashtādaśa-pattṇamum-
[aru]-
- 6 vatta-nālku ghaṭikā-sthānamum nānā-dēs-ābhyamtarad-emitu nāda padinaṇuvaru
[gava]-
- 7 regarum gātrigarum settiyarum setti-guttarum bachcharum balegāṇarum
gamdhigarum gāvundarum gāv[unda]-
- 8 svāmigalum=arasugalum=arasu-makkalum mamkarum mamka-meṇavarum
brudarum bi(bi)ra-vanigarum bānkarum b[ā]-
- 9 rika-jana-hastarum sāsirad-ēl-nāṇu gavaregalum=Ahihchhatra-vimrggatarum=
- Ayyāvale-pu[ra-para]-
- 10 mēśvararu[m*] śrī-Bhagavati-dēvi(vi)-labdha-vara-prasād-ādy-anēka-nām-āmka-mālā-
virājitaru[m=appa]
- 11 śrīmad-aynūrvva[r*]-syāmigalum samasta-bhallumki-damda-hastarum mummuri-
damdamum [mu]-
- 12 khyav-āgy-ēlvatt-ēr-chchhāsirada prabhu Prithvi-setti Muri[m*]jeya Boppanayya-
rāja-śrē[shṭhi ma]-
- 13 hā-vadda-vyavahāri Vesapayya-settiyarum samaya-samuddharapa Sōvana-[setti]-
- 14 yarum Bāgeya mūlga Chikka-Chavumda-settiyum Dōnikōda mummuri-damda
Da . .
- 15 va-settiyum Jayasimgada Tolakaleya Sūryama-settiyum nāda perggade
Hemma-setti[yum]
- 16 Kāmdihya setti-gutta Malla-settiyum Kuvara Lakka-settiyum Nigalada Kēti-
settiyum [Sedam]-
- 17 bāla Bomdalabbeya Sūra-settiyum Ākēta-settiyum Ohavuda-setti alhiya
Koppa-setti .
- 18 ya Holla-setti Piriyuguvārada tala Siriguppeya tala Jugulakoppada
tala . .
- 19 geya tala yintu samasta-tala-mukhyav-āgi Sedambālalu mahā-nād=āgi(gi)
nerad[ū Śaka]-
- 20 varsha 1065neya Dumdubhi-samvatsarada Bhādrapada-śudhdha 2
Śukravāradamdu Sedambāla
- 21 mahā-prabhu Mādīrājayyam mādīsida śrī-Mādhavēśvara-dēvar-amga-bhōgakke āy-
[ūra]-

- 22 lu Su(Śu)kravārada samteyam mādi bitt=āyam=ent=c[m*]dode mārida adakeya
[ṛva]-
- 23 lakk=adakey=irppattu hasumbeg=adake hanneradu katteya hērimge=irppatt-aydu
kol
- 24 ettina javalamam burchidalliy=adakey=ayvattu mēru-gomdavaralli homgey=
ada[key=1]-
- 25 ppattu hērimge ele nūr-ayvattu enneya kodakke solasav=eradu tuppada kodakke
so[lasa]-
- 26 v=eradu bhamdi-godakke enṇe mānav=omdu dhānya-vaiṅgakke kōnana hērim[ge*]
mānav=ā[ru]
- 27 ettina hērimge ballav=omdu katteya hērimge mēnav=eradu hasarakke mānav=
omdalu
- 28 sattugav=omdu voṭṭilimge kolagav=omdu hattiya hasaradalli dēvara sodarimge
batti-
- 29 ge samdage-vatti vomdu [*] setti-guttam tanna bitt=āyam=emt=emdode
hasumbeyan=ikkū-
- 30 valli haseya javali gamdhara-battalu omdu gōmṭu viḥāram-geydavaralli mudia-
panam hom-
- 31 ge hāgam=arana bhamdi mārim(rī)dalli mēlu-dakk=omdu bhamdiyalu mārida
dhānya-vaiṅgakke ko-
- 32 lagav=omdu [*] Chayitrada parvvakke pura-varggada prajegalu mithunakke
bitta hāga-
- 33 v=omdu Dipāvaliya parvvadalu belaguva sodai=ennege u(ā)1-olagana sēngaru
- 34 tamma manegalige manejal=omdu hāgav=omdu bitta hāgav=omdu kumbāra
hasa[ra*]-
- 35 kke madake vomdu akkasāle Bammōja-halladim mūda homge haṇavina
pārikh-ā-
- 36 yad=ohge dēvaigge bitta aḍḍav=omdu sammamagāraralli aṇu-dimgalige kuḍuva
pāda-
- 37 rakshe tod=omdu mēdaralli samtege kuḍuva mōṇanu vomdu mādegaialli
aṇu-dimgalim-
- 38 ge kuḍuva mūli vomdu [*] Yimt=1 sā(śā)sana-maryyādeyan kidiṣid-āta[m*]
Gamge-Privāge-Vā-
- 39 ranāśi-Kurukshētradalū sāyira kapileyam konda mahā-pātakaman=eydu-
- 40 va Ādityatirthamgalalli tanna pūrya maganam kondu aṇa kapāladal-
umdu ma-
- 41 hā-dōshaman=eyduva || ☉ ☉ || Svasti sīman-mahāmamdalēśvaram
- 42 Vijayādityadēvarasaru Vajavādada nelc-vidinalu sukha-samkathā-vi-
- 43 nōdadim rāyam geyvuttam-iralu tat-pāda-padm=ōpajivigal=appa mahāpiadhā-
- 44 nam sumka-veiggade Bhāyapayya-nāyakaru Muvimje-nāda kīṇikāram Mā-
- 45 lapayya-nāyakar=ant=iravaru Sedumbālu prabhū sāmāntam Mādīrājayem-
- 46 galu mānāyida sī-Mūdhavēśvara-dēvar=anga-bhōgikk=alīya tapōdhanu=āhāra-
dānakkaṇam Sa(Śa)ka-va-
- 47 rsha 1066 neya Rudhīrōdgārī-samvatsarada Māgha-bahulā 14 Vaddavāradamdu
Sivārātre(11)-

- 48 ya parvva-mumttav=āgiy-ā dēvara maṭhad-āchāryya śrīmatu-Sōvarāsi-siddhānti¹-
dēvara kā-
- 49 lam karchochi dhārā-pūrvvakam mādi kotta sumkam=ent=endod=ē Sedambāla
mundana halladim mūḍa pura-
- 50 varggav=olag=āgi kattid=amgaḍigalgam teḷligaru pasargara bhatte,battigama
vokkalu-dere pa-
- 51 rihāra mattam santēya volagana kodad=enney=eleya hērugala ponma kiru-
- 52 kula dhānya-varggamgala motteya sumkav=olag=āgi arddh-ādāna aḷi ambara-
vaṭṭadim tiri-
- 53 da ettina adakeya hērimge māl-adake nūr-ayvattu āthānānta-
- 54 radalu nadava sumkigaru saupa(va?)rnnakke timgalinge vomdu bēleyam
kuduvā=Int=I
- 55 dharmmamam sa-dharmmadim pratipālisidargge Gamge-Vāranāsi-Kurukshētradalū
s[ā]-
- 56 sira kavileya kōdum kolagumam ponnalu kattisi sāsuvva brāhmana-
- 57 rige kotta phalam=akku mattam=idan=alidam(dam)ge Gamgā-Yamunegal-eradaṛa
- 58 samgamadol=agaunya-punnya-vara-tirtha-sthānamgalol=ilda tapōdhanara gē-brāhma-
- 59 naran=alidan=int=idan=alida ||

TRANSLATION

(Lines 1-12) Hail ! Headed by the Five-hundred Svāmis, all the bearers of *bhallunki*-staffs and all the bearers of *mumuri*-staffs, who are resplendent with a series of numerous titles such as " adorned by a series of many virtues obtained by the decrees of the Five-hundred men renowned over the whole earth, possessing truthfulness, pure conduct, agreeable behaviour, policy, courtesy, and intelligence, pure in maintenance of the Vīra-Banaṅga religion, splendid with the banner (*bearing the device*) of a hill, exalted in abundant boldness, embraced by the lady Fame, having their breasts a home for the goddess of victory (*won*) by their own arms, lofty in prowess (*extending*) over the world, scions of the races of Vāsudēva, Khapdali, and Mūlabhadra, (*inhabitants of*) the thirty-two coast-towns and eighteen *pattanas*² and sixty-four *ghatikā-sthānas*,³ the sixteen *gavaregas*⁴ and *gātrigas* and *seṭtis* and *seṭti-guttas* and *bachchas* and bracelet-sellers and scent-merchants and *gāvundas* and chief *gāvundas* and ' kings ' and ' princes ' and *manhas*⁵ and *manhamerevas* and title-bearers and merchants of valour and *bārikas*⁶ and *bārika-jana-hasta*⁷

¹ The second *dā* has been omitted and then inserted in very small script

² Explained by some as a place to which there is access by land or water, by others as a place of level-mines. Cf. *Kāṁikāgama*, XX. 89, *Yugādi-dēśanā*, V. 50, and my translation of *Antagada-dasāo*, p. 45 n.

³ This word is fairly common in inscriptions (cf. *Epig. Carn.*, VII : Sk. 94, XI : Kl. 170, XII : Sk. 43, *Madras Govt. Epigr. Report*, 1912 3, p. 99, 1916-7, p. 115, *Ind. Ant.*, XIV, pp. 19, 25 n., *S. I. I.*, II, p. 511), but the meaning is not quite clear. It seems to denote a place of assembly or synod, and so must be connected with *ghaṭige*, *gaṭige*, or *ghaṭige*, on which see above, Vol. XIII, p. 327 n., and which are obviously Prakrit forms of *ghaṭikā*. Perhaps these facts should be considered in the interpretation of the Mānikāla inscription (see *J. E. A. S.*, 1914, pp. 641 ff.), seeing that the normal meaning of *ghaṭikā* is a certain division of time or a clock.

⁴ This is evidently the same as the modern *gavāriga*, " a man of the basket- and mat-making tribe or caste " (*kittel*), but the meaning seems to be different here.

⁵ Perhaps connected with Skt. *manḥa*, on which see Hoernle's *Uvāsaga-dasāo*, translation, p. 103 n.

⁶ Cf. *Madras Govt. Epigr. Report*, 1912 3, p. 9, Brown's *Miraj Right*, p. 74, and above, Vol. V, p. 23 n.

⁷ Possibly meaning " fellows of the *bārikas* "

and the thousand and seven-hundred *gavares* of the eight provinces in the interior of various lands, who have come out of *Ahichchhatra*, who are supreme lords of the town of *Ayyāvale*, and who obtain grace of boons from the divine Lady,"—

(Ll 12-19) *Prithvi-Setti*, sheriff of the Seventy-thousand, *Boppanayya* of *Mirñje*, the royal merchant, the great trader *Vesapayya-Setti*; *Sōvana-Setti*, restorer of the church, *Chikka Chavunda-Setti*, the *mūliga*¹ of *Bāge*, *Da va-Setti* of *Dōnikōdu*, the bearer of the *mummuri*-staff, *Jayasingada Sīriyama-Setti* of *Tolakale*, *Hemma-Setti*, head-man of the province, *Malla-Setti*, *setti-gutta* of *Kūndil*, *Kuvara*²*Lakka-Setti*, *Nigalada Kēti-Setti*, *Sūra Setti*, *Ākēta-Setti*, (and) *Chavuda-Setti*, (sons?) of *Bondalabbe*, of *Sedambāl*, *Koppa-Setti*, of the same place, (and) *Holla-Setti*, meeting at *Sedambāl* as a general county-assembly representing all the districts, namely the district of *Piriyuguvāra*, the district of *Siriguppe*, the district of *Jugulakoppa*, and the district of

(Ll 19-22) on Friday, the 2nd of the bright fortnight of *Bhādrapada* in the cyclic year *Dundubhi*, the 1065th (year) of the *Śaka* era, holding the Friday's market in that town, granted the following revenues for the personal enjoyment of the god *Mādhavēśvara*, (whose temple had been) constructed by *Mādirājayya*, the high sheriff of *Sedambāl* —

(Ll 22-29) on the sale of a half-load of areca-nuts, twenty nuts; on a shoulder-bag, twelve nuts, on an ass-load, twenty-five, on opening a [? buffalo's or] bullock's half-load, fifty areca-nuts, for purchasers, twenty areca-nuts per gold piece, on each load, a hundred-and-fifty betel-leaves, on a *koda* of oil, two *solasa*, on a *koda* of clarified butter, two *solasa*, on each *bhandi-goḍa*,³ one maund of oil, for the various kinds of grain, on a buffalo-load six maunds, on a bullock-load one *balla*,⁴ on an ass-load two maunds, on a *hasara* one ladleful in every one maund, on an *ottil* one *kolaga*⁵, on each *hasara* of cotton, one *sandage* wick for wicks for the god's lamps

(Ll 29-32) The *setti-guttas* on their part granted the following revenues —on laying down each shoulder-bag, one cloth for a couch (and) one *gandhara*-bowl (?), for those who examine *gōntu*, a stamped *fanam*, one quarter *fanam* on each gold piece, on each sale of *arana bhandi*,⁶ one stick of better quality (?), on the various kinds of grain sold in a cart, one *kolaga*

(Ll 32-38) For the festival of *Chaitra* the people of the parish gave a quarter *fanam* for each pairing For oil for the lamps to be lit at the festival of the *Dīpāvali* the guilds-men within the town granted on their own houses one quarter-*fanam* for each house, on each shop of the potters, one pot, the goldsmiths granted to the god one *adda* ⁷ in the assay-fee of a *fanam* on every gold piece In the case of the leather-workers, they gave one pair of slippers for every six months In the case of the basket-makers, they gave one *mōru* ⁸ for every fair In the case of the cobblers, they gave one strap for every six months

(Ll 38-41) So he who infringes the constitution of this decree shall incur the deadly sin of slaying by the Ganges, in *Prayāga*, in *Benares*, or in *Kurukshētra* a thousand kine, he shall incur the deadly sin of slaying his own eldest son at the *Āditya-tīrthas* and eating from his skull

(Ll 41-43) Hail! While the *Mahāmandalēśvara* *Vijayādityadēvarasa* was reigning in the standing camp of *Valavāda* with enjoyment of pleasing conversations —

¹ The meaning given by Kittel for *mūliga* is "a vendor of (medicinal) roots", but here it must denote some article Cf. above, Vol V, p 27, where the *mūligas* rank after the *mahajanar*

² [Kuvara means son —Ed]

³ A measure of unknown capacity, literally, "cart-pot"

⁴ Equal to 4 maunds

⁵ Equal to 16 maunds, hence the *ottil* (literally, "pile") must be a large measure

⁶ Obscure, the literal meaning is "king's cart"

⁷ On this weight see Kittel, s v

⁸ Apparently meaning "head-load."

(Ll. 43-49) they who find sustenance at his lotus-feet, both Bhāyipayya-Nāyaka the high minister and controller of taxes and Mālapayya-Nāyaka the *krēṇikāra* of the province of Mirūṇje, for the personal enjoyment of the god Mādhavēśvara (*whose temple was*) constructed by the baron Mādirājayya, the sheriff of Sedambāl, and for the provision of food to the ascetics of that place, on Thursday, the 14th of the dark fortnight of Māgha in the cyclic year Rudhīrōdgārī, the 1086th (*year*) of the Śaka era, on the occasion of the Śivarātri festival, laved the feet of Sōvarāsī Siddhāntidēva, prior of the monastery of the god, and with pouring of water granted the following dues —

(Ll. 49-54) For the shops built within the parish east of the river on the east of Sedambāl, the oilmen (*and*) shopkeepers shall give in the paddy-market, excluding the household-tax, half the takings within the market inclusive of a *koda* of oil, the *pomma* on loads of betel leaves and the petty dues, and the tolls on bags of the various kinds of grain, on each bullock's load of areca-nuts filled up there from the *antara-vatta* (*they shall give*) one hundred and fifty superior nuts, the toll-collectors on duty in the revenue-office shall give every month an eighth on each *sauvarna* coin.

(Ll. 54-59 a Kanarese commonitory formula of the usual type.)

NO 5 —ANTIRIGAM PLATES OF JAYA-BHANJA-DEVA.

BY THE LATE TARINI CHARAN RATH, B A

These three copper-plates were unearthed by a ryot while cultivating a piece of waste land situated in the village of Antirigām of Pūrva-khanda, Chatrapur Division, Ganjam District, Madras Presidency. A similar set of three other plates was also discovered along with these which will be edited separately.

The plates measure 7 inches by 3 inches, their thickness being about $\frac{1}{8}$ of an inch. Each plate has a circular hole on its left side through which passes a copper ring of a diameter of 2 inches, from which the plates are suspended. The two ends of the ring are not in this case secured at the bottom of an oval or circular seal as usual. We have here a lump of copper of a rather peculiar conical shape, $1\frac{1}{2}$ inches high, which holds the two ends of the ring together. This mass of copper is at its bottom in shape a cube, measuring about $\frac{1}{2}$ an inch on each side and has at the top a pot-shaped finial marked by a number of circular ridges. On one side of the cube is the following inscription, written in two lines —

Śrīmad-sūbha

Jadēva-nripatih

The word 'Jadēva' in the beginning of the second line is obviously a mistake for 'Jayadēva,' the name of the king who made the grant. The first and third plates are inscribed on one side only, while the second or middle plate has inscription both on the obverse and reverse. The edges of the plates are not raised into rims. The inner side of the first plate and the two sides of the second plate have nine lines on each of them, while the inner side of the third or last plate contains ten lines, the total number of lines of the inscription being thus 37. The inscription is clear and the letters are fairly big in size. The plates with the ring weigh 72 tolas.

¹ [It is very unlikely that the name of the king would be written *Jadēva* by mistake for *Jayadēva*. The suffix *bhañja* which is the characteristic title of the rulers of the Bhañja dynasty would in no case have been omitted. Hence I think we must read *Bhamjadēva* together, and what is read in the beginning as *śrīmadēva* is probably *śrīmad-Yasa*. Besides, the last *akṣhara* in the first line clearly reads *bham*. Thus we will have the name *Yasa Bhañjadēva* which according to the author himself was another name of Jaya Bhañjadēva, see below page 43 —Ed.]

The language of the inscription is Sanskrit and the characters used are a highly specialised form of the old Northern Nāgarī type. They deserve special notice, inasmuch as they very closely resemble the Uṛiyā characters. The type is quite important for tracing the development of the present Uṛiyā alphabet. The following letters on the plates are no other than the modern Uṛiyā ones — *śrī* (3rd letter 1 1), *lha* (19th letter 1 5), *ga* (4th letter 1 7), *pa* (4th letter 1 6), *na* (5th letter 1 1), *lshu* (last letter 1 2), *kshmī* (21st letter 1 1), *sha* (26th letter 1 10), *ṇja* (8th letter 1 3) and *pra* (8th letter 1 10). Again the following letters also very closely resemble the present Uṛiyā ones and are in fact their archaic forms — *ka* (14th letter 1 1), *gha* (7th letter 1 1), *sa* (9th letter 1 1), *na* (2nd letter 1 4), *ja* (26th letter 1 2), *ya* (22nd letter 1 1), *ta* (4th letter 1 10), *bha* (20th letter 1 3), *ta* (10th letter 1 1), *da* (21st letter 1 2). Several other instances of both these classes of letters can be found in the inscription on a very close examination. Though Uṛiyā was both a spoken and a written language in Orissa, its Rājās or ruling chiefs were accustomed to use Sanskrit in their grants relating to landed property. On the whole, I think, it can be said that the characters of the inscription are the prototypes of the modern Uṛiyā characters.

The plates record the grant of a village by king Jaya-Bhaṇjadēva, son of Rāja-Bhaṇja and grandson of Vīra-Bhaṇja, on the occasion of a lunar eclipse on the 15th day of the bright half of the month of Jyēsthā (May-June) to a Brahman named *śrī*-Jagadhara, son of Pandita Dhārādhara belonging to the Mādhyandina-sākhā and the Bhāradvāja-gōtra. The name of the village gifted thereunder is Rengaradā situated at the centre of the province Khūñjaliyagada-*viśhaya*. The grantor issued the charter from his camp Kōlāda in the third [year] of the victorious reign and proclaims this fact of his grant to his ministers, his heir-apparent Vīra-Bhaṇja and other sons, and also the several administrative officers of the province. The inscription was incised by Gaṇēśvara.

The village Rengaradā is stated to have been situated in the province Khūñjaliyagada-*viśhaya*. The grant was issued from the camping place known as Kōlāda. Khūñjali, according to traditional accounts, is believed to be a tract of country forming part of the Baud State and from it the smaller States of Gumsur and Dasapalla are said to have been carved out. Kōlāda was the later capital of Gumsur which continued to be so till the extinction of its Bhaṇja line of kings. It is popularly known now as Kullāda. It is situated at a distance of about 4 miles from Russelkonda, the head-quarters of the Gumsur Division and Taluk, called after the Commissioner Russel and is connected with it by a good metalled road. The remains of the residences of the old chiefs of Gumsur are still to be seen here covered by jungle growth. The place stands on the bank of a river adorned with the venerable old temples built by the Gumsur Rājās who have richly endowed them with fertile lands and costly movable properties. It is hemmed in all round by beautiful ranges of hills. The name Khūñjaliyagada-*viśhaya* signifies the division adjoining the fort of Khūñjali, the former name of Gumsur. *Gada* in Uṛiyā means a fort. Khūñjaliyagada corresponds to the present name of "Gadamutha," a subdivision of the old Gumsur State, now a British possession ever since the year 1835 when its Rāja, late Dharmāyā-Bhaṇja, died in the course of a campaign with the British and his minor son, late Brajārāja-Bhaṇja, was removed to Vellore as a State prisoner. Village names like Bhangarada and Gerada which are to be found to-day in the Gumsur Taluk may be compared with Rengarada the village granted. The copper-plate grant thus, I think, relates to the ancient State of Gumsur, formerly known as the Khūñjali country.

The grantor is a scion of the illustrious dynasty of the Bhaṇjas, so very famous in Orissa. According to the traditional account of Gumsur it was founded in the ninth century A.D. by a son of the brother of the Bhaṇjarāja of Keunjabar who had settled with his brother in Baud, both having been adopted by its king. Keunjabar was carved out from the ancient

Mayūrbhañja State of Orissa, both of which still exist. The account further states that one of the Rājas of Gumsur named Pratāpa-Bhañja captured the Khond Chief of Kullāda and changed his residence by constructing a big fort there, at a very great cost, during the twelfth century A.D. Jaya-Bhañja, son of Rāya-Bhañja and grandson of Vira-Bhañja, appears from what is stated in the inscription to have ruled the country around Kōlāda. The names of these kings are quite new and are neither met with in the traditional account of Gumsur, nor in any one of the several Bhañja plates hitherto discovered and published. It is not possible at present to state how the latter are connected with the Bhañja kings whose names have been discovered by these plates. The second set of copper-plates found with the present one and referred to in paragraph 1 above also mentions these very same names. The grantor and the grantee of both are identically the same persons, the occasion and the village granted alone being different. Jaya-Bhañja is, however, called therein¹ by the name of Yaśa-Bhañja. These plates of Yaśa-Bhañja have been noted as No 10 in Appendix A of the *Report of the Assistant Archaeological Superintendent for Epigraphy, Southern Circle, Madras, for the year 1917-18* and noticed at page 137 thereof. This king is described therein as the lord of the entire Khūñjali country. The village Komyāna granted thereunder has been observed as being situated in the Gumsur Taluk by the above-said officer, to whom the plates had been sent by me for examination.

The grant of Jaya-Bhañja is said to have been made in the third year of the victorious reign, no particular era being given. According to the traditional account of Gumsur, Kullāda was conquered and made the capital in the latter part of the twelfth century A.D. The characters of the inscription are found to be later in date than those of the Gumsur plates of Nētri-Bhañja edited at pages 667-671 of Volume VI of the *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal* and the Band plates of Rana-Bhañja edited at pages 321-328 of Volume XII of the *Epigraphia Indica* and the inscription has probably to be assigned to the twelfth century A.D.

TEXT

First Plate

- 1 Ōm² [||*] Svasti śrī-guṇa-saṃgha-saṃyuta-tarē lōk-[ā]bhūkirty-ōttamē (||) Lakshmi[ī*]=
ya[tra]
- 2 nivāsini suviralā jātās=cha vīr-ōttamāh | Dharmō yatra sadā sthītō ripu-jayah
khyātah kshī-
- 3 tan sa[rava]dā vamsē Bhañja-susañjñakē ripu-harīh śrī-Vīra-Bhañj=ō[bha]vat || [1*]
Tat-sūnu[r*]=dvi(1)ja-dēva-pū-
- 4 [jana-ratah śrī]-Rāya-Bhañjō nripah durvvār-āri-narēndra-darpa-dalanō viryēna
Śakr-ōpa-
- 5 mah [1*] tat-putrō Jaya-Bhañjadēva-nripatī rājñām si(śi)rah-sē(śē)kharah [rū]pan=yō
- 6 Madan-ōpamah kshī-talē dāna(a)ś=cha Kar[n]n-ōpamō(mah) || [2*] Mānais=ch=āpi
Suyōdha-
- 7 n-ōpama-gatah Śakr-ōpamō vikramah durvvār-āri-kuranga-mārana-harīh śrī-Śamla-

¹ [This is not so. They were apparently brothers. Yaśa-Bhañja was the elder of the two. Jaya-Bhañja issued this charter under the seal of his brother the king.—Ed.]

² [Expressed by a symbol. An interesting paper on "The Svastika and the Ōmkā symbols" is contributed by Mr Harit Krishna Deb, M.A., to the *Jo and Pro A S B* (new series), Vol XVII 1921, No 3. This is a direct refutation of the theory of some that the symbol represents a figure of Ganapati.—Ed.]

- 8 rē bhaktimāna(n) (||†) bhaktō vai pitri-mātri-pāda-yugalē śrī-vaishnavah sāmpratam
|| [3*]¹ Sa cha ma-
9 hā-mandaleśa(śva)ra-śa(sa)rvva-g[u]n-ālamkṛta-śrīmad-rāja(jā) **Jaya-Bhañja-dēvah**
kuśali || Kō-

Second Plate, First Side

- 10 lāda-kataka-[sthitō](tah)pravarddhamāna-vijaya-rājyē tṛtiya-samvatsarē Jyēsthā-
śukla-
11 pañchadasyā(śyā)m sōma-grahana-vēlāyām **Khūñjaliya-g[a]da-vishaya-madhyā-**
vartti(1)-Rēngaradā-grā-
12 mam sa-jala-sthalam s-ōdvēlam [sa-ni]dhi s-ōpanidhikam śa-vitap-āranyam
a-cha(chā)ta-bhata-[pra]-
13 vēśam su(sa)rvv-ōpadrava-vivarjitam sarvva-sas[y*]-ōtpatt[1]-sahitam chatu[s*]-simā-
vichchinnam (||†) u[t]ki-
14 rna-tā[mra]m² [a]dhi-vidhim śāsanam=akarikṛi(kṛi)tya (||†) Madhyadēśiya-Tākāri-vipra-
sa-
15 -mudbha[va]m=āgatāya³ Ko[nda]rāvanga-vishaya-Dakshina-Tōshala-stha-Pata-vāda-pāta-
16 ka-vinirgatāya Bhāradvāja-sa-gōtrāy=Āngirasa-Vā(Bā)ras[p]atya-Bhāradvāja-
ti⁴h⁴-pravarāya
17 Yaju[1*]-vēd-ādhyāi(yi)nē Mādhyamdi(ndi)niya-śākhāya Pandita-Dhārādharasya
putrāya Daivajña-
18 [Śrī]-Jagadharāya bhūmi(m*)-dāna-vidhinā hast-ōdakam dat[t*]vā yathākāla[m*]-
bh[ā*]vina[h] samu(†)-

Second Plate, Second Side

- 19 [p-ā]gatān=a (||†) śēsha-pārthivāna(n) prārthayati anyāmś=cha rājaput[r*]-āmātya-
yuvārā[ja]-
20 Vira Bhañjadēvah⁴-akshapatali(h) - Vajradat [t*]a-sandhi-vigraha(hi)-Punanāga-prata-
nāra-Bhōpāla-rā-
21 naka - [La]kshmīkalaśa - rājamātula - Jathināga⁵-vyavahārī(rī) -Arapōta-prabhri(bhri)-
tinām⁶ rāja-
22 pād-ōpajivinah (†) kirtitāh(n-a)(†)kirtitān Khandapāla-Purañjaya-sarah⁷ (†) yathār-
ham māna-
23 itya⁸ samājñāpayati matam=astu bhavatām bhūmi-dānam=idam=asmaḍ-
dat[t*]a[m*] bha-

† Superfluous

¹ [The fourth pāda of this verse is missing.—Ed] Verses 1 to 3 are in the Śārdūlavikṛīḍita metre

² Read tāmrā=adhi-

³ [Samudbharam=āgatāya seems to be used in the sense of jātāya It is also possible that we have to divide the words as samudbhara-Āgātā(dhā)ya in which case the phrase would mean "a Māgadha born of the Brahmins of Tākāri (modern Tikāri?) who had immigrated from Madhyadēśa."—Ed]

⁴ Cancel the rīsa,ga

⁵ [Between ga and rya there seems to be a symbol for c: which has been possibly scored —Ed.]

⁶ Read prabhritin

⁷ [Read sūrān, the adjective kirtitān being in the plural, the mention of only two heroes Khandapāla and Purañjaya must be taken to include also similar other heroes —Ed]

⁸ Read yitra

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11b.


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SIDE VII W

- 24 vadbhīh (†) bhāvibhīś=cha (†) ā-chandr-ārka-kṣhīti-sama-kālam pālaniyam [||*] Atra
dharm-ānu-
25 sam(śam)śinah ślōkāh [||*] Bhūmi-dāna-samam dānam na bhūtam na bhaviṣhyati |
dānēna ya-
26 ta(t) phalam prōktam pālānēna tatō=dhikam ||[4*] Va(ba)hubhīr=vassu dhā da[t*]-
tā rājabhīh Sagar-ā-
27 dibhīh [*] yasyayasya yadā bhūmis=tasyatasya tadā ¹phalam ||[5*] Mā bhūmi-
²phala-

Third Plate.

- 28 śamkā vah (†) para-da[t*]t=ēti pārthivāḥ | sva-dānāt=phalam=ānantya[m*] para-
datt-ānupālanam || [6*]
29 Sva-dattām para-dattām=vā yō harēti(ta) vasundharām | sva-[vī]-shṭhāyām
krīmīr=bhūtvā pūribhīh sāha
30 pachyatē|| [7*] Asārēpi cha samsārē jivitasya phala dvayam [*] pālanam para-kīrtti(tī)nā[m]
31 svayam kartṛitvam=ēvacha || [8*] Anuchintya śrī(ī)yam jivyam padma-patr-ānuvīnd[u]-
vata(t) [†] vu(bu)[dh]v=ātr=ōdāhri(hri)tam
32 sarvvam na lōpyāḥ para-kīrttayah || [9*] Asmad-vamsa(śa)-ja-bhūpatīr=yadī
punar=bhūp=ōnya-vams-ō(ś-ō)-
33 dbhavō mad-dattām paripāla[yō]d=īha mahīm tasmai dhrit=ōsmy=amjalīm |
[† 10*]³ Mātā(t)-śā(chchhā)sanē pi-
34 trī(trī)-pītāmaha-bhūmi-bhāga-madhya-pradatta īha yah kuratē=pakāram | Śāmbhōh
pura[h*]sthita-va(ba)-
35 [hu]-dviya-vatsa-pō(ghā)ta-nihsantatīh sakala-janma-śatēshu bhūyāt || [11*] Bhūmim
yah pratigri-
36 [hnūti] yasya(yaś=cha) bhūmim praya[oh*]chhatī | ubhau [t]au [punya-karmānau
niyatau svarga-gāminau [||] [12*]  ||
37 [Asya Kāla-pandī]ta[sya] vanika(g)-Ganō[s]varēna li(h)khitam=iti ||

No 6 —INSCRIPTION OF THE TIME OF HAMMIR OF RANTHAMBHOR,
DATED (V S) 1345

By R. R. HALDER, RAJPUTANA MUSEUM, AJMER.

This inscription is engraved on a stone slab which is built into a niche of the reservoir in front of the temple of Kavālī (Kapūlisvara) lying in the Balvan estate of the Kotāh principality of Rājputānā. It was discovered by Rai Bahadur Pandit Gaurishankar Hirachand Ojha, who gave a brief account of it in the *Annual Report* of the Rājputānā Museum at Ajmer for the year 1920-21. It is in a good state of preservation. On account of its importance for the history of the Chauhāns of Ranthambhor as well as the Paramāras of Mālwa, a detailed notice of it seems to be necessary, and is given below with the text based on the ink impressions kindly placed at my disposal by the said scholar.

† Superfluous

¹ The syllable *pha* is written below the line

² Read *bhūd=apphala* as in other inscriptions

³ The second half of verse 10 is missing.

The inscription contains thirty-nine verses written in twenty-nine lines with nearly half a line of prose at the end. The character is Nāgarī of the thirteenth century A.D., common in Rājputānā during that period. The letters show no peculiarity except in one or two instances, namely, *इ* in *इव* and *इति* (lines 4 and 21 respectively) where it is written in a different way from that in other lines. Also, *च*, when joined to a letter, is written in a quite different way as in *सचस्य* (l 5), *स्थिति* (l 19), etc. Such *इ*s and *च*s are generally found in the inscriptions of earlier period. Also *च* is written in two ways as in *कच* and *चीच* in lines 1 and 19 respectively. The letters are on the average about $\frac{3}{8}$ " in height and the area covered by the writing is about 3 sq ft. The language is Sanskrit throughout with some occasional mistakes which are duly shown in the foot-notes accompanying the text. As regards orthography, it may be noted that *v* is used for *b* throughout. Consonants are mostly doubled after *r* as in *रविर्भवः*, *सुदर्श*, *दुर्गे*, *विनिर्गत*, *द्वितीया*, etc (lines 5, 7, 9 and 16 respectively). *Anusvāra* is mostly used for nasals as in *लवोदरी*, *कुड*, *वधु*, *यंयो*, *पच*, etc., in ll 1, 2, 11, 15 and 16 respectively and also at the end of stichs and hemistichs, as in *दसता* (l 7), *जोवित* (l 24), *सुखता* (l 26), etc., and is redundant in *संसाय* (l 7). The symbol *ṛ* is used in *हृत्* (l 22) and others but not in *द्वितीय* (l 19). Redundant strokes are to be seen as in ll 3, 10, 24, etc.

The inscription is a *prasaśti* of the **Chauhān** kings of Ajmer and Ranthambhōr, and gives a eulogistic description of the family of the minister of **Hammīra**, the last Chauhān king of Ranthambhōr. After the usual invocation of Ganēśa and Kapālīśvara Śiva, it names the surroundings of the temple in front of which it is found, and mentions the **Chakratatinī**, **Mandākinī** and **Kōtumukhā** as flowing close by it (vv 1-2). It then praises the Chauhān rulers. **Prithvirāja**, the well-known Chauhān king of Ajmer, is mentioned in the fifth verse, while **Vāgbhata**, the Chauhān king of Ranthambhōr, in the sixth. **Jaitrasimha**, who succeeded Vāgbhata, is mentioned as having harassed **Jayasimha** of Mandapa and killed the **Kūrma** king and a king of **Karkarālagiri** (vv. 7-8). He is also said to have defeated hundreds of brave warriors of the king of Mālwa at **Jhampāthā-Ghatta** (Ghāt), and kept them as prisoners at **Ranastambhapura** (v 9). **Hammīra** succeeded Jaitrasimha and is said to have defeated **Arjuna** in a battle, thereby depriving Mālwa of the fame and glory which it then enjoyed (v 11). He also erected a three-storied golden palace called **Pushyaka** (? **Pushpaka**) at **Ranastambhapura** (v 12).

Next, the family of Hammīra's minister is described. In it, both **Narapati**, the minister of Jaitrasimha and Hammīra (v 35), and his wife **Nayaśrī** stand prominent on account of their many acts of charity. Verse 13 says that **Ananta**, **Sēdha**, and **Śrīdhara** were born in succession in the **Katāriyā-Kāyastha** family, which migrated from **Mathurā**. After them came **Lakshana** whose son **Pūrnapāla** had a son named **Yamunāpāla** (vv 14-15). His son **Sōmana** married **Sōmaladēvī**, daughter of **Dēvarāja** (v 16). His son was **Narapati** (v 17). **Narapati's** younger brother was **Śrīpati** and wife was **Nayaśrī**, who got herself weighed against various metals ten times (vv 18-20). She had five sons, namely, **Padmasimha**, **Thīrū**, **Lōla**, **Lakshmidhara**, and **Sōma** (vv 22-30). **Padmasimha's** son was **Mōkshasimha** (v 31). **Thīrū** had two sons **Kēśava** and **Sōdha** (v 32). **Lōla's** son was **Gāngadēva**, and **Sōma's** was **Jayasimha** (v 33). Then, the name of the composer of the record is given as **Vaijāditya**, who was the *Purāna*-reciter at the court of king Hammīra (v 39). In the prose line at the end, the date is given as **Samvat 1345 (A.D. 1288)** and also the name of the *Sutradhara* (engraver), viz., **Gājūka**, son of **Trivikrama**.

As regards the places or other names mentioned in the inscription **Kapālīśvara** (v 2) and **Kardamālēśvara** (v 34) are still represented by the local name **Kavālī**. **Chakratatinī** is

the **Chākana** which flows to the left of Kavālī's temple **Mandākini** is the **Madākana** which flows behind the temple. **Mandapa** (v 7) is the famous fortress of **Māndu Jhampzitha Ghatta**, as the name shows, might be a hill pass or a river ford somewhere in or about the Kotah territory **Kētumukhā** (v 2) and **Karkarālagiri** (v 8) I cannot identify **Ranastambhapura** is the fortress of **Ranathambhōr** in the Jaipur State **Pushyaka** (v 12) may be the old palace of **Hammira**

As to the personages spoken of in the inscription, **Prithvirāja** is the famous chivalrous Chauhan king of Ajmer **Vāgbhata** was the fourth in succession from **Gōvindarāja**,¹ and is also known as **Bāhada** or **Bāhadadēva**. He went for some time to **Mālwā** owing to some internal dissension with his nephew, and consequently **Ranthambhōr** fell into the hands of the Muhammadans. He, however, soon returned and once more became master of **Ranthambhōr**.² He was twice attacked by **Ulugh Khān** in the time of '**Alāu-d-dīn Khālji**'³ **Jaitrasimha** (v 7) was the son and successor of **Vāgbhata**. In Samvat 1339 (A D 1283), he handed over the reins of Government to his son **Hammira** and went into seclusion.⁴ **Hammira** (v 10) was the last independent Chauhan king of **Ranthambhōr**. His fame is sung in many a Sanskrit and Prākṛit verse. According to the *Uammira-mahākāvya*, the date of his accession is Samvat 1339 (A D 1283), but, according to the genealogy given at the end of the *Prabandhakōsha*, it is Samvat 1342 (A D 1285). He led a series of successful warlike expeditions into different countries. In one of the many battles fought by him, he is said to have defeated **Rājā Arjuna** of **Sarasapura**⁵—a fact which does not quite agree with that of this inscription. He was killed in Samvat 1358 (A D 1301).⁶ **Jayasimha** (v 7), who was harassed by **Jaitrasimha**, was the **Paramāra** king **Jayasimhadēva** III of **Mālwā**. He succeeded **Jayavarman** II between Samvat 1317 and 1326 (A D 1260 and 1269), and ruled from A D 1261-1280.⁷ The **Kūrma** king, who is said to have been killed by **Jaitrasimha** (v 8), belonged to the **Kachhavāha** (**Kachchhapaghāta** or **Kachchhapāri**) family of **Āmber**. It is generally believed that the **Kachhavāha** prince **Pajjuṇa** was one of the great vassals of **Prithvirāja** III of Ajmer.⁸ So, the **Kūrma** king mentioned above must be a descendant of **Pajjuṇa**. The **Kachhavāhas** of **Āmber** belonged to the junior branch of the **Kachhavāhas** of **Gwalior**. They were the descendants of **Sumitra**, the younger son of **Mangalarāja**, the third⁹ **Kachhavāha** ruler of **Gwalior**. According to the writer **Muhnot Nainsy** (A.D 1610-1670), **Sōdha** (**Sōdhadēva**), who belonged to this junior branch, migrated to **Rājputānā** and took **Dyōsa** in Jaipur territory from the **Baragujaras**, and established his rule there.¹⁰ His descendants took **Āmber** from the **Mīnās** and made it their capital. **Āmber** remained the capital of the **Kachhavāhas** of **Rājputānā** till the time of **Sawāi Jaisimha** (A D 1699-1743) who founded the modern city of Jaipur. As to **Arjuna** (v 11) of **Mālwā**, who is said to

¹ He was the founder of the ruling dynasty of the Chauhāns of **Ranthambhōr**. After the death of his father **Prithvirāja** in A.D 1192, he was appointed governor of Ajmer by **Muhammad Ghori** but was soon driven out of Ajmer towards **Ranthambhōr** by his uncle **Hanirāja** (**Hemrāja** or **Hirā**) (*Briggs' Perishta*, Vol I, p 193).

² *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. VIII, pp 63-64.

³ *Elliot's History of India*, Vol II, pp 367-70.

⁴ The *Hammira mahākāvya*, Sarga 8, Śloka 56. *Ind. Ant.*, Vol VIII, p 64, n. 14.

⁵ *Indian Antiquary*, Vol VIII, p 64.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p 73 n 20.

⁷ *The Parmāras of Dhār and Mālwā* by Captain C. E. Luard and K. K. Lele, p 41.

⁸ *Tod's Rajasthan*, Vol II, p 717, n 3.

⁹ *Cunningham's Arch. Sur. of India*, Vol II, p 374.

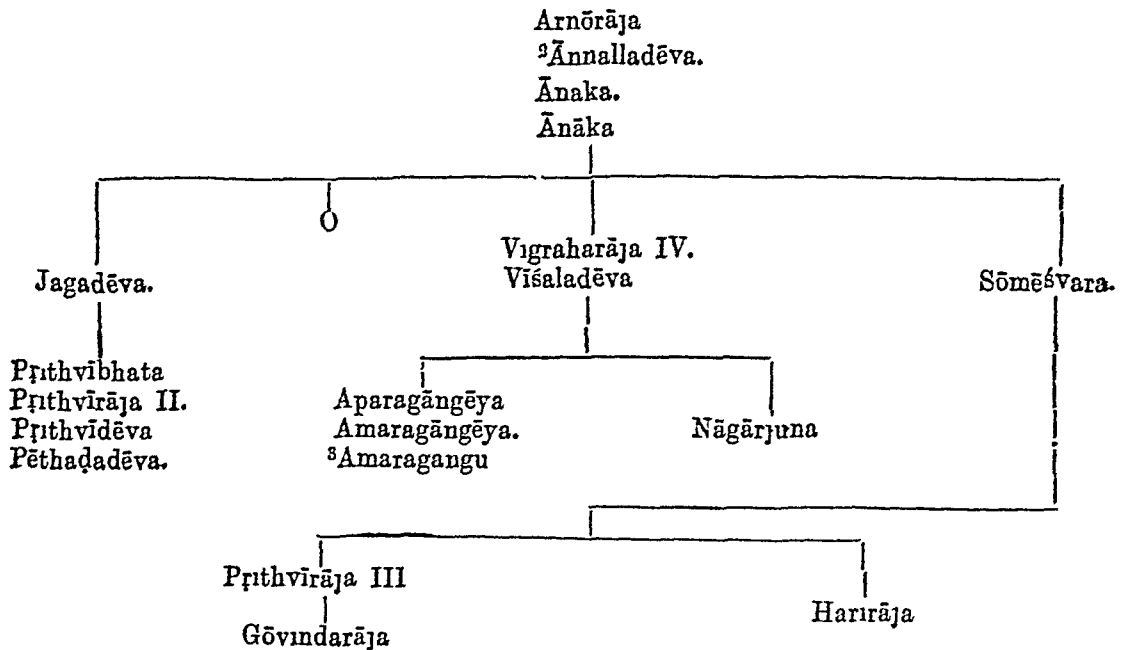
¹⁰ *Muhnot Nainsy's Khyāta* (manuscript), pp 63-64. [Muhnot Nainsy was the minister of the **Mahārāja Jaswant Singh** (A.D 1635-78) of **Jodhpur** and was a reliable writer of historical accounts of **Rājputānā**.]

¹¹ *Muhnot Nainsy's Khyāta* (manuscript), p 64. Supplementary notes to *Tod's Rajasthan* (in Hindi) by R. B. Pt. Gourishankar H. Ojha, p 373.

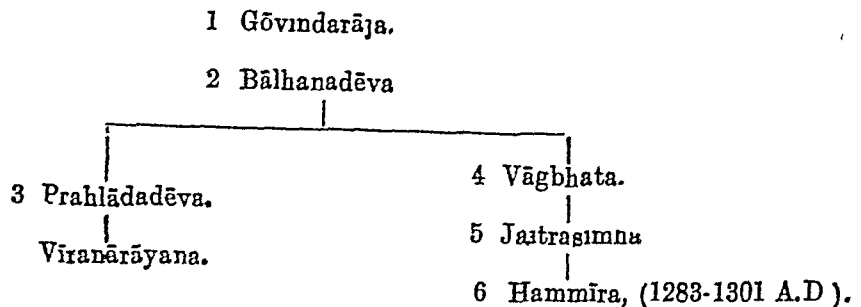
have been defeated by Hammīra (v 11), he must be designated as Arjunavarman II in the genealogy of the Paramāra rulers of Mālwa, as stated by Pandit Gourishankar Hirāchand Ojha and is different from the king named Arjuna or Arjunavarman who ruled Mālwa, but died before Samvat 1275 (A D. 1218) and consequently could not be the contemporary of Hammīra of this record. In fact, he (Arjuna of this record) was the sixth in succession from Arjunavarman I and, therefore, must be the successor of Jayasimhadēva III of Mālwa, who was defeated by Hammīra's father Jaitrasimha. The defeat of Arjuna might have taken place between Samvat 1339 and 1345 (A D. 1283 and 1288), that is, between the period of Hammīra's accession and the date of this record.

The genealogy of the Chauhāns of Ajmer and Ranthambhōr in the light of this inscription and other authorities would be—

¹The Chauhāns of Ajmer.



⁴The Chauhāns of Ranthambhōr



¹ According to *Prithvirāja vijaya*, *Hammīra mahākāvya* and several inscriptions

² Professor Kielhorn read this name as Avēlladēva (*Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XIX, p. 218). The same is written in Duff's *Chronology*, p. 154. The correct name, however, is Ānnalladēva.

³ This name is given by Abul Fazl in his *Ain-i-Akbari* [Cunningham's *Arch. Sur. of India*, Vol. I, p. 153]

⁴ According to the *Hammīra mahākāvya*.



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The position of Arjuna of this record in the genealogy of the Paramāra rulers of Mālwa commencing from Arjunavarman I would be (according to the inscriptions) —

- 1 Arjunavarman I. (1210-15 A.D.).
- 2 Dēvapāladēva (1218-35 A.D.)
- 3 Jayatugidēva or Jayasimha II (1243-57 A.D.).
- 4 Jayavarman II. (1257-60 A.D.)
- 5 Jayasimhadēva III (A.D. 1269-....).¹
- 6 Arjuna or Arjunavarman II.

TEXT.

[Metres — Vv. 1, 3, 4, 7, 9, 12, 15, 19 to 22, 28 to 39, *Anushtubh*, v. 2, *Sāṁdulanīkṛīḍita*; v. 5, *Āryā*; vv. 6 and 13, *Gītī*; vv. 8 and 10, *Vasantatīlakā*, vv. 11 and 26, *Indravajrā*, v. 14, *Rathōddhatā*, v. 16, *Svāgatā*, v. 17, *Paṇḍatīkā*, v. 18, *Upajāti*; v. 23, *Sālinī*, v. 24, *Harinī*, v. 25, *Bhujangaprayāta*, v. 27, *Śikhariṇī*]

1

ओं ॥

[श] वो लं वोदरो दियादेककालं कलत्रयोः । बुद्धिसिद्धयोः स्तनस्यशहे-
तोरिव चतुर्भुजः ॥ १[॥*] दद्रुश्लीपदकुष्ठदुष्टवपुषामाधिं विनिघ्नन्ना कारुखेन
समोहित

2

वितनुतां देवः कपालोश्चरः ।

वामे यस्य चकास्ति चक्रतटिनी पृष्ठे च मंदाकिनी निर्यत्केतुमुखापगा-
जलधहं कुंड प्रसिद्धं पुरः ॥ २[॥*] यदंतिके आडकृता कुलको-

3

टिविमुक्तिदः ।

अनादिपादपोद्यापि दृश्यते किल शात्मलिः ॥ ३[॥*] चाहमाननरेंद्राणां वंशो
विजयतामयं । उपायुज्यत यद्वडः कलौ गोष्ठपरक्षणे ॥ ४[॥*]

क-॥^४

4

लिकालकेसरिकुलत्रस्यज्ञोचक्ररक्षणे दक्षाः ।

अभवन्विजितविपक्षाः पृथिवीराजादयो भूपाः ॥ ५[॥*] तद्वंशे राजानो भानव
इव(व) वैधवा भूवांसः । वाग्भट-

5

देवप्रमुखा जनकुसुदोक्षासनैकसद्भावाः ॥ ६[॥*]

ततोभ्युदयमासाद्य जैत्रसिंहरविर्भवः । अपि मण्डपमध्यस्थं जयसिंहमतो-
तपत् ॥ ७[॥*] कूर्मचिन्तीशकमठो-

¹ His reign may have lasted longer than 1280 A.D., vide f n 7 on p 47 above

² Read लक्ष्मी.

³ Read बुद्धि.

⁴ The strokes are redundant

⁵ Read वमवांस.

6

कठिनोरकांठ-

पीठौविलुंठ(ठ)नकठोरकुठारधारः । य कर्करालगिरिपालकपालपालि-
खेलत्करालकारवालकरो विरेजे ॥८[॥*] येन भंपाडघाघटे

7

[सा]लवेमभटाः शतं ।

वद्या रणस्तंभपुरे चिह्ना नीतास दासतां ॥९[॥*] तस्मिन्नुद्वेगधनदाननिदान-
पुण्यपथैः पुरंदरपुरीतिलकायमाने । २सांवाव्यसाव्यपरि-

8

तोषितहव्यवाद्यो

हंसीरभूपतिरविंव(द)त भूतधाद्याः [१*]॥१०[॥*] यः कोटिहोमद्वितयं चकार
श्रेणी गजाना पुनरानिनाय । निर्जित्य येनार्जुनमानिभूर्द्धि

9

श्रीर्भालषष्ठोज्जरुहे हठेन ॥११[॥*]

रणस्तंभपुरि दु[र्गे] वेश्म पुष्य(प्य)कसंज्ञकं । तिस्रभिर्भूसिभिर्युक्तं य. कांचन-
मचौकरत् ॥१२[॥*] मथुरापुरीविनिर्गतकाय-

10

[स्य]कटारियान्ववायाव्यौ ।

जाता अनंतसेठश्रीधरसंज्ञाः क्रमेण मणयः प्राक् ॥१३[॥*] लक्षणस्तदनु
लक्षणाधिको लक्ष्यलक्षणविचक्षणोभवत् । यच्चलत्वा-^१

11

मल्लकोमलेक्षणो वं(र्व)धुवत्सलतयेव लक्ष्मणः ॥१४[॥*]

पूर्णपालः स भूपालप्रियोस्य तनयोभवत् । यः प्राप यमुनापालस^२वाल-
चरितं सुतं ॥१५[॥*] तस्य सूनुरज-

12

निष्ट वरिष्ठो(ष्ठो)

विष्टपेपि खलु सोमणसंज्ञः । देवराजदुहिता परिणोता येन शीलनिधि-
सोमलदेवी ॥१६[॥*] तस्य सुतोजनि नरपतिनामा भानुकृशानुक-^३

13

नक्तसमधामा ।

यद्गुणजनितकीर्त्तिमदुवामा दूरसियर्त्ति सततमभिराम[१*] ॥१७[॥*] तस्यानुबन्धा-
भवदश्रवर्मा स श्रीपतिः श्रीपतिस्तप्तेताः । अन्या-

14

गनासोदरताव्रतं यो

दधौ सुधासंघमिवावृतांशुः ॥१८[॥*] श्रीमत्परशुनामाख्यगोचा^४वधेरिंदिरोपमा ।
नयश्रीरिति विख्याता भार्या नरयत्नेरभूत् ।[१*]

15

१९[॥*] ए[क]सि(स्त्रि)जे(त्रे)व द्विवसे रत्नात्वा अद्यासुधां^५वुधा^६ ।^१ Read दद्या^२ Read सामा^०^३ Read ०दुंक्र^४ Read ०यासौ^५ This stroke is redundant.^६ Read ०वास^०^७ This stroke is redundant.^८ Read ०त्राव^० ।^९ Read वुधी

।*] वाचस्यतो सिंहनते

शतं ॥२१[॥*

क्षुताः पंच महेश्वर-

रीहो

गन्निपीतं हास्यक्षोरं

अरज्वरतप्तया सुसर-

मृगोदृशा ।

वाह्येष्टतानि पतन्वथा ॥

अश्वमंत्रैकसारो

प्रतिं योत्र लक्ष्मीमधा-

तृतीयस्त्रि-

पुरापराष्ट्र-

श्रियं विभ्रदसंभ्रमो-

लिपि-

यमाजग्मुर्विद्या युग-

दुममिव ॥२७[॥*] स-

गडवसेवया ।

सोमः स पंचमो जीया-

रक्षतो ॥ २९ [॥*

मर्षमालिन्यमिंदुर्द्धत्तकै-

दा पितुः ।

रूनान्मोस्ति तनयद्वितयं

दिसंज्ञ- ॥¹⁹

Read वमृव

Read दिसं°.

letter read पात्र सात्क°

The strokes are redundant.

6

पोठीविलुंठ(ठ)नकठो
खेलत्कारालकारवालाक

7

¹वद्या रणस्तंभपुरे ।
पुण्यपथ्यैः पुरंदरपुरं

8

हंसीरभूपतिरविंव(द
श्रेणीं गजाना पुनर

9

रणस्तंभपुरे दु[र्गो]
मचौकदत् ॥१२[॥'

10

जाता अनंतसेटश्रीध
लक्षणाधिको लक्ष्य

11

पृण्णपालः स भू
चरितं सुतं ॥१५।

12

विष्टपेपि खलु सं
सोमलदेवी ॥१६[॥

13

यहुणजनितकीर्त्तिमृदु
भवदग्रकम्पा स ३

14

दधौ सुधासंघमिव
नययोरिति विस्व

15

१८[॥'

¹ Read वद्या

⁴ Read °यासौ

⁵ This stroke is redundant.

ताम्रकास्यादिवस्तूना ददौ सा दशधा तुलां ॥२०[॥*] वाचस्पती सिंहने
भीतम्या स्नातया यया । सुवर्णं^१भूयो

16 चिप्रेभ्यो वितीर्णा घेनवः शतं ॥२१[॥*]

व्यावलात्कुडलाचारुनेत्रा भूतिविभू[पि]ताः । व(व)भूवस्तुताः पंच महेश्वर-
सुखोपमाः ॥२२[॥*] तेषु ज्येष्ठः पद्मसिंहो नि-

17 रीहो

दोषव्यह्वस्ति यत्कीर्तिहंस्था । प्रत्यर्थिस्त्रिवक्त्रपात्राद्विपीतं हास्यचौरं
तद्वगंभो विमुक्तं ॥२३[॥*] यदतिललितं रूपं दृष्ट्वा स्मरज्वरतप्तया सुसर-

18 सि तथा सस्ने कृत्स्ने कयापि नृगोदृशा ।

तदुदकभरैरुष्णीभूतैर्भृशं परितापितः सकलसकुलव्यूहो^२वाह्येनृतानि पतन्त्यथा ॥
२४[॥*] परिज्ञातः^३

19 सप्ताश्वसंनैकसारो

वभूव द्वितीयश्च धीरुत्तारः । प्रियांभोजपुंजस्थितिं योत्र लक्ष्मीमधा-
त्पात्रहस्ता^४जगामेव शफो [॥*]॥२५[॥*] लोलचि(स्तृ)तीयचि-

20 पुरापराज्य^५-

पादा^६क्षपूजाधिगतप्रसादः । भानूझवातोयतरंगसंगिहंसत्रियं विभ्रदसंभ्रमो-
भूत् ॥२६[॥*] चतुर्थो भूगायस्तुतविविधदेशोद्भव-

21 लिपि-

प्र^७बोधप्रावीणः सप्तजनि स लक्ष्मीधर इति । यमाजग्मुर्विद्या युग-
पदनवया द्विजहितं शुकादीना माला^८ बहुफलरसोलद्रुममिव ॥२७[॥*] स-
22 त्वरं गत्वरं मत्वा वित्तं वाडवसेवया ।

पात्रत्राक्त^९ तस[र्व]स्त्रो यो वदान्यगन्धसिस्त्रपत् ॥२८[॥*] सोमः स पंचमो जोया-
दपूर्वं यन्मुखावुज^{१०} । समस्थितवहि^{११}र्त्त- ॥^{१२}

23 चमीरंतर्द्वो सरस्वती ॥ २९ [॥*]

अभग्नमानमजडमकलंकं विलोक्त्र यं । हृदये मर्षमालिन्यमिंदुर्दत्तककै-
तवात् ॥३०[॥*] पद्मसिंहस्य तनयो मोक्षसिंह-

24 सदा पितुः ।

त्रैमातुरः प्रियं कु[र्व]न्दीर्घमायुरवाप्नुयात् ॥३१[॥*] धीरुनास्त्रोस्ति तनयद्वितयं
दीर्घजीवितं । तत्रैकः केशवो नास्त्रा द्वितीयः सोढसंघ- ॥^{१३}

^१ Read वाघे

^२ Read °जगा°

^३ Read प्रवी°

^४ Read °वृज

^५ The strokes are redundant

^६ The strokes are redundant

^७ Read °दावज°

^८ Read वहु°

^९ Read वहि°

^{१०} Read-वसु

^{११} Read चिभ°

^{१२} Better read पात्र साक्त°

^{१३} The strokes are redundant.

25

कः ॥३२[॥*]

गांगदेवो(व)स्तु गंगाया लब्धो^१ लीलात्मजः सुखी । जयसिंहस्तु भीमस्य
सूनुः स्नात्सूतप्रियः ॥३३[॥*] कर्दमालेश्वरस्थाग्रे ज्ञानवापोति नामतः ॥
शि-

26

लासु^२वहसीपानं कुडं नरपतिर्व्यधात् ॥ ३४[॥*]

जैत्रसिंहस्य भूभर्तुः ओहंसीरनृपस्य च । नीतिशास्त्रेषु निष्णातो यो
लेभे मंत्रिसुख्यतां ॥३५[॥*] सहैव धीर-

27

स्वामिन्या समाश्वः कुलदेवता ।

यत्कुलेनादिपुरुषादारभ्याद्यापि पूज्यते ॥३६[॥*] रणस्तंभपुरे दुर्गे देवालय-
चतुष्टयं । कारयामास वा-

28

पीं च ग्रामे पिप्पलवाटके ॥३७[॥*]

सिंहपुर्यां कुरुक्षेत्रे गोदावर्यां क्रमेण यः । गवा सहस्रमेकैकं विप्रेभ्यः
प्रत्यपादयत् ॥३८[॥*] ओहंसीरनृवी -

29

रस्य पीराणिकपदे स्थितः ।

वैजादित्यो नृपामात्य[ः*] प्रशस्तिमतनोदिमां ॥३९[॥*] संवत् १३४५ वर्षे
घटिता सूत्रधारचिविक्रमसुतगाजूकेन ॥

No 7—AHAR STONE INSCRIPTION.

By DAYA RAM SAHNI, M A, RAI BAHADUR.

The stone slab on which this inscription is engraved is stated to have been discovered in a ruined house in the ancient town of Āhār situated on the banks of the Ganges at a distance of seven miles north of Anūpshahr and twenty-one miles from Bulandshahr Mr W E J Dobbs, Collector of Bulandshahr, was informed of this discovery when he was camping at Āhār for the Christmas week of 1923, and at the suggestion of the Hon'ble Mr R Burn, C.S.I., of the Board of Revenue, United Provinces, the inscribed stone has been transferred to the Provincial Museum, Lucknow The impression published with this paper has been kindly supplied by Mr Prayag Dayal, the Curator of that institution

According to Mr H R Nevill,⁴ I.C.S., the name of Āhār is locally derived from *ahī* and *hār* (Sanskrit *hāra*), the killing of the serpent,⁵ and the present town is said to be the place where Janamējaya performed the great Snake-sacrifice. Āhār is also locally believed to have been the residence of Rukminī, the wife of Kṛishna, and the temple of Ambikādēvī at Muhammadpur is said to be that from which Kṛishna carried her off⁶ The numerous mounds in and about Āhar show that the town was the seat of a Hindu principality for some centuries previous to the Musalman invasion None of these mounds has yet been explored

¹ Read स्ना² Read सुवडु°.³ [Evidently an instance of popular etymology —Ed.]⁴ [But that was in Vidyābhā (Berār)] —Ed.]⁵ [Perhaps सुवडुनता^c is meant —Ed.]⁶ Bulandshahr Gazetteer, p. 172

The inscription consists of twenty-eight lines which cover a space of 3' 4" × 1' 8½" The whole of the inscription is in a perfect state of preservation except for a portion measuring 8" × 5" which is defaced on account of the flaking off of the stone in the upper left corner of the slab Three or four letters have also mostly disappeared in the lowest or last line The letters measure about half an inch in height exclusive of the vowel marks The characters are Nāgarī of about the 10th century A D, and are regularly and beautifully formed and artistically engraved from beginning to end The language of the inscription is Sanskrit prose throughout, though the author of the record would seem to have been equipped with a meagre knowledge of Sanskrit grammar while some of the mistakes appear to betray the influence of the vernacular of the period As regards orthography, *ba* has throughout been denoted by the sign for *va*, while the dental sibilant has often been employed in place of the palatal Besides this we notice many other mistakes and defects of various kinds Some of these are —

The use of the vowel *च* for *रि* and *रौ* in *चतुय* in place of *चत्वि* (ll 14, 16 and 20) and *पटकाय* for *पटिकाय* (l 24) and *ग्र* for *ग्री* (ll 11 and 27), the use of *अन्सु* for *अशु* (l 3), *सन्मार्जन* for *सन्मार्जन* (l 5) and *सन्मत* for *सम्मत* (ll 12, 18 and 21), the use of short vowels in place of long ones as in *भद्रप्रकाशनाम* in place of *भद्रप्रकाशनामा* (l 3, etc), single consonants for double ones and *vice versa*, as in *उतर* for *उत्तर* (ll 7, 10, etc), *देशदूतक* for *देशदूतक* (ll 7 and 20), *सहाजनेन* for *सहाजनेन* (ll 6, 20, etc), *आघाट* for *आघाट* (ll 9, 10, 13, etc) and *भाटक* for *भाटक* (ll 10, 11, 21, etc)

Examples of wrong *sandhi* are *एकून* for *एकीन* (l 1), *वणिकहा* for *वणिग्गहा* (l 5, etc) In some cases *sandhi* is ignored between the component parts of the same compound as in *दशपाशिक चमरा* in l 2, *शैतपल्लवट्या* in l 6, *भद्रद* in l 10, *भद्रकितराकभमाकयो* (l 13), etc Specimens of extraordinary *sandhi*, one of which is repeated several times in the inscription, are *आवायाराघाटा* in place of *आवायां आघाटा* and *पूर्वतो दृष्टे* for *पूर्वत दृष्टे* (l 4) Examples of wrong absolutes are *दत्ता* for *दत्ता* (l 11), and *मतीभूता* for *मतीभूय* (ll 8 and 18) Examples of irregular participles are *प्रतिवसमान* (l 3) and *प्रतिवसमाना* (l 17), etc

As regards the treatment of nouns, we observe the omission of case endings in *अन्सु(अशु)-राकपुत्र* (l 3), *सधुसदनतया* (l 8), *गृहभूमि* (l 10), etc Sometimes wrong cases have been employed —

Cf *विप्रकीर्ण* for *विप्रकीर्ण* (l 4), *समक्षोच्चयसमेता* for *समक्षोच्चयसमेता* (l 4), *अपापुरे* for *अपापुरात्* (l 7), etc Bases ending in consonants are in some cases declined like those ending in *च्*, *e g*, *वर्मेण* in place of *वर्मणा* (l 9), and *वणिक* for *वणिक्* (l 23)

In connection with compounds, the *visarga* is sometimes wrongly used in the earlier components, *cf* *पादानुध्यात परम* (l 1) As instances of irregular causatives and their derivatives, we notice *अभिलिखाय* (l 3), *चरकीर्षिता* (l 7) and *धवलापन* (ll 5 and 28) In the text given below many of the mistakes have been corrected in round brackets Owing to bad grammar the meaning of some of the passages remains uncertain For this reason only a comprehensive summary of the contents instead of a complete translation is given

Like the Siyadōni stone inscription, the present epigraph is a collective public copy of a series of ten separate documents recorded at different dates The inscription itself is not dated, but each of the component records contains its own date Inscription No I is interesting inasmuch as it is dated in the reign of the Paramabhattachāraka Mahārājādhirāja Paramēśvara and illustrious Bhōjadēva (of Kanauj), the successor and, presumably, the son of the Paramabhattachāraka Mahārājādhirāja Paramēśvara and illustrious Rāmabhadradēva Other known inscriptions of this king are the Deōgadh Jain pillar inscription of the Vikrama year

919 and the Śaka year 784, the Pehevē (Pehoa) inscription of the Harsha-Samvat 276, the undated *prabasti* at Gwalior, the inscription in Pāṇḍavō-kā-kila at Delhi,¹ the Gwalior inscription of Vikrama-Samvat 932, and the Gwalior inscription of Vikrama-Samvat 933.²

The remaining nine documents of the present inscription do not mention the names of the kings who were ruling at the time they were recorded. Nine of the ten dates mentioned in the inscriptions are given in terms of the Harsha era, though the name of the era is nowhere specified. This is also the case in the Dighwā Dubauli plate of Mahārāja Mahēndrapālādēva and other inscriptions, the dates of which must evidently be referred to the Harsha era. It will be observed that the tens and units figures of the dates in the first two inscriptions are denoted by numerical symbols, and the hundreds by ordinary numeral figures, as is the case with the dates of the remaining eight inscriptions. These dates range between the years 258 and 298, corresponding respectively to A D 864 and A D 904. The tenth inscription, i.e., No. IV of the series, is dated in the Vikrama year 943. The exact duration of the reign of Bhōjadēva is not known and all that we know at present is that he was ruling at Kanauj (Mahōdaya or Kānyakubja) in the years 862, 875, 876 and 882. Smith³ assigned to Bhōja a reign of half a century (circa 840-890 A D), although no inscription of as early a date as A D 840 and attributable to his rule was forthcoming when he wrote. This want is now supplied by an inscription of Bhōja found at Barah, District Cawnpore, which is dated in the Vikrama-Samvat 893 (A D 836) and has recently been published.⁴ It clearly shows that the king had come to the throne of Kanauj even four years earlier than had been tentatively supposed by the late Mr. Smith. There is, however, no epigraphical evidence of Bhōja having continued to reign beyond A D. 882 and consequently we can only refer documents Nos. I, II and IX with certainty to Bhōja and Nos. III, VIII and X to his successor Mahēndrapāla, who, we know from the Siyadōni inscription, was reigning between the years 903-04 and 907-08 A D. The remaining four inscriptions (Nos. IV to VII) whose dates range between A D 886 and A D 902 must have been issued in the time of either Bhōja or Mahēndrapāla.

Summary of the inscription

Document No. I [Lines 1-2] This epigraph simply states that on the tenth *tithi* of the dark fortnight of Mārggaśīra, (Harsha)-Samvat 259 (=A D 865), (given in words and figures), in the reign of Mahārājādhirāja Bhōjadēva, meditating on the feet of Mahārājādhirāja Rāma-bhadrādēva, this excellent eulogy was engraved at Tattānandapura at the bidding of the messenger, the *dandapāṭika* Amarāditya and under the orders of the illustrious (and) noble Chāturvaidya, i.e., the community of Brāhmanas⁵ acquainted with the four *Vēdas*.

Document No. II [ll. 2-6] This inscription appears to state that on the tenth *tithi* of the dark fortnight of Āshādha, [Harsha]-Samvat 258 (in words and figures), Bhadrarakāśa, son of Bhaddāka Ambuvāka of the *vanik-varṇkata* caste which had migrated from Bhillamāla and was residing at Tattānandapura, and Māumka, son of Gōśuka and of the *Lambakañchuka-vanik* caste, purchased with *drammas* belonging to the illustrious Kañchanadēvi,

¹ *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. V, App., *List of Inscriptions of Northern India*, Nos. 14, 15, 16 and 546; *A. S. R.*, 1903-04, pp. 277 seq., and the *Annual Report of the Ajmer Museum* for 1923-24, p. 3 respectively. The Delhi inscription was found built in a modern flight of steps inside the Talaqi gate of the Pāṇḍavō-kā-kila or the Indrapat Fort, as it is commonly called. At my suggestion this inscription has been taken out and placed in the Delhi Fort Museum.

² [The Barah copper plate may also be added to this list.—Ed.]

³ *Oxford History of India*, p. 183.

⁴ See above, pp. 15 ff.

⁵ Now called Chaube.—Ed.]

an *āvārī* (a shop or enclosure), which contained three rooms, together with entire elevation, and that the community of the *Sauvarṇika* traders together with the two persons Bhadra and Māumka assigned the *āvārī* in question to the aforesaid temple of Kañchanadēvi to provide funds for perpetual cleaning and plastering, saffron, flowers, incense, lamps, flags, whitewashing and the repairs of broken and cracked buildings. Obviously what is meant by the passage is that the materials, etc., mentioned above, were to be provided for out of the rent of the place acquired and the entire community of the *sauvarṇikas*, with sons, grandsons and other descendants, is enjoined to respect the transaction mentioned in the record. The inscription contains a detailed description of the situation and boundaries (*chaturāghāta*) of the *āvārī*, which stood in the centre of the town (Tattānandapura), in the middle portion of the eastern bazaar.

Document No III [ll 6-7] Like document No I, this epigraph also simply records that this inscription was engraved at Tattānandapura at the bidding of the messenger Kaluvā and under the orders of the illustrious *Uttara sabhā* (Supreme-association), on the eighth *tithi* of the bright fortnight of the month of Chaitra, when two hundred years of the [Harsha] era increased by ninety-eight (=A D 904) had elapsed.

Document No IV [ll 7-11] This inscription registers the fact that there were four persons, named Mādhava, the son of Nāga, who was the son of , his (Mādhava's) younger brother Madhusūdana, Kēsava, the son of Gōvinda, the son of Sarvvasa, and Dēvanāga, the son of Sarvvasa, and that, after bathing in the Ganges at a lunar eclipse, they gave, on the 13th *tithi* of the dark fortnight of Pausa of [Vikrama]-Samvat 943 (expired), for the increase of their parents' and their own religious merit and fame, as surety for a monthly payment of ten *vr̥ṣṭōpakās* to the illustrious Kanakaśrīdēvi, a house site which had been acquired by their grandfather Māngalavarmman for a term of ninety-nine years and on which they had themselves constructed with burnt bricks two *apavānakas* (inner apartments) which faced to the east, half of which was occupied by a large pillared hall, and which were entered by doorways on the east side. The donors further enjoin their sons, grandsons and other descendants in succession to enjoy the rent of the above-mentioned house after they had paid every month ten *vr̥ṣṭōpakās* to the temple of the goddess named above. The house in question was situated in the central portion of the eastern bazaar of Tattānandapura and its boundaries were —

On the east, a lane, on the south, the site of the house belonging to Vijāṭṭa, on the west, the site of the house belonging to Bhatta Imḍra, and on the north, the house of the merchant Ujvāka.

Document No V [ll 11-14] This inscription states that on the 8th *tithi* of the dark fortnight of Phālguna, when 280 years of the [Harsha] era had elapsed, the *gōshthi* purchased with money belonging to the illustrious Kanakaśrīdēvi, by a deed of ninety-nine years, the southern half of a building site, measuring 27 cubits on each side, which was situated in the south-eastern portion of the same town and contained a dwelling of burnt brick facing to the west and two *āvārīs* facing to the south together with all the inner apartments and total elevation, from Bhatta I(Ī)śvara, the son of Mahādēva, and Mahādēva, the son of Asaiva, who belonged to the illustrious noble Chāturvaidya caste, residing at the illustrious Tattānandapura, with the consent of the mother Iyattā and gave it to the temple.

Document No VI [ll 14-16] This inscription records that on the 11th *tithi* of the dark fortnight of Mārgaśīra, when two hundred and eighty-seven years of the [Harsha] era had elapsed, an *āvārī* comprising three rooms, and facing towards the west, which was situated in the middle portion of the eastern bazaar, inside the town of Tattānandapura, was acquired, with padlocks and wooden doors together with entire elevation, with money belonging to the

illustrious Kanakaśrīdēvī, from the *kshatriya* merchant Sāhāka, the son of Ichchhuka, by a sale deed of the extreme duration of ninety-nine years. The boundaries of the place were.—

On the east, the house belonging to the merchant Pānēka, on the south, the *āvārī* of Gandhaśrīdēvī, on the west, the bazaar, on the north, the *āīārī* belonging to Sarvvadēva, the son of the merchant Jayamti.

Document No VII [ll 16-20] This document registers the fact that on the 14th *tithi* of the bright fortnight of Bhādrapada in the year 296 of the [Harsha] era, the Sauvarnnika Mahājana acquired, with money belonging to the illustrious Kanakaśrīdēvī, by a charter of ninety-nine years' duration, an *āvārī*, which faced to the east, was constructed with burnt bricks, comprised three rooms, and was situated in the town of Tattānandapura in the middle portion of the eastern bazaar, together with the padlocks and doors and the entire elevation, from Bhatta Divākara, the son of Bhatta-Tārāgapa, Achyutaśiva and Dāmōdaraśiva, the sons of Saiva-Bhatta-Dīyāka, and Ānamda-Bhatta-Śiva, the son of Achyutaśiva, all of whom resided in Tattānandapura, belonged to the noble Chāturvaidya caste, followed the Bahvrīcha-śākhā of the Rīgvēda and belonged to the Śarkarākshī gōtra

The *āīārī* in question was bounded on the east by the bazaar, on the south by the *āvārī* belonging to the illustrious Daśavatāra-Āeva (ten incarnations), on the west by the temple belonging to Śrī-Nandā-Bhagavatī, and on the north by the *āīārī* belonging to the temple of Sarvvamangaladēvī in the orchard of Sutuvāka with the consent of the mother Bhattinī Mahādēvī

Document No VIII [ll 20-22] This inscription was recorded at the bidding of the messenger Kavilāka and under the orders of the illustrious Uttara-sabhā at Tattānandapura on the 13th *tithi* of the bright fortnight of Jyēsthā in the year 298 of the [Harsha] era (=A D. 904) Here we learn that formerly (*i e.*, in Vikrama-Samvat 943) Sarvvāsa, the son of Mangalavarmman mentioned above (inscription No IV), together with sons and grandsons, had given a house, facing towards the east, as a surety for the monthly payment of ten *vimśōpalās* out of its rent This inscription records that the *kshatriyas* Kōkāka and Padmanābha, the sons of Madhusūdana, who resided in Tattānandapura, also Lachchhikā, the wife of Dēvanāga, and Sampat, the wife of Mādhaava, made over the entire rent by a deed of ninety-nine years to the holy Kanakaśrīdēvī in consideration of payment out of the funds of the said temple by the Sauvarnnika Mahājana

Document No IX [ll 22-24] This inscription states that on the 3rd *tithi* of the dark fortnight of Āshāḍha, when 26½ years of the [Harsha] era had elapsed, the Sauvarnnika Mahājana purchased with money belonging to the illustrious Kañchanaśrīdēvī, by a sale deed of the extreme duration of ninety-nine years,¹ a house constructed with burnt bricks, together with its entire elevation, which faced towards the west, and was situated in the middle portion of the eastern bazaar in the town of Tattānandapura, from the merchant Mādhaava, the son of Dēvanāga who belonged to the Māthura caste and was a seller of perfumes, residing in the above mentioned town, who had originally purchased the house with his own money.

Document No X [ll 24-28] This inscription states that on the 5th *tithi* of the dark fortnight of Bhādrapada, in the year 298 of the [Harsha] era, the Sauvarnnika Mahājana acquired, by a deed of ninety-nine years, with money belonging to the illustrious Kanakaśrīdēvī, six *ārīs*, namely, one *ārī* measuring 27 cubits along each side, the northern half of which was occupied by a house built with burnt bricks, one other which comprised two rooms, also three *ārīs*, each comprising two rooms, and one *āvārī* consisting of two rooms one of which faced to the north and the other to the west, from Bhatta Śānadata, the son of Bhatta Kūṭava, who belonged to the noble Chāturvaidya caste, the Bhūradīyaja-

¹ Dr. H. Sastri informs me that the number of years' lease is a "known in Southern India

gōtra and the *Bahvr̥cha-sāllhā* (of the *R̥gvēda*) These *āvārīs* were situated in the middle portion of the north-eastern part of the town of *Tattānandapura*, and had descended to the seller from his father and grandfather, after being duly partitioned with his uncle, grandfather and brothers. The boundaries of the property purchased are duly mentioned and it is further remarked that whatever rent accrues from this immovable property should be religiously applied to the provision of saffron, incense, flowers, lamps, flags and to whitewashing and the repairs of the broken portions of the temple.

From the above extracts it will be seen that as many as seven of the documents included in the inscription record acquisition of land or houses with the revenues of a temple of the goddess *Kanakadēvī* which was situated in the town of *Tattānandapura*. This goddess is denoted by the synonymous name of *Kaūchanadēvī*, i.e. *Kāūchanadēvī*, in documents Nos II and IX. Six of these purchases (Nos II, VI-X) were effected by the *Sauvarnnika-Mahājana* while the seventh (No V) was accomplished by *gōshthīs* or a certain *gōshthi*, presumably the managing committee of the temple, which, apparently, controlled the *Mahājana* mentioned above. This assumption is borne out by document No X from which we learn that whereas the acquisition of the property mentioned therein was made by the *Sauvarnnika Mahājana*, it was the function of the *gōshthīs* to ensure the application of the rent derived from it to the provision of the usual materials of worship and repairs, etc. The *Uttara-sabhā* mentioned in inscriptions Nos III and VIII would appear to have been identical with the *gōshthi* referred to above or the general controlling body. The object of these purchases would appear to have been the safe investment of the income of the temple. The houses or other property thus acquired were let out on rent and the amount thus obtained was utilized for the maintenance of the temple, the entire capital thus remaining intact.

The persons from whom the property referred to above was purchased were either merchants of different castes (Nos II, VI and IX) or *Bhattas*, i.e., *Brāhmanas* (Nos V, VII and X), all of whom resided in the town of *Tattānandapura*. It will be noticed that most of these sales were subject to a lease of ninety-nine years' duration. Inscription No IV is the only record of a free gift which was donated by four private persons after bathing in the Ganges at a lunar eclipse.

The temple of *Kanakadēvī*, mentioned above, was situated in the town of *Tattānandapura*, spelt as *Tātānandapura* in one or two places, which must have formed part of the dominions of *Bhōjadēva* as is evident from document No I. This town was most probably identical with the town of *Āhār* where the inscription under discussion has been discovered and like which it was situated on the banks of the Ganges. *Tattānandapura* must have been an important town, for, besides the temple of *Kanakadēvī*, it contained temples dedicated to other Brahmanical deities also. Such were the temples of the goddess *Nandā-Bhagavatī* and *Vāmana-svāmin* mentioned in inscription No II, *Gandhadēvī* (inscription No VI), the ten incarnations of *Vishnu* and *Sarvvamangaladēvī* (No VII). Some of these edifices may still be buried in the mounds at *Āhār*. The town contained main bazaars (*hatta-mārgga*), main streets (*v(b rihad-rathyā)*) and small streets (*ku-rathyā*), and the houses in it were constructed mostly with burnt bricks. It must also have been an important centre of trade, for merchants migrated to it from the distant towns of *Bhillamāla* (modern *Bhīnmāl* or *Bhilmāl*), the ancient capital of southern *Rājputāna* mentioned in inscription No II, and *Apāpura*¹ (inscription No IV) which cannot yet be identified.

¹ It is difficult to say if this place has anything to do with *Apāpuri* or *Papī* or *Pāvā*, situated seven miles to the south east of *Bihār* town, where *Mahāvira*, the 24th Tirthankara, died or attained *Kēvalhood*. *See* Geographical Dictionary of Ancient and Medieval India, by Nandlal Dey *Indian Antiquary*, October 1923, page 148.

The only state official mentioned in the inscription is the *daṇḍapāśika* Amarāditya in No I. Only two varieties of coins are named in the inscription. These are the *drāmas* (L 3) and the *vimśopakās* (ll 10, 11 and 20) Coins of the former designation are well known. The *vimśopakās* would appear to have been a fractional part of the *dramma*.

TEXT.¹

[Document No. I.]

- 1 [परम]सद्वारकमहाराजाधिराजपरमेश्वरश्रीरामभद्रदेवपादानुध्यातः(त)परमभद्वारकमहा-
राजाधिराजपरमेश्वरश्रीभोजदेवपादानामभिप्रवर्द्धमानकल्याणविजयराज्ये सम्ब-
त्सरश्चतस्रये एकू(को)नपष्टाधिके स(मा)र्गशिरमासव(व)हृतपक्षदशम्यां सम्ब-
त्सो²(त्सराः)२५८
- 2 [सा]र्गशिर [वदि १० अस्यां स]म्बत्सरमासदिवसपूर्व्यायान्तिथाविह श्रीतत्तानन्द-
पुरे श्रीमदार्यचातुर्वेद्यादेशाङ्गपाशिक अमरादित्यदूतकवचनाग्रश्लोय-
सुक्तीर्षा³ ॥ [Document No. II.] तथाऽतीतसम्बत्सरश्चतस्रये अष्टपञ्चाशदधिके
आषाढमासव(व)हृतपक्षदशम्यां सम्बत्सो²(त्सराः) २५८ आषाढव(व)दि
१० अस्यां सम्ब-
- 3 त्तरमासदिव[सपूर्व्यायान्तिथा]विह श्रीतत्तानन्दपुरे प्रतिवसमानः श्रीभिक्षमाल-
विनिर्गतयणिवर्कटजातीयभद्रप्रकाशनाम(मा) भद्राक्षन्सु(अशु)वाकपुत्रः[*]
तथा लब्ध(स्य)कञ्चुकवणिग्जातीयमाउंकः गोसुवापुत्र[*] अनयोर्मासा पचमभि-
लिखाप्य श्रीमत्कञ्चनश्रीदेव्या द्रुमैः क्रयक्रीतावारी इहैव पत्तनाभ्य-
- 4 [न्तरे] पूर्वहृदमध्य[प्रदेशे चिप्रकोठां(छा)] तलार्द्धसमस्तोच्छ्रयसमेतां(ता) अस्या-
वार्यारा(आ)घाटा यत्र भवन्ति पूर्वतो(त) इहैव पत्तनाह(ह)र्हिर्हस्तिणस्यां
दिशि या नन्दा भगवती देवी तस्यास्तत्कं पक्षेष्टकं गृहं दक्षिणतो
भट्टगोणाकव(व)हिस्कोटसत्कावारी पश्चिमतो हृदमार्गः उत्तरतो वामनस्वा-
- 5 [सि]⁵ . . सत्कावारी एवं [चतुराघाट(ट)विशुद्ध]⁶ . . . [इहैव]
पत्तनाह(ह)र्हिर्हस्तिणस्यां दिशि श्रीकञ्चनश्रीदेव्यायतनस्य इहैव श्रीमत्तातानन्द-
पुरनिवासिसौवर्षिकवणिक्(गम)ह्राजनेन भद्रमाउंकाभ्यां च सदा सम्मा-
(न्मा)र्जनोपलेपनकुंकुमपुष्पधूपप्रदीपध्वजाधवलापनसिन्दूरखण्डस्फुटित-

¹ [The floral designs separating these documents, though seen on the plate, are omitted in the text — Ed.]

² [The conjunct letter त् of the ligature goes with *samvat* and the symbol for *śro* stands for hundred. So the correct reading would be *samvat* 100 × 2 (i.e., 200) etc — Ed.]

³ Written below the line

⁴ The usual form would be प्रशस्तिरियसुक्तीर्षा, though the words in the original inscription might do, if some such word as कृति., प्रशस्तिः etc were supplied by the reader.

⁵ Here two letters are missing

⁶ Here three or four letters are missing.

- 6 [समरचनादिषु]¹ प्रतिपादिता । यतोद्य
प्रभृति समस्तसौवर्षिकमहाज्ज(ज)नेन पुत्रपौत्रात्व(न्व)यसहितेन यथाभिलि-
खितपात्रनेयं कर्त्तव्येति ॥ [Document No III] तथातीतसम्बत्तरशतद्वये
अष्टनवत्यधिके चैत्रमासश्रीत²पक्ष अष्टम्या सम्ब-
- 7 [त्तर २६८ चैत्र शु० ८ अस्यां सम्यत्तरमासदिवसपूर्वा]र्वायामिह श्रीतत्तानन्द-
पुरे श्रीमदुत्त(त्त)रसभादेशादू(द्)तककलुवावचनात् लिखितसु³क्लीर्णिता
च ॥ [Document No IV] त[थ]स(था) अतीतसम्बत् ६४३ पौषव(व)दि
१३ अस्यां तिथाविह श्रीमदपापुरे का[र्या]भ्यागताः श्रीतत्तानन्दपुरवास्त-
- 8 [व्य*] सुतनागः नागसुतमाधवः अस्य लघुभ्राता मधु-
सूदन[ः*] तथा सर्वससुतगोविन्दः अस्य सुत[ः*] केशवः तथा सर्वससुत-
देवनाग[ः*] चत्वारो ये ते [ए*]कमतीभूत्वा(य) श्रीतत्तानन्दपुरे पूर्व-
हृदमध्यप्रदेशे श्रीमदार्यचातुर्वै-
- 9 द[स्तस्य] [सक्ता गृहभूमि][*] अस्मदीयपितामहमंगल-
वर्म्म(म्)ण(णा) नवनवतिपक्षेण गृहीता स्वयंकारितपूर्वाभिसुखपक्केष्टक
मपवरकद्वयं⁴ विशालकस्तम्भसा(शा)लातलाईं समस्तोच्छ्रयसमेतं पूर्वद्वा-
रभोग्यं अस्याघाट्टा(टा) यत्न भवति पूर्वतः कुरथ्या दक्षिण-
- 10 तः विज[ग]हसक्ता गृहभूमि[ः*] पश्चिमतो भट्ट इद्रसक्ता गृहभूमि[ः*]
उत्त(त्त)रतो वणिक्-उजुवाकगृहं एवं चतुराघाट्ट(ट)विशुद्ध गृहं
सोमयज्ञे गंगादेव्यां स्नात्वा मातापित्तोरात्मनश्च पुण्ययशोभि.(भि)वृध्य-
(ह्य)र्थं प्रतिग्रहपक्षेण दस(श)विंशोपकामासप्रदेयभाट्ट(ट)कन्यासे-
- 11 न श्रीकनकश्री(श्री)देव्याय(व्यै) प्रदत्त अस्मदीयपुत्रपौत्रसंतत्यानुक्रमेण भाट्ट-
(ट)कमध्ये विंशोपका दश दत्त्वा(त्ता) भोक्तव्यमिति ॥ [Document
No V] तथातीतसम्बत् २८० फाल्गुन व(व)दि ८ अस्यां तिथाविह
श्रीतत्तानन्दपुरे प्रतिवसमानश्रीमदार्यचातुर्वैद्यसामान्यभट्ट(ई)श्वर-
- 12 महादेवपुत्रशैवसुतमहादेवमाताइयट्टासन्म(म्)तेन इहैव पत(त्त)नाभ्यतरे पूर्व-
दक्षिणदिग्विभागे स्वकीयक्रयक्रोता उभयसप्ता(प्त)विशतिहस्तप्रमाणा गृहभूम्यहं
दक्षिणपारश्वो(श्री)यं पश्चिमाभिसुखं पक्केष्टक गृह दक्षिणाभिसुखा(खं)
आवारीद्वयं समस्तअपव-

¹ Here about 22 letters are missing² [Possibly it stands for सित° —Ed]³ Read ° लिखित⁴ I had originally read पक्केष्टक(का)मयवरक I am indebted to Mr. H. Sastri for the reading °मपवरक

- 13 रकैः समस्तोच्छ्रयसमेतं अस्य गृहावार्योराघाटा(टा) यत्न भवन्ति पूर्वतः भट्ट-
च्छितराकश्रमाकयो[*] सत्कगृहभूमि[*] दक्षिणतो वृ(वृ)हद्रथा पश्चिमतः
कुरथा उत(त्त)रतो(तः) सहस्राकसत्कगृहभूम्यर्द्धं उत(त्त)रपारश्री(श्री)यं
एवं चतुराघाट(ट)विशुद्धं गृहभूम्यर्द्धं गृहावारौदयसमेतं
- 14 श्रीकनकश्रीदेव्या द्रव्येण गो[छि]भि[*]र्कै(क)यक्रीताः(तं) भट्ट(र्द्ध)श्वरादिभिः
नवनवतिपक्षेण विक्रीता(त) सम्प्रदत्ता(त्त)श्च(श्च) ॥ [Document
No VI] तथातीतसम्बत् २८७ मार्गशिर व(व)दि ११ अस्यां
तिथाविह श्रीतत्तानंदपुरे प्रतिवसमानराजा क्षत्र(क्षि)यान्वयः वणिकसहाक
इच्छुकपुत्र इहैव
- 15 पत(त्त)नाभ्यतरे पूर्वहृदमध्यप्रदेशे स्वकीयक्रयक्रीता पश्चिमाभिमुखवारो
त्ति(त्रि)प्रकोष्ठा तलो(ला)र्द्धं तालकपट्टकसमस्तोच्छ्रयसमेतास्यावार्या [आ*]घाटा-
(टा) यत्न भवन्ति पूर्वतः वणिक्पाणिकसत्कगृहं दक्षिणतो(तः) श्रीगन्धश्रीदेव्या-
वारो पश्चिमतः हृदमार्गः उत(त्त)रतो व-
- 16 शिकृजयन्तिस्तसर्वदेवसत्कावारो एवं चतुराघाट(ट)विशुद्धा पश्चिमाभिमुखा-
वारो श्रीकनकश्रीदेव्या द्रव्ये(व्ये)ण सौवर्णिकमहाजनेन क्रयक्रीता क्षत्र(क्षि)-
यमाहाकेन नवनवतिवर्षाण्या (णां) चावत्यंतिकविक्रयपक्षेण^२ विक्रीता संप्रदत्ता-
(त्ता) च ॥ [Document No VII] तथा सव-
- 17 त्वरशत^३ २८६ भाद्रपद शुद्धि १४ अस्यां तिथाविह श्रीतत्तानन्दपुरे प्रतिव-
समाना[*] श्रीमदा[र्य]चातुर्वेद्यसामान्याः शर्कराक्षिसगोक्षाः व(व)हृचस[ब्र]ह्म-
चारिणा(णो) भट्टदिवाकरभट्टतारागणपुत्रतथासैवभट्टदौयाकपुत्री अच्युत-
शिवदामोदराश्वौ अस्य अच्युतशि-
- 18 व[स्य*] पुत्रो(त्त) आनदभट्टशिवो मातुभ(र्द्ध)दिनोमहादेवोसन्म(म्)तेन एकमती-
भूत्वा(य) इहैव पत(त्त)नाभ्यंतरे पूर्वहृदमध्यप्रदेशे पूर्वाभिमुखा पक्वष्टका-
त्ति(त्रि)प्रकोष्ठा तलो(ला)र्द्धं तालकपट्टकसयुक्तावारो समस्तोच्छ्रयसमेता
भट्टदौयाकेन स्वयमा(म)जिता क्रयेण अस्या वार्यारा(आ)-
- 19 घाटा(टा) यत्न भवन्ति पूर्वतः हृदमार्ग[*] दक्षिणतो(त) ओदशावतार-
देवमत्कावारो पश्चिमतः श्रीनन्दाभगवत्या[*] सत्कगृहं उत(त्त)रतोपि सुतुवा-
कवाटि(टि)काया श्रीसर्वमगलदेव्यायतने(न)सत्कावारो एवं चतुराघाट(ट)-
विशुद्धावारो श्रीकनकश्रीदेव्या[*] द्रव्येण सौवर्णिकमहा-

^१ Read अनयो .

^३ The word शत is superfluous

^२ Read चावत्यंतिकविक्रयपक्षेण

- 20 लज्ज(ज)नेन क्रयक्रोताभट्टदोयाकादिभिः नवनवति(ति)पक्षेण विक्रोता ॥
[Document No. VIII] सम्बत् २८८ ज्येष्ठ शुदि १३ अस्यां तिथाविह
श्रीतत्तानन्दपुरे श्रीमदुत(त्त)रसभाद्ये(दे)शाट्ट(ट्टू)तककविलाकयचनात् लिखितं
इहैव प्रतिवसमानौ चतु(त्रि)यजातोयौ कोकाकपद्मनाभौ म-
- 21 धुसूदनपुत्री तथा देवनागभार्या लच्छिका तथा माधवभार्या सम्यदाभ्यां
सन्म(म्भ)तेन उपरिलिखितमंगलवर्गसुमसर्वसत्कपुत्रपौत्रैश्च अतीतकाले
दशविंशो(शो)पकमासप्रदेयभाट्ट(ट)कन्यासेन पूर्वाभिमुखं गृहं दत्ता(त्तमा)सीत्वा-
प्रत कोकाकादिभिः सर्वभा-
- 22 ट्ट(ट)केन नवनवतिपक्षेण श्रीकनकश्रीदेव्या द्रवे(व्ये)ण सौवर्षिकमहाजनेन
क्रयक्रोत कोकाकादिभिः सर्वभाट्ट(ट)केन निवेदितमिति ॥ [Document
No IX] तथातोतसम्बत् २६१ आषाढ व(व)दि ३ अस्यां तिथाविह
श्रीतत्तानन्दपुरे प्रतिवसमानगन्धिकमायुरजातीयवणिक(ग)माधव-
- 23 देवनागपुत्र इहैव पत(त्त)नाभ्यंतरे पूर्वहृद्वे मध्यप्रदेशे स्वकीयक्रयक्रोते
पश्चिमाभिमुख पक्केष्टनं(क) गृह सर्वोच्छ्रयसमेतं अस्याषाढा(टा) यच्च
भवति पूर्वत[ः*] सवचन्दाकसत्कावारी दक्षिणतोप्यसै(स्यै)वमाधवगृहं पश्चि-
मत(तो) व(वृ)हृद्व्या उत(त्त)रतो वणिक(ग)मेचाकसत्कगृहं एवं च-
- 24 तुरावाट्ट(ट)विशुहं गृहं श्रीकञ्चण(न)श्रीदेव्या द्रव्येण सौवर्षिकमहाजनेन नव-
नवत्याल्यन्तिकविक्रयपक्षेण क्रोतं वणिक(ग)माधवेन सहस्तपट(त्रि)कायां
विक्रोत सम्प्रदत्त(त्त)च्च ॥ [Document No. X] तथा सम्बत् २८८
भाद्रपद व(व)दि ५ अस्यां तिथाविह श्रीतत्तानन्दपुरे प्रतिवसमान-
- 25 श्रीमदार्यचातुर्वेद्यसामान्यभारद्वाजसगोक्षव(व)हृचसत्र(त्र)हृचारी भट्ट(ई)शानदत्त
(त्त) भट्टकेशवपुत्र इहैव पत(त्त)नाभ्यंतरे पूर्वोत(त्त)रदिग्विभागमध्यप्रदेशे पितृ-
पितामहो(ह)यातपितृव्यपितामहावण्टनायातभ्रातृभिः सह वण्टनपु(प)त्रे-
णायाता क्रयक्रोता उ-
- 26 भयसप्ता(प्त)विस(श)तिहस्तप्रमाणा गृहभूम्या(म्य)र्द्ध उत(त्त)रपारस्वी(श्री)यं पक्केष्ट-
कावारी एकप्रकोष्ठद्वय तथा द्विप्रकोष्ठा(ष्ठ) वारीच(त्र)यं उत(त्त)राभिमुखा
तथा पश्चिमाभिमुखा द्विप्रकोष्ठमेकं एव(व)मावारो(र्यः) षट् आगम्यत्वे[ः*]
सह सर्वोच्छ्रयसमेता श्रीषामावा-

- 27 यीं(रीणां) रा(भा)घाट्टा(टा) यत्न भवन्ति पूर्वतः कमलानकभट्टहरदत्त(त्त)-
पुत्राणां गृहं दक्षिणतः अखैव भूमे(र)दक्षिणपारश्वी(श्वी)यं भट्टतत्तस्य
वट्ट(ट)नायातं पश्चिमतो(तः) कुरथ्या उत्त(त्त)रतोपि वट्ट(ट)दृष्ट्या एवं चतु-
राघाट्ट(ट)विष्टु(शु)र्द्ध गृहभूम्यर्ध पञ्चेष्टका(क)मावारी(र्यः) षट् ओकनकम्(ओ)
देव्या[:*] द्र-
- 28 व्येण सीवर्षिकमहाजनेन भट्ट(ई)सा(शा)नदत्त(त्त)हस्ते नवनवतिपक्षेण क्रीता
द्र(ई)सा(शा)नदत्ते(त्ते)न विक्रीता[:*] सम्प्रदत्ता(त्ता)श्च ॥ एतेषां स्याव-
राणां भाट्ट(ट)कं यत्तुत्य(त्तसुत्य)द्यते तत्सर्व्व [गीष्ठिभिः] कुंकुमधूपपुस्य(ष्य)दीपक-
ध्वजाधवलापनखण्डस्फुट्टि(टि)तसमरचनादिषु धर्म्मोपयोग्यं कर्त्तव्यं ॥

No 8 — JEJURI PLATES OF VINAYĀDITYA ŚAKA-SAMVAT 609

By PROF D R BHANDARKAR, M A , CALCUTTA

These plates, which belong to the early Chalukya dynasty, came from a village called Jējūrī in the Poona District. In September, 1917, Mr P B Gothoskar of the Bombay Asiatic Society was good enough to send them to me for inspection. But, as my hands were then too full with other matters and I had not enough leisure, I had to be content with merely publishing a short notice of the inscription, for the information of scholars, in the *Annual Progress Report of the Archaeological Survey of India, Western Circle*, for the year ending 31st March, 1917. I have since then been able to prepare the necessary transcript and am now in a position to edit the plates.

These are three plates, each of them measuring about 9½" by 4". The first and the third plates are inscribed on one side only, while the second is on both the sides. The letters, on the whole, are in an excellent state of preservation, and have been neatly incised. The language is Sanskrit. Excepting the invocatory verse at the beginning and the benedictive and imprecatory verses at the end, the inscription is throughout in prose. In point of phraseology, it resembles other published records of the early Chalukya family, especially the Sorab and Harihar grants which also belong, like the present one, to the Chalukya king Vinayāditya.

The characters belong to the Southern class of alphabets prevailing in the 7th century A D. In respect of orthography, the letters *n*, *d*, *n* and *v* are doubled after *r* as in *arnṇavan* (l. 1), *Sēnānir-ddantya-balam* (l. 16), *smābhīr-nnavōttara* (l. 21) and *nirvviśēsham* (l. 30). *Ri* is employed instead of *ri* only once in *krimih* (l. 35). In many places the *anusvāra* is wrongly omitted.

The inscription refers itself to the 9th year of the reign of Vinayāditya and is dated in Śaka era 609 (expired) corresponding to A D 687. The object of the inscription is to record the gift of a village called Vira situated between Kalahatthāna, Parāñchika and Hariṇayiga, on the north bank of the river Nīrā, in the Sātīmāla-bhōga, in the Palayaṭṭhāna-*ṛishaya*. The name of the donee is Allaśarman, son of Pāñchālaśarman and grandson of Durgaśarman, of the Kaundinya-gōtra. The gift was made when the king was encamped at the village of Bhādali near Palayaṭṭhāna.

Most of the localities mentioned in the record can be easily identified. Palayaṭṭhāna is the same as the modern Phaltan (North Lat 18°, E Long 74° 30'), the chief town of the lower Nīrā Valley and capital of the Native State of the same name. Bhādali, from where the grant is issued,

is undoubtedly the present Budleebudruk (Atlas Sheet No 39), five miles south-east of Phaltan Vira, the village granted, is certainly the modern Veer of the Atlas Sheet (N Lat 18° 9', E Long 74° 9'), from which the surname Virkar among Dēśastha Brāhmanas is derived. It is about 1½ miles to the north of the river Nīrā, which again is identical with the river of the same name mentioned in this grant. The village of Kalahatthāna cannot be identified at present. Parāñchika is obviously Paramchi (or Porinche) and Harinayiga is the same as the modern Harpi, about 3 and 2½ miles north and north-east of Vira, respectively.¹

Before the discovery of these plates, eight records² of the reign of Vinayāditya were known. Of these, one, namely, the Lakshmēśvara inscription, which professes to bear the earliest date (Śaka 608) among the dated records of Vinayāditya, has been proved to be spurious³ by the late Dr Fleet. So the Jējūrī inscription, which bears the Śaka date 609, is to be regarded as the earliest of the dated records of that prince.

This record is not altogether without some importance. One eminent scholar has said that Vinayāditya subdued the Pallavas, Kalabhras and others and made them his faithful vassals between his eleventh and fourteenth years.⁴ He was led to this view, because this fact "is not mentioned in the grant of the eleventh year of his reign (*Ind Ant*, Vol VI, p 89), while it does occur in that of the fourteenth year (p 92) and in those of his successors."⁵ But we can now say that the event certainly took place at least in the ninth year of his reign as it is found mentioned in this inscription.

TEXT⁶

First Plate

Svasti [*] Jayaty-āvishkṛta[m*] Viśhnōr-vvārāham kshōbhāt-ārṇavam [*] dakṣiṇ-
ōnnata-damśtr-āgra-viśrānta-bhuvanam vapuh [||*] Śrī-
matām sakala-bhuvana-samstūyamāna-Mānavya-sagōtranām⁷ Hārītī⁸-putrāṇām sapta-
lōka-mātrībhi-

s=sapta-mātrībhir-abhivarddhitanām Kārttikēya-parirakṣhaṇa-prāpta-kalyāna-param-
parānām Bhagavan-Nā-

4 rāyana-prasāda-samāsādita-varāha-lāñchhan-ēkshana-kshana - vaśīkṛt - āśēsha - mahībhi-
tām Chali-

5 kyānām kulam-alankarishnōr-aśvamēdh-āvabhṛitha-snāna-pavitrikṛta-gātrasya śrī-
Pulakēśi-vallabha-

6 mahārājasya sūnuh parākram-ākra[m*]ta⁹ Vanavāsy-ādī para-nripati-mandala-praṇi-
baddha-[vi-]

7 śuddha-kīrttiḥ śrī-Kīrtti-varmma-prithivīvallabha-mahārājas-tasya-ātma-jas=samara-
samsakta-sakal-Ōttarāpa-

8 th-ēśvara-śrī-Harshavarddhana-parājay-ōpalabdhā - paramēśvar - ūpara - nāmadhēyas=
Satyāśraya-śrī-prithivīva-

¹ Annual Progress Report of the Archl Surv of India, Western Circle, 1917, p 49

² Fleet, *Dynasties of the Kanarese Districts*, Bom Gaz, Vol. I, Part II, pp 368 70, D R Bhandarkar, *Ind Ant*, Vol XL, p 240

³ *Dynasties of the Kanarese Districts*, p 368, note 8

⁴ *Early History of the Dekkan*, Second Edition, Bomb Gaz, Vol. I, Part II, pp 188 89

⁵ *Ibid*, p 189, note 1

⁶ From the original plates

⁷ Read *sagōtrānām*

⁸ Read *Hārītī*

⁹ Read *ālṛāṇka*

- 9 llabha-mahārājādhirāja-paramēśvaras=tat-priya-sutasya **Vikramāditya-paramēśvara-**
bhattāarakasya
10 pavī sahāyā¹-sāhasa-mātra-samadhātata²-nija-vamśa-samuchita-chita - rājya - vibhavyasya
vividha-rasi-

Second Plate , First Side

- 11 ta-sīta-samara-mukha-gata-ripu-narapati-vijaya-samupalabdhā kīrtti - patāk - āvabhāsita-
dig-a-
12 ntarasya himakara-kara-vimala-kula-paribhava-vilaya-hētu-Pallava - pati - parājaya-
ānanta-
13 ra-parigrihita-Kāñchī-purasya prabhāva-kulīśa-dalita-Pāñdyā-Chōla-Kērala dhara-
nidhara-trāyamā-
14 ³na-māna-śringasya ananya-samavanata-Kāñchī-pati-makuṭa-kata⁴-kīraṇa-salil-ābhi-
shikta-chara-
15 na-kamalasya tri-samudra-maddhyavartti-bhuvana-mandal ūdhiśvarasya sūnuḥ pitura-
ājñā[yā]
16 Bāl-ēndu-śēkharasy=ēva Sēnānir=ddaitya-balam=atīsamuddhatam trairājya-Kāñ-
chī-pa-
17 ti-balam=avashtabhya samasta-vishaya-praśamanād=vihita-tan-manō-nurañjanah at-
yanta-vatsalatvād=Yu-
18 dhishthira iva śrī-Rāmatvād=Vāsudēva iva nrip-āmkuśatvāt=Paraśurāma iva rājāśra-
yatvād=Bha[rata i]-
19 va Pallava-Kalabhra-Kērala-Haihaya-Vila-Malava-Chōla-Pāñdy-ādyāḥ yēn-
Āluva⁵-Gamg-ādyai-
20 r=mmaulaś=sama⁶-bhṛityatān=nītāh **Vinayāditya-Satyāśraya-śrī-Prithivīvallabha-**
mahārā-

Second Plate , Second Side

- 21 jādhirāja-paramēśvara-bhattāarakasya [!]* Vīditam=astu vō=smābhīr=nnav-ōttara-
shaṭ-chhatēshu Śaka-
22 [va]rshēshv-atītēshu śaka-varshēshv=atītēshu⁷ pravarddhamāna-vijaya-rājya-
samvatsarē navamē vartta-
23 mānē Palayatthāna-pratyāsanna-Bhāḍali-grāmam=adhivasatī vijaya-skandhāvārē
Āshā-
24 ḍa⁷-Paurṇnamāsyām Bhammaṇa-rāja-vijñāpanayā Kaundinya-gōtrasya Dugga-
śarmmanah putrāya
25 Pāñchālaśarmmanah putrāya Allāśarmmanē Palayatthāna-yishayē Sā (?) -
26 timāla-bhōgē Nīrā-nady-uttara-tatasthah Kalahatthāna-Parañchika-Hari-
ṇayiga-
27 grāmayōr⁸-mmadhyasthah Vīra-nāmā grāmas=sabhōgas=sarvva-parihār opētō dattah
[!]*

¹ Kaed matī sahāya°

² Read trāyamāna°

³ [The plate seems to have pa — Ed.]

⁴ Evidently this has been repeated through oversight

⁵ [Better omit °yōr=ma° or read grāmāuām — Ed.]

⁶ Read °samadhigata°.

⁷ Read °Kūla°

⁸ Read Ashādha°.

22
 24
 26
 28

30
 32
 34

28 Tad-āgāmibhir=asmad-vamsyair=ayaiś=cha rājabhīr=ayur-aiśvaryy-ādinām vilasita-

Third Plate

29 m = achurāmsu - chamchalam = avagachchadbhir = ā - chandr-ārka - dhar - ārnava - sthiti-
sama-kāla[m*]

30 yaśaś-chichishubhis=sva-dattī-nirvviśēsham paripālaniyam [*] ¹Prōktañ=cha Bha-
gava-

31 tā vēda-vyāsēna Vyāsēna [*] Bahubhir=vvasudhā bhuktā rājabis=Sagar-ādibhir=
yyasya-²

32 yasva yadā bhūmis=tasyatasya tadā phalam [*] Svan=dātum=sumahach=chhakyam

33 dukkham=anyasya pālanam [*] dāna[m*] vā pālanam v=ēti dānāch=chhrēyō-
nupāla-

34 nam [*] Sva-dattā[m*] para-dattā[m*] vā yō harēta vasundharā[m*] shashti-
varsha-sahasrāni viśthāyām jāya-

35 tē kri[m]ih [*] Mahā-sāndhivigrahika-śrī-Rāmapunyavallabhēna likhitam=idam
śāsanam [*] Om

No 9 —SEVEN INSCRIPTIONS FROM MATHURA

By DAYA RAM SAHNI, M A , RAI BAHADUR

The seven inscriptions edited in this paper are some of those brought to light in recent years by Rai Bahadur Pandit Radha Krishna, Honorary Curator of the Museum of Archæology at Mathurā. Some of these have been found in excavations carried out by him on behalf of the Director General of Archæology in India, while others have been acquired from private possession. All the seven inscriptions discussed in this note are comparatively short dedicatory records which register the installation of images or other objects on which they are inscribed. With the exception of inscription No V, all the others are in a more or less damaged condition. Like most of the other Brāhmī inscriptions of the Kushāna period, the documents edited here are composed in the mixed dialect, consisting partly of Prākṛit and partly of Sanskrit words and forms. Peculiarities of this dialect have been fully discussed by Buhler³ and it is not necessary to make any further remarks here. Six of the objects on which the inscriptions are engraved belong to the Buddhist faith, while document No IV is engraved on the pedestal of an image of the Jaina Tirthankara Vardhamāna. Only one of the inscriptions, viz, No II, contains the name of the ruler of the time, namely, Huvishka. No I, which is dated in the year 22, must have been installed in the reign of Kanishka,⁴ while No IV dated in the year 84 would belong to the reign of Vāsudēva. A point of interest in these documents is the mention of the names of four monasteries which existed at Mathurā in the Kushāna period. These are the Prāvārika-vihāra or the monastery of the cloak-makers (No I), the Śrī-vihāra (No. V), the Suvarnakara-vihāra or the monastery of the goldsmiths (No VI) and the Chutaka-vihāra or Chūtaka-vihāra, i.e., the mango monastery (No VII). None of these edifices appears to be referred to in any of the previously known inscriptions.

¹ [The original has *paripālaniyam=uktañ=cha* —Ed] ² Read *ādibhir* [*] *yasya* ³ *Ante*, Vol I, p 373

⁴ *Vide* my paper on "Three Mathurā Inscriptions and their bearing on the Kushāna dynasty" in the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* for 1924-

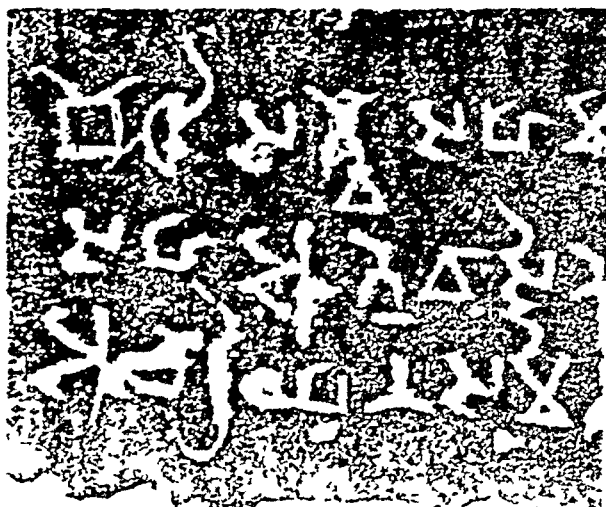
22
24
26
28

Handwritten text in a script, likely Pāli, on a palm leaf. The text is arranged in horizontal lines. There are circular holes visible on the left side of the leaf, which were traditionally used for threading a cord to bind multiple leaves together into a book format. The script is finely etched into the surface of the leaf.

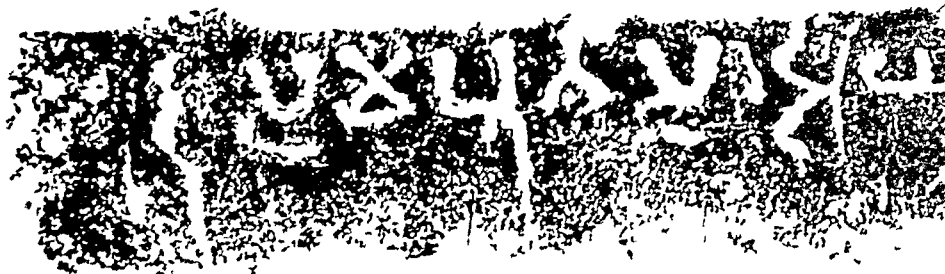
30
32
34

Handwritten text in a script, likely Pāli, on a palm leaf. Similar to the first image, this leaf also features circular holes on the left side for binding. The text is written in a consistent script across several lines.

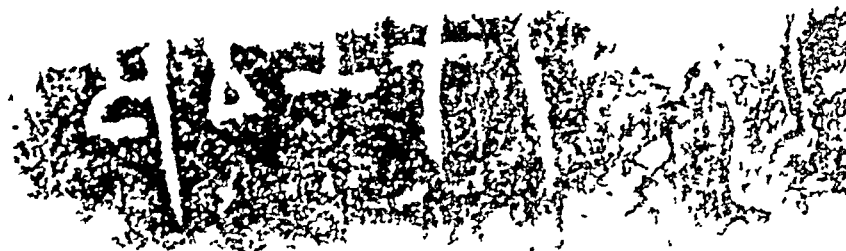
No



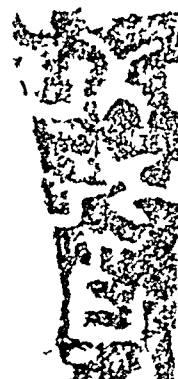
No VI STONE



No VI STONE BOWL INC



No



No I —Buddha image inscription of the year 22.

This inscription, which consists of two lines, is engraved on the lower rim of the base of a headless image of Buddha (height 2' 1", w 1' 6½") which was found in the city of Mathurā and acquired for the Museum in 1918. The first line is in a good state of preservation but only one or two *akṣaras* have survived in the second

TEXT.

1 Ōm Siddham Sa[m*] 20 2 grī 2 dī 30 asyām pūrvāyām Prāvārika-vihārē
Buddha-pratimā pratīṣṭh(th)āpitā

2 [samdhī]

TRANSLATION.

" Ōm Success ! On the 30th day of the 2nd [month] of summer, in the year 22, on this occasion as specified, (*this*) image of Buddha was installed in the Prāvārika-vihāra . . . "

No. II.—Bōdhisattva image inscription of the year 39 ¹

TEXT.

1 [Mahārājasa dē*]vaputrasa Huv[ī]shkasya sārā 30 9 va 3 dī 5 ētasyām
purvayam bhikkhuniyē Puṣāhathuniyē sa-

2 bhikkhuniyē Budhadēvāyē Bōdhisattvō pratīṣṭhāpitō sahā mātāpituḥ sarva-satva-
hita sukha[yē*]

TRANSLATION.

" (*In the reign*) of the *Mahārāja*, the Dēvaputra, Huvishka, on the 5th day of the 3rd [month] of the rainy season in the year 39, on this date as specified above, (*this*) Bōdhisattva was set up by a nun named Puṣāhathuni, together with the nun Budhadēvā, together with (*her*) parents, for the welfare and happiness of all sentient beings "

No III —Bōdhisattva image inscription.²

TEXT.

1 Mahārājāsa Dēva[putrasa] . . . sa sa . . . hē dī 10 9
[asyām] purvāyām s[ā]rthavahāsa bha-

2 vaśa . . . [nī]sa kutubiniyē Dha[nya]bhavayē [dānam Bōdhisa]chō [ya]-
d=attra p[u]-nya[m] ta[d=bhavatu]

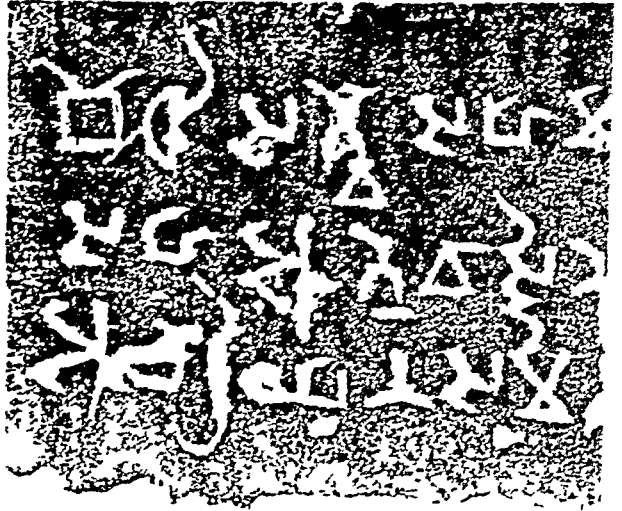
TRANSLATION.

" On the 19th day of the . . . month of the cold weather in the . . . year of the reign of the *Mahārāja*, the Dēvaputra . . . this Bōdhisattva is the gift of Dha[nya]bhavā, the wife of . . . , the caravan merchant. Whatever merit there is in it, may it be . . . "

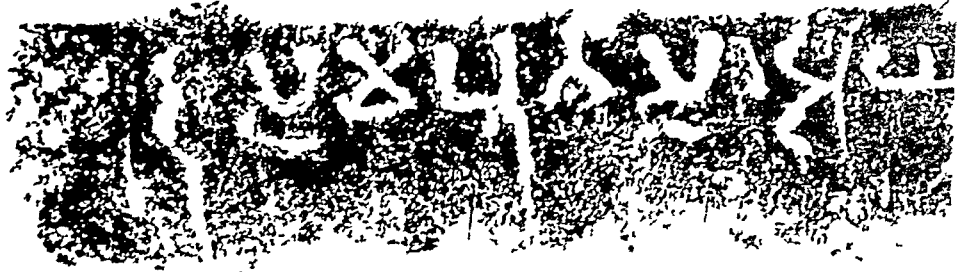
¹ The image in question is described in the *A S R* for the year 1916-17, Pt. I, p. 13, and illustrated in Pl VII, fig C. See also the *Annual Progress Report of the Superintendent, Archaeological Survey, Hindu and Buddhist Monuments, Northern Circle, for the year ending 31st March 1917*, p. 8

² *Ibid.*, p. 9

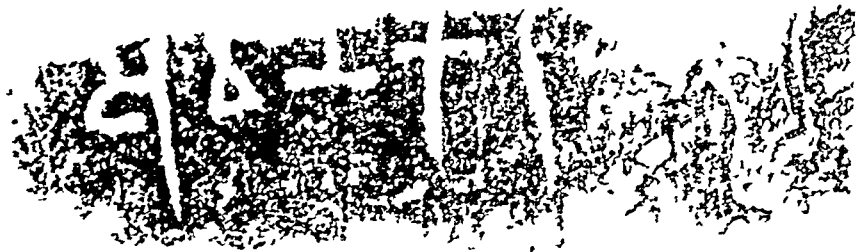
No



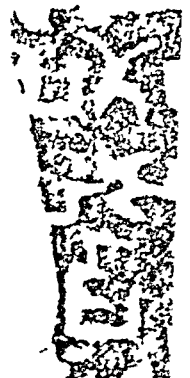
No VI STONE



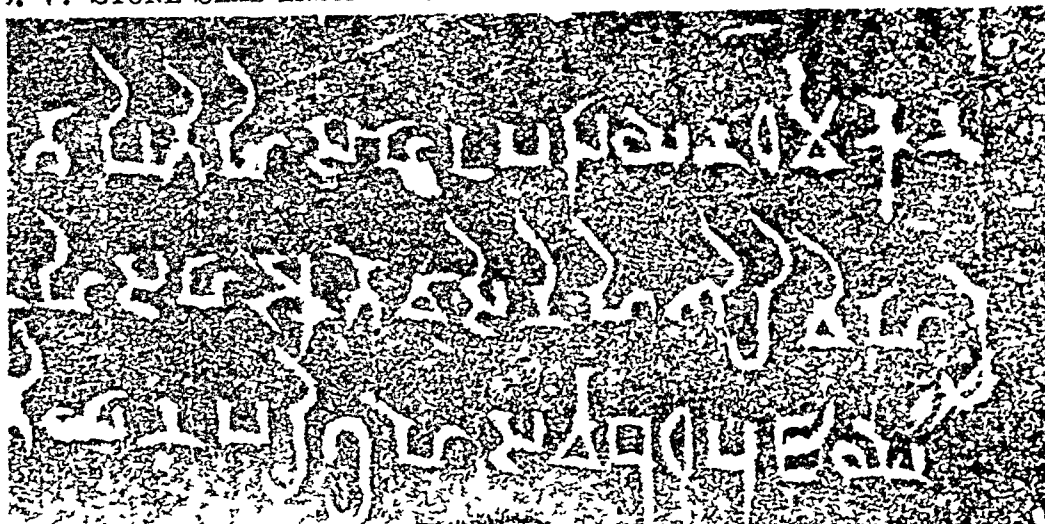
No VI STONE BOWL IN



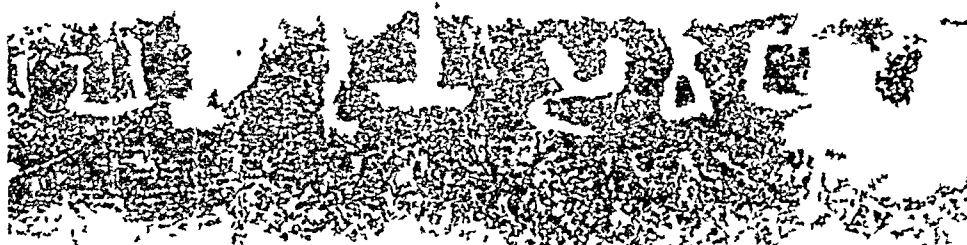
No



D. V. STONE SLAB INSCRIPTION



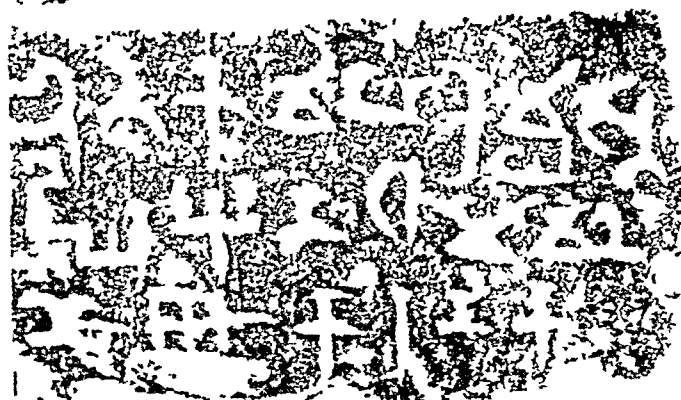
BOWL INSCRIPTION LEFT HALF OF FIRST LINE



SCRIPTION. RIGHT HALF OF FIRST LINE AND SECOND LINE



D. VII STONE CHANNEL INSCRIPTION



No. IV.—Vardhamāna image pedestal inscription of the year 84.¹

TEXT.

- 1 Ōm Siddha[m] sa[rñh] 80 4 va 3 dī 20 5 ētasmi purvvaya[m] Damitrasya
 dhut[u] Ōkha-
 2 rikāyē kutubiniyē Datāyē dānam Vardhamāna-pratimā pratithapitā
 3 ganatō Kōtṭiyatō [ba] s[ya] Satyasēnas[ya] . . .
 dharavṛddhisya ni[rvarṭana*]

TRANSLATION.

"Ōm Success' On the 25th day of the 3rd (month) of the rainy season in the year 84, on this occasion as specified, (*this*) image of Vardhamāna, a gift of Ōkharikā,² the daughter of Damitra, and Datā (Sanskrit Dattā), the wife of a householder,³ was set up under the advice of . . . Satyasēna and . . . dharavṛddhi, of the Kōtṭiya gana."

No. V.—Stone slab inscription.

This inscription is engraved on a stone slab, measuring 2' 11" in length, 11" in width and 2½" in thickness, which was reclaimed from the Gau-Ghāt well in the city of Mathurā. It is roughly dressed on three sides. The fourth side contains an inscription of three lines, each measuring 1' 2½" in length. The inscription is in a perfect state of preservation.

Neither the date nor the name of the ruling king is mentioned. The inscription records the installation of an image of a Bōdhisattva, and the slab on which it is engraved must have been exhibited by the side of the statue.

TEXT

- 1 Bōdhisattvō sahā mātā-pitṛihī sahā upajhāyēna Dharmakēna
 2 sahā ātēvāsikēhī sahā ātēvāsinthī Śiri-vihārē
 3 ācharyāna Samitiyāra parigrahē sarva-Budha-pujāyē

TRANSLATION.

"(*This*) Bōdhisattva (was dedicated by somebody, whose name is not mentioned), together with parents, together with the preceptor, Dharmaka, together with male pupils, together with female pupils, at the Śiri-vihāra for the acceptance of the Samitiya teachers, for the glorification of all the Buddhas."

No VI.—Stone bowl inscription

This inscription is engraved round the outer upper edge of a hemispherical stone bowl supported on the broken head of a male figure (ht 1' 8"). The fragment was lying in the Jamnā Bāgh on the right bank of the Jamnā river just outside the Mathurā city and was being used for watering cattle. Rai Bahadur Pandit Radha Krishna acquired it for the Museum by substituting a little masonry reservoir for the aforesaid purpose. The head of the statue is

¹ Vide Annual Progress Report of the Superintendent, Archaeological Survey, Hindu and Buddhist Monuments Northern Circle, for the year ending 31st March 19 7, p. 10

² This name also occurs in a Mathurā inscription of the year 299 (*Ind Ant*, Vol XXXVII, p. 33 and Pl. facing p. 66)

³ In the translation of the epigraph, I have interpreted the word *kutubini* (Sanskrit *kutumbini*) in its generic sense as the wife of a householder. It might equally well be a proper name. If this suggestion were correct, it would be possible to identify the three female figures to the right of the wheel in the centre of the base of the image with the three ladies who donated the image, and the three male figures on the opposite side with the three men who suggested the pious act.

much defaced and the features of the face and the ears are damaged. The turban is interlaced with a flower garland and we notice, above the forehead, a large round knot encircled with a garland and leaves. The inscription consists of two lines measuring 3' 7½" and 3½" respectively. The first line which begins immediately above the level of the right ear of the statue is preceded by a blank space of two inches to mark the commencement of the document. The inscription records that the bowl, on which it is engraved, was presented by **Ayala, the son of Imdrasama** or **Idrasama**, at the hospice of the goldsmiths in honour of all the Buddhas for the acceptance of the *āchāryas*, who were great preachers. The name Imdrasama may be construed as "equal to Indra" or it may stand for the Sanskrit Imdraśarma. Another bowl similarly mounted on a well-preserved female figure is now kept in the Fyzabad Museum. The bowl being described was presumably used for worship. Fa-Hian informs us that in his time the Buddha's bowl was worshipped in a monastery at Purushapura (modern Peshawar) ¹. There are in the Mathurā Museum two or three other bowls of stone one of which (ht 1' 11", diameter 2' 1") is labelled a *Mahāpūtra** and must have been used for veneration as an imitation of the Buddha's alms-bowl. It is, however, noteworthy that a stone bowl unearthed by Sir John Marshall at Sāñchī bears a short inscription to the effect that the bowl in question was used for the storage of the food, which, having first been presented to the deity, was afterwards distributed among the pilgrims ³.

TEXT

1 Imdrasama [or Idrasama]-pūṭasa Ayalasa dana sava-Būddhanam pūjāya
Suvanakara-[vihārē] āchāriyana [ma]hōpad[ē]sakana

2 paṛigahē

TRANSLATION

"(This bowl is) the gift of Ayala, the son of Imdrasama (or Idrasama) in the monastery of the goldsmiths for the adoration of all the Buddhas (and) for the acceptance of the teachers who were great preachers"

No VII —Stone channel inscription.

This inscription is incised on one side of a stone fragment (length 11") which probably formed part of a stone channel for carrying off water. The fragment was found in the debris of a house which fell down in 1917 in the Mātā Gali lane of Mathurā city and was acquired for the Museum in August of the same year.

The inscription is complete at the top and at the bottom but broken off at both ends. A continuous translation of the document is not practicable. It is, however, manifest that it records the erection of something, possibly the channel itself, on a piece of which it is engraved, in a monastery designated *Chutaka-vihāra* which may possibly be interpreted as *Chūtaka-vihāra*, i.e., the mango monastery. The last line contains the year 91 which presumably is the date of the inscription. It should probably be referred to the *Kushāna* era. The pious act mentioned in the epigraph was executed for the increase of the religious piety and strength of the [Ma]hāsāṅghikas, one of the eighteen schools into which the Buddhist church was split up early in the history of that religion. Two *alsharas* at the end of the first line which may be read as *ryāslā* cannot at present be explained, though I am inclined to think that the word intended was *vāstavya*.

¹ *Travels of Fa-Hian*, translated by Legge, p. 34.

² *Annual Report of the Superintendent, Archaeological Survey of Hindu and Buddhist Monuments, Northern Circle, for the year ending 31st March 1917*, p. 8.

³ See Sir John Marshall's *Guide to Sanchi*, p. 104, and *Catalogue of the Museum of Archaeology at Sanchi*, p. 37, No. B. 1.

TEXT.

- 1 pitō Chutaka-vihārē vyāstā
 2 . . [Ma]h[ā]sāṅghikana dharma-va(ba)la-[vṛddhyartham*]
 3 . . [va]rshanā 90 1 kārūṇika

TRANSLATION.

" was erected for the increase of the
 religious merit and strength of the [Ma]hāsāṅghikas (residing) at the Chutaka-vihāra
 ninety-one years "

No 10 —THE KALVAN PLATES OF YASOVARMMAN.

By R. D. BANERJI, M.A., CALCUTTA

The inscription edited below was discovered in a village near Kalvan in the north-western part of the Nāsik district of the Bombay Presidency. It was brought to the notice of Mr. A. H. A. Simcox, I C S., then Collector of the Nāsik district, by Mr. Gajanan Gopal Joshi, a teacher of a school at Kalvan, who also read portions of the inscription. In the first instance, only the first two plates were recovered from a Bhil, but on a reward being announced the third plate also was found at the same place. The plates were purchased for the Prince of Wales Museum of Bombay through Mr. A. H. A. Simcox, I C S., who spared no pains to obtain them for that institution.

The inscription is incised on three plates of copper each measuring 10" x 5½". There is a hole in the upper part of each of these plates proving that they were attached together at one time by a ring. The ring as well as the seal, that must have been attached to it, are missing. The first and third plates are inscribed on one side only, the second plate being inscribed on both the sides. The language of the inscription is Sanskrit and, with the exception of the imprecatory verses, the entire record is in prose. The inscription abounds with mistakes. *sa* is generally substituted for *śa* cf. *yasa* for *yaśah* (ll 2, 4, 7, 8, 14), *sira* for *śiraḥ* (l 3), *asīti* for *aśīti* (ll 8-9), *subha* for *śubha* (l 11), and *Kalakalēśvara* for *Kalakalēśvara* (l 12). So also we find *sa* for *śa* in *sahasra* instead of *śahasra* in ll 8, 33 and 37. *Vakaigala* (l. 21), *paṃchavīsa* (l. 20 f), *tēlaghānaka* (l 22 f), *ṇin-ālaḥ* (l 25), *chāurika* and *danḍaiśika* (l 27) are instances of Prakritism.

The alphabet of the inscription is Nāgarī of the Northern variety of the eleventh century A.D. and may be very well compared with that of the Banswara¹ and the Ujjain² plates of Bhōjadēva. The *ai* symbol is represented by the two usual strokes at the top of the consonant or by a single stroke and a vertical line placed before the letter. Long initial *ī* is distinguished from the short by a rectangular stroke placed over the latter (l. 16). A peculiar final form of *n* is to be found in *ādīn* in l 28. The letter *ya* in l 2 (Siyaka) is not closed at the top as is generally done. *Na* has two forms (see ll 23 and 24).

The inscription is not dated but refers itself to the reign of a subordinate chief named Yaśōvarmman. Even the genealogy of this prince, in whose territory the land was granted, is omitted. He is simply introduced as having obtained one-half of the town of Sēlluka from the illustrious Bhōjadēva (I) and as being in the enjoyment of 1500 villages. This Bhōjadēva is said

¹ Above, Vol. XI, plate opposite p. 182

² Indian Antiquary, Vol. VI, pp. 53-54

to have defeated the kings of the **Karṇāṭa**, **Lāṭa** and **Gurjara** countries as well as the lords of **Chēdī** and **Komkana** and to have meditated on the feet of the illustrious **Sindhurājadēva**, who cleansed the earth from the mountains to the sea by his wide fame and meditated on the feet of the illustrious **Vākpatirājadēva** (II), who meditated on the feet of the illustrious **Sīyakadēva** (II) of the **Paramvāra** (**Paramāra**) family of **Dhārā**. The reference is very clearly to **Bhōja I** of the **Paramāra** dynasty of **Dhārā**, who was the son of **Sindhurāja**, the brother's son of **Vākpatirāja II** and the grandson of **Sīyaka II**. The very fact that an ordinary feudatory chief dares to make a grant of land without referring the matter to his suzerain shows that the power of the **Paramāras** of **Mālava** had weakened considerably at the time of the issue of the grant. It is known from the other inscriptions of the **Paramāras** of **Mālava** as well as the **Haihayas** of **Tripurī** that **Bhōja I**, the conqueror of the **Komkana** and the great patron of literature, had suffered a crushing defeat and had most probably fallen on the battle-field while trying to stem the tide of a combined invasion on the kingdom of **Mālava** by **Karna**, the king of **Tripurī**, and **Bhīma I** of **Gujarat**. Though the successor of **Bhōja I** was on its throne in V S 1112 (=1055 A.D.), yet history shows that the kingdom of **Mālava** lost its independence for a short time about that period. It regained its independence under **Udayāditya**, a kinsman of **Bhōja I**, and continued to be a divided kingdom up to the twelfth century. It was during these troublesome times that the grant was issued by a subordinate chief **Yaśōvarmman**, who, apparently, gave the genealogy of **Bhōja I**, by way of custom only. The **Śvētāpāda** country, which is the same as the northern part of the modern district of **Nāsik**, was once conquered by the **Haihaya** king **Lakshmanarāja**¹ and again by **Vapullaka**, a general of **Karna**, the king of **Tripurī**, some time before the **Kalachuri Chēdī** year 812 (=1061 A.D.). When he (i.e., **Vapullaka**) erected a temple of **Śiva**, in the inscription recording its construction he enumerated some of the famous battles in which he had fought for his king. Therein he also mentions his having defeated a king of Southern **Gujarat** named **Trilōchana**, who is known from the **Surat** plates of **Śaka** 972 (=1051 A.D.), and a Jain ascetic named **Vijjala**. The conquest of **Śvētāpāda**, which is adjacent to **Surat**, must have taken place after 1051 A.D. and before 1061 A.D., i.e., about the time of the fall of **Bhōja I**. We know from the **Nāgpur prasasti** of the rulers of **Mālava** that "Bhōjadēva's end was unfortunate, and that during the troubles which then had befallen the realm, Bhōjadēva's relative **Udayāditya** became king, whose great achievement was that he freed the land from the dominion of (the **Chēdī**) **Karna** who, joined by the **Karṇāṭas**, had swept over the earth like a mighty ocean"². The same fact is referred to in v 21 of the **Udaipur prasasti** of the rulers of **Mālava**³.

The grant under notice differs from the regular land grants of the **Paramāra** kings of **Mālava** in the following details — (1) The absence of the **Garuda** and snake seal or the emblem of the **Paramāras**. (2) The absence of the date and of the mention of the reigning king as *kuśālī*. (3) The absence of the customary verse at the beginning in praise of **Śiva**. It is, therefore, almost certain that this subordinate chief **Yaśōvarmman** had issued this grant during the period of anarchy which followed the fall of **Bhōja I** and the occupation of **Mālava** proper by **Karna**, the king of **Tripurī**, the anarchical state of things lasting up to the time of the defeat of **Karna** by **Udayāditya**. The **Śvētāpāda** country whose location is now fixed by the mention of the temple of **Kālakālēśvara**, which still exists at a distance of ten miles from **Kalvan**, was not included in **Mālava** proper but formed a part of the country that lay within the sphere of influence of the **Paramāra** rulers at the time of their ascendancy.

¹ *Ante*, Vol. VII, p. 86 and note 3, 89, 100

² *Ante*, Vol. II, p. 181

³ *Ante*, Vol. I, pp. 230, 233

The inscription belongs to the Śvētāmbara sect of the Jaina religion and is, therefore, important, for very few Jaina grants have come down to us. Herein we are informed that the **Rāṇaka Amma**, who was a chief of the Ganga family, while in the village of **Muktāpālī**, in the district of **Āudrahādī** which consisted of eighty-four rent-free villages (*Māṇyakapatta*), after hearing the exposition of *Dharmma* and *Adharmma* from the mouth of the illustrious **Āchārya Ammadēva** of the Śvētāmbara sect and having been made to understand by his teaching that the principal *Jaina-dharmma* gives more auspicious results than other *dharmmas* in this world as well as in the next, gave certain pieces of land at **Mahāśhabuddhikā** in the holy tīrtha of **Kālakālēśvara**, on the occasion of a solar eclipse, on the new-moon day of **Chaitra**. The grant consisted of several pieces of land, the first of which measured 40 *nivartanas* and the second 25 *nivartanas*. The latter, however, appears to have been once given by a prince named **Kakkapairāja**. The third measured 35 *nivartanas* while the fourth measured two *nivartanas* and consisted of a flower garden. In addition to these pieces of land two oil mills (*taila-ghāṇaḥas*), 14 Baniya shops (*Vanīl-hallāh*), and 14 *dramma*s were also given to the illustrious **Munī Suvratadēva** in the temple of the Jina in the country of Śvētapāda which was completely repaired (*lupta jīrnnūddhāram*). The land, the oil mills and the shops were given to defray the expenses of worship, which are enumerated in detail (*pūjā, abhishēka, navēdya* and *Chaitra-pavitṛaka*), as well as for the maintenance of the Jaina monks, who are called *Rishis*. The officers mentioned are *Dēśilaka, Grāmataka, Gōkulika, Chāurika* (*Chaurika*), *Saulhika* (*Saulhika*), *Damdvāsīla* (*Dandapāsīka*), *Prātrājyika* and *Mahattama*. There are eight imprecatory verses¹ at the end of the grant, which are numbered. The deed was written by the illustrious **Sāmdhivigrahika Yōgēśvara** of the twice-born race.

Among the places mentioned, **Dhārā** is the modern city of Dhar, which is the capital of the native state of the same name in the Mālwa Agency of Central India. **Kālakālēśvara**, spelt **Kalakālēśvara**, is, as has been stated above, a temple of Śiva, ten miles to the west of Kalvan, in the Nāsik district of the Bombay Presidency. I am unable to identify the village of **Mahāśhabuddhikā**, where the **Rāṇaka Amma** resided, and also the district of **Āudrahādī**.

TEXT

First Plate.

- 1 Svasti [1*] Śrīmām(n)¹-Dhārāyām Mēru-mahā-giri-tunga-śring-ōpamē Pravāmr²-ānvayē anēka-samara-samghatta-[sā]-
- 2 dhita śatru-paksha-vistrita-yasa(śō)-dhavalita-dig-amtarālah³ śrī - Siyakadēva-pād-ānu-dhyātah Sara[sva]-
- 3 tī-mukha-tīlaka-bhūta(h) kṛita-kāvya-mukta-sāyaka-ghūrmāyita⁴ sī(śī)rah-kavi-jana-śatta(tru)-paksha-
- 4 śrī-Vākpātirājadēva-pād-ānudhyātah anēka-mah-āhava-vijit-āri-jana-prathita-yasa(śō)-nirmmalī-
- 5 kṛita-sakala-dharādharma-dharā-jaladhī - sīmā - śrī - Sēm(Sim)dhurājadēva - pād-[ā*]nu-dhyātah mahā-va(ba)la-prachamda-rī-
- 6 pu-paksha-nirddārta-Karnnāta-Lāta-Gūrjara-Chēdy-ā(a)dhīpa - Kornkanēsa(śa) - prabhṛiti-ripu-vargga-nirddārta-

¹ [If it goes with Dhārā, we should expect *Śrīmatyām* instead — Ed.]

² Read *Paramār*.

³ Cancel the *visarga* [or the case-ending here as well as in some of the following attributes. — Ed.]

⁴ Read *ghūrmāyita*.

- 7 janita-trāsa-yasa(śō)-dhavalita-bhuvana-trayah śrī-Bhōjadōva-prasād¹-āvūpta-nagara-
Sē[lluk-ārddha]-
8 a-ārddha-sahaśra(sra)-grāmānām bhōktūrah² śrī-Yasō(śō)varmmaḥ³ [Tasmīn=
vishayē Mukta[pa]lyām chatur-āsī(śī)-
9 ti-Mānyaka-patta-Āudrahādi-vishayē sāmāntō Garuga-kula tila a-bhūtaḥ śrī-
A[mma]rā-
10 pakēna | Svē(Śvē)tāmva(ba)ra-śrī-Ammadōv-āchārya-mukh-ākhyāta-dharmm-ādharmm-
āgama-vākya-pravō(bō)dhita-
11 chih⁴[u*]ēna mukkhā(khya⁵)-Jina-dharmmam-anyē(nyad)-dharmmā[d*]-iḥa para-lōka-
su(śu)bha-phala-dāna[m*] iti vichim-

Second Plate, First Side.

- 12 [tya] jāta-manasā Mahishav(b)uddhikāyārṇ | śrī-Kalakalēśva(śva)rō puṇya-
ti[rthē Chai]
13 tra-mās-āmā[vā]syā[yā*]m sūryya-grahan[ō] sāgara-taraṅga-chamchala-jīvalō.
[ka]chchhā-
14 yā samā Lakshmī phēn-ōpamam jīvitamam(tam)-avadhūrya mātā-pitttrōr-ātmanasya⁶
puṇya-yasa(śah)-
15 śrī-vriddhayē sōpavitēna pāṇinā puṇy-ōttama-tīrtthē amvum(bu) grīhītvā supūrṇṇē
[na] ka-
16 mamdalunā Chālūvy⁷-ānvaya-prasūta-dharmmapatnī śrī Chachchāi-rājñi kara-grīhita-
[nikshipta]-
17 jalēna pāḍau prakshālya bhūmīr-nyam dattā Muktaḥpalyā uttarēna Māhūḍalā-
grām-ōttara-
18 dīsā(śā)yām bhūmī(mi)-nivarttanāni chatvārims(ś)-āśya⁸ sīmā pūrvvē nadī dakshīṇē
Hathāvāda-grā-
19 ma-sīmā Kakadah paśchimē garttā uttarē parvvatam(tah) ēvaṁ chatur-āghāta-
visu(śu)ddhā bhūmī(mi)[r-ī*]yam ta-
20 thā Kumārīstana-dōmgarikā-ubhaya-tatē śrī Kakkapai-rāja datta-bhū-niva[r*]tta-
nāni [pa]mcha-
21 vīsa⁹ tathā śrī-Vakaagala-prabhṛti-nagarēna Saṁgāma-nagara-sīmā-pārsvē Chachchāi-
22 livatē niva[r]ttanāni pamcha¹⁰ṛi(tri)mśa[t*] puhpa¹¹-vātikā-bhūmī-nivarttana-dvayam
taila [ghā]-

Second Plate, Second Side.

- 23 naka-dvaya[m] vanika(k)hattās=chaturddaśa dramṇā ēva shūtra¹² chaturddaśam
dadāti [l*] Attanī¹³-
24 kāyām vōli[kām¹⁴] pratipatrāni pamchāsa(śa)¹⁵ity-asē(śē)sham lupta-jīrnnōddhāram
kritam āchamdr-ā-
25 rkka-kālam yā[vat] Svē(Śvē)tapada-Jin-ālaē(yē) śrī Munī-Suvratadēvāya niv[e*]
ditā | Pūj-ābhishē-

¹ [This would indicate that Yasōvarmman was a *Sāmanta* or rather some subordinate officer of Lhōja —Ed.]

² Cancel the syllable *rah* ³ Read *varmriā*.

⁴ [Doubtful, *chihē(ūē)na* would be more likely —Ed.]

⁵ [The reading seems to be *muktu-Jina dharmmam-anyē dharmmā shaparal-kē mu(śu)bhapaladā na it* —Ed.]

⁶ Read *ātmanas=cha* ⁷ Read *Chālūky*

⁸ [The reading should be *āsād a-ya* —Ed.]

⁹ Read *pamchavimsat*

¹⁰ Read *puṣpa*

¹¹ Read *śvāṣa=ā-dhira*

¹² [It seems to be *aṣṭā[ī]kā* —Ed.]

¹³ [Doubtful —Ed.]

¹⁴ [Better read *śa(śa)[d*]-ity* —Ed.]

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- 26 ka-naivēdya-chaitra-pavitraka-grās-āchchhādām(da)nēshu ri(ri)shīṇām=upayōgyā [*]
asmin=vishasa(ya)-vāsī(1)
- 27 [dē]sulaka-grāma[ta]ka - gōkulika - chāū(au)rika - sau(śau)lkaka - damdā(da)vā(pā)sī(śi)ka-
prātirāyī-
- 28 ¹ka-mahattama-kutumv(b)inō=nyāms=cha tan-nivāsino janapad-ādīn v(b)ōdhayaty=asya
(astu) vō
- 29 viditam mayā dattam | mad-vamśajair=anyair=vv=āgāmi-nripati-bhōgapatibhir=iyam=
asmad-dā-
- 30 yō=numamtavyah pālayitavyas=cha | yō v=ājñāna-timira=pa[ta]l-āvrita-matir=āchchhi-
indy[ā]-
- 31 d=āchchhiṇdyamānah sah pamchabhir=mmahā-pātakair=upapātakaih samyukta[h*]
syād=iti | U-
- 32 ktam va(cha) bhagavatā Vyāsēna | Dēva-dravyam gurōr=dravyam dravyam ch=aiva
Jinēsva(śva)rē [*] tri(tri)vidham pata-
- 33 nam drishtam dāna-bhakhshana-lamghanē | 1 | Shashtir=vvarsha²sahasrā(srā)ṇi svarggē
tishthā(tha)-

Third Plate.

- 34 ti bhūmidah [*] āchchhēttā ch=ānumamtā cha³ tāny=ēva narakē vasēt | 2 |
- 35 Sam(Śam)kham bhadrasanam chehha[tra]m |⁴ var-āsvā(śvā)vara-vāhanāh [*] bhūmi-
dānasya chihnanī
- 36 drisya(śya)[ntē] tāni Bhārata | 3 | Sapta-janui-āmtarēṇ=a(ai)va yat=punyam pūrvva-
samchitam | arddh-āngu-
- 37 lēna sīmāyā haranēna pranasya(śya)ti | [4] | Agnishtōma-sahasra(sra)ś=cha |⁴
Vājapēya-śata(tē)-
- 38 shu cha | gavām kōti-pradānēna |⁴ bhūmi-harttā na su(śu)dhyati | [5] | Kum sūryah-
(s)=tivrā-tāpō dāha-
- 39 ti śasi(śi)-kalā[m*] pāvako=ti jvalamtē |⁴ nō rūdham bhūmi-sasyam |⁴ na vasati
vishayē |⁴ mā
- 40 dhavaś=ch=ālpa-vrīstih | kum gōshu kshīram=alpam śushatī sarīsarā(ō) jīvalōkē na
vriddhih
- 41 yatr=āyam bhūmi-harttā vasati pariṇānē tasya chihnanī=māni(tāni) | 6 | Ya[smi]nu(n)
kulē jāyati
- 42 bhūmi-dātā |⁴ sa mōdatē putra-kalatra-dhānyaih | sustham prajānām vasatē cha
yatra s[au]khyam śri(śri)yā-
- 43 namdati bhūmipālā(lah) | 7 | Va(Ba)habhir=vvasudhā bhuktā rājābhī⁵ Sagar-
ādibhih | yasya yasya ya-
- 44 dā bhūmīm(mi)h tasya tasya tadā phalam | 8 | Likhitam=īdam Dvij-ānvayē
[sā]ndhivigrahikaśrī-Jōga(gē)sva(śva)-
- 45 rēn=ēti |⁴

TRANSLATION.

(Lines 1—8) Hail ' In the illustrious (city of) Dhārā, in the Paramāra family, which was as sublime as the high peaks of the great mountain of Mēru, (was born) the illustrious Bhōjadēva

¹ [Note the symbol here.—Ed.]² Read °shīṇ varsha.³ [There seems to be a superfluous cha here.—Ed.]⁴ [Danda is unnecessary —Ed.]⁵ Read rājābhīh

who had caused the three worlds to be whitened by his fame (won by) causing fear and by destroying his enemies such as the lords of **Komkana**, **Chēdī**, **Gūrjara**, **Lāṭa** and **Karṇāṭa** and who had destroyed the hosts of his fierce enemies by his great army, (and) who meditated on the feet of the illustrious **Sindhurājadēva**, whose fame had become extensive by his defeating the enemies in many great battles, (and) who had purified the entire earth up to its boundaries of mountains and seas, (and) who meditated on the feet of the illustrious **Vākpatirājadēva** who was, (as it were), the mark on the forehead of the goddess of learning, (and) who had caused the heads of poets and his enemies to be turned by his poems and arrows (respectively), (and) who meditated on the feet of the illustrious **Sīyakadēva** who had caused the cardinal points to be whitened by his wide fame (won) by his defeating the enemies in many battles and engagements Through his (i.e., Bhōja's) pleasure, the illustrious **Yaśō-varmman** had obtained one half of the town of **Selluka** and was enjoying 1,500 villages

(Ll 8—17) In that province, in the (village) **Muktāpalī**, in the **Āuḍrahādī-vishaya** (with its) 84 rent-free (villages), the *sāmanta*, the illustrious **Rānaka Amma**, who was the mark on the forehead of the **Ganga family**, having heard *dharma* and *adharmma* from the illustrious **Śvētāmbara Ammadēva-Āchārya** (and) being made to understand by him, by words as well as by signs,¹ that this particular *Jina-dharma* is superior to other *dharmmas*, in this world as well as in the next, in producing good results, (and) having thought so and having made up his mind, this land was given by him at **Mahīshabuddhikā**, at the holy and illustrious *tīrtha* of **K[ā]lak[ā]lēśvara**, on the occasion of a solar eclipse and the *amāvāsya* day of the month of **Chaitra**, having ascertained that fortune is (as fleeting) as a shade (and) the world is as transient as the (moving) waves of the sea (and) the life (as worthless) as foam, for the increase of the merit, fame and fortune of his own self as well as of his parents, having taken water in this most holy *tīrtha* with (his) sacred thread in his hand in a well-filled *lamanḍalu* and having washed the feet (of the Jina ?) with water thrown from the hands of his legal wife (*dharma-patnī*) the illustrious **Queen Chachchāī**, (who) was born in the **Chālukya** family.

(Ll 17—31) This land which is to the north of **Muktāpalī**, on the northern side of the village of **Māhudaḷā**, (measures) forty *nivarttanas* Its boundaries (are) —on the east, the river, on the south, the boundary of the village **Hathāvāda**, and the *Kakada* (?), on the west, the water-courses, (and) on the north, the mountain. This land is thus defined with its four boundaries. Again, the twenty-five *nivarttanas* of land given by the illustrious king **Kakkapaī** on both slopes of the hill known as 'the breasts of the virgin', also thirty-five *nivarttanas* (of land) by the **Vakaagala** and others of the town, by the side of the town of **Sangama** at **Chadaḷivata**, (as well as) two *nivarttanas* of flower gardens, 2 oil-mills, 14 shops of merchants, as well as 14 *dramma* coins, and in market² places (and) village streets, per leaf (?) fifty Having caused endless repairs and restorations to be made, to last as long as the Sun and the Moon endure, in the temple of Jina in the **Śvētapada** country, are dedicated to the illustrious **Muni Suvratadēva** for the purpose of worship, *abhishēka*, *navēdya*, *chaitra-pavittraka*, for food and clothing of Rishis (The following officers) and inhabitants of this *vishaya*.—**Dēśilaka**, **Grāmataka**, **Gōkulika**, **Chaurika**, **Saulika**, **Damapāśika**, **Prātirājyika**, **Mahattama**, householders and others, the inhabitants of towns, are informed "Let it be known to you, that this (land) given by me, is to be recognized as a gift, by my descendants as well as other future kings and enjoyers and protected, and whoever, with his mind being covered with the dense darkness of ignorance, violates this or causes this to be violated, will be connected with (i.e., afflicted with) the five great *pātakas* as well as *upapātakas* "

¹ [See footnote on text line 11 above.—Ed.]

² [See footnote on text line 23 above.—Ed.]

(Ll 32—44) It has been said by the venerable Vyāsa [here follow eight of the usual imprecatory verses] Written by the illustrious *Sāndhivigrahika* Jōgēśvara of the twice-born race

No 11 —AMODA PLATES OF THE HAIHAYA KING PRITHVIDEVA I ·
CHEDI SAMVAT 831

BY RAI BAHADUR HIRALAL, B A. (RETIRED DEPUTY COMMISSIONER, CENTRAL PROVINCES)

These copper-plates were found in a field in Amodā village, about a foot below the surface. Amodā is about 10 miles from Jānjgir, the headquarters of a *tahsīl* of the same name in the Bilāspur District of the Central Provinces. These are two plates, each measuring 11" × 7½", the total weight of both being 107 tolas. Each has a hole, the first at the bottom and the second at the top, for being strung with a seal which is lost. They are inscribed on one side only, the first containing 20 and the second 21 lines. The plates when found about May 1924 were deposited in the Nagpur Museum, whence I obtained them for deciphering. The accompanying facsimile copy was prepared from impressions taken by Mr Abdus Suboor, Com Expert of the same museum.

The writing is in a fairly good state of preservation, except where the metal has been corroded. The size of the letters averages ¼" except in the last 5 lines in which it is reduced to ⅓". The characters are Dvānāgarī of the Kalachuri type with the usual peculiarities found in the records of the kings of Tripurī and Ratanpur. No difference has been made between *ba* and *va*, both being expressed by the sign for *va*. The dental sibilant has been usually employed for the pala'al and *vice versa*, for which the text may be read, where the correct sibilant has been put in brackets, just opposite the incorrect one. In many words the dental *n* has been used for the *anusāra*, e.g., in line 5 *vansa* stands for *vamśa* and in l 8 *sinhāh* for *simhāh*. The letters *ta*, *ra* and *na* have been so formed that they are easily mistaken one for the other, and so is the case with *pa* and *ya*, and also with *va*, *cha* and *dha*. The letters *a*, *i*, *lha*, *na*, *dha*, *bha*, *ra* and *śa* bear antique forms. The record is composed in Sanskrit verse and prose, there being altogether 22 verses of which 14 at the commencement are devoted to the eulogy of the donor and his ancestors and the remaining at the end to imprecation, benediction, and mention of officials like the minister for peace and war, under whom the department of gifts was usually placed, and the writer and engraver of the charter. Between these two sets of verses is placed the business portion in prose. The salutation to the deity in the beginning and the year at the end are also given in prose.

The proper object of the charter is to record the grant of a village named *Vasahā* or *Basahā* of the *Yayapara-mandala* to a Brāhmana named *Kēśava*, son of *Chāṭṭa* and grandson of *Thirāicha* (who had come from a place named *Hastiyāmatha*), on Sunday, the 7th tithi of the dark half of *Phālguna* in the *Chēdi* year 831, on the occasion of the dedication of a *Chatushkākā* or hall resting on 4 pillars to the god *Vankēśvara* at *Tumānaka*, by *Prithvidēva I*, son of *Ratnadēva*, and queen *Nōnnalā*, daughter of *Vajuvārman*, prince of *Kōmō mandala*. The genealogy is traced to *Kārtavīrya*, who imprisoned *Rāvana*, violently shaken to and fro by the waters of the great *Rēvū*. In his family were born the *Haihaya* kings, in whose line *Kōkkala* became the lord of *Chēdi* and other countries. He raided the treasuries of the *Karṇāṭa*, *Vanga*, *Gurjara*, *Konkana*, and *Śākambharī* kings and also of those born of the *Turushka* and *Raghu* families. He had 18 sons of whom the eldest became the king of *Tripurī*, while the others were made feudatory chiefs near about. To one of the younger

brothers was born **Kalingarāja**, whose son was **Kamalarāja**. The latter defeated an **Utkala** king and endeavoured to equal **Gāṅgēyadēva** in prosperity. To him was born **Ratnarāja** or **Ratnadēva**, the father of the donor of this gift.

Prithvidēva is described as the master of twenty thousand, the lord of the whole of **Kōsala**, a *mahāmandalēśvara*, and sprung from the Kalachuri family. These facts are important as showing that in spite of being a lord of a very big country like **Kōsala** extending west to east from **Berār** to **Orissa** and north to south from the **Amarkantaka** to the **Godāvari**, he continued to owe allegiance to the parental house at **Tripurī** near **Jubbulpore**. It is somewhat difficult to say what the 'master of 20-thousand' means, but it appears to be a measure of importance belonging to the class in which the Southern kings usually indulged. Some writers construed the figures against place-names referring to their revenue capacity, the value of the produce or the quantity of seed required for the cultivation of the tract, but **Dr. Fleet** in his note on Ancient territorial divisions of India contributed to the *Royal Asiatic Society's Journal* of 1912 has clearly shown that the numerical figures refer to the number of cities, towns and villages assigned to each territorial division. In certain cases like **Rattapādi** 7,50,000, **Kavadivīpa** 1,25,000, **Gangavādi** 96,000, **Nolambavādi** 32,000, the figures look enormous, but these he explains as conventional or traditional or at any rate greatly exaggerated. In the light of these, our figure of 20,000 for the lord of the whole of **Kōsala** country is apparently very modest. In a record found in the **Madras Presidency**, referring to a gift made by the Kalachuri king of **Tripurī**, to **Sadbhāva-Sambhu**, the head of **Gōlakīmatha**, the following occurs — तस्मै निष्कृष्टचतस्रे कलचुरिक्कापालचूडामणि । ग्रामाणां युवराजदेवदत्तपति भिन्नां त्रिलच ददौ ॥ i.e., to him the Kalachuri king **Yuvarājadēva** gifted 3 lakhs of villages. The same record assigns 9 lakhs of villages to the **Dāhala** country, lying between the **Jumna** and the **Narmadā**, which **Yuvarājadēva** held. For our donor, therefore, to hold 20 thousand villages as a *Mahāmandalēśvara* of **Tripurī**, looks to be a normal affair. In those days the units must have been very small, as they are still found in backward places like the **Bastar State**.

The importance of our charter lies in the fact that it is the oldest dated record of the **Haihayas** of **Mahākōsala**. Up till now **Prithvidēva's** son's record of the year 1114 was the oldest.¹ Of all the dated records of the Kalachuri kings, the one under notice stands second, the first being that of **Karnadēva** of the year 1042 A.D.² **Karna** was the son of **Gāṅgēyadēva**,³ who finds a mention in our record as a king to be imitated for augmenting one's prosperity. He had died in 1041 A.D., or 38 years before the charter under notice was issued. The date of our record regularly corresponds to **Sunday, the 27th January 1079 A.D.** In this charter the **Samvat** is given as *Chēdīśasya* (of the lord of **Chēdī**), and not as **Chēdī** or **Kalachuri Samvat**, as found in other records. This seems to support the hypothesis formulated by me about 15 years ago that **Chhattisgarh** owed its origin to **Chēdisagadhi**, meaning the forts or districts of the lord of **Chēdī**, and not to the numerical word *chhattis* meaning 36. There is no proof of the *gadhas* or forts having been limited to 36. On the other hand the account books of the kings of **Ratanpur** which were seen by the Settlement Officer of the **Bilāspur District** about 60 years ago showed the names of 48 *gadhas* instead of 36. In no inscription has the name **Chhattisgarh** been used for **Kōsala** or **Mahākōsala**. The **Bilāspur District** or at any rate a portion of it formed part of the **Chēdī** country under the sway of the **Tripurī** kings and the rulers of **Mahākōsala** were the sons of the same family and remained subordinate to that paramount power. It was, therefore, natural to call all the new forts which formed units of power as belonging to the **Chēdī** or Lord of **Chēdī**.

¹ See **Jāyalladēva's** **Ratanpur** inscription in *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. I, pp. 32 ff.

² *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. VI, pp. 297 ff.

³ One record of this king is also found with a doubtful date corresponding to 1048 A.D.

The geographical names mentioned in the record include the Rēvā river, which is an alternative name of the Narmadā, the sacred river on whose banks Tripurī, the present Tēwar, 8 miles from Jubbulpore, lay, and of whose sanctity the *Sārōddharinī* speaks as follows —“The Ganges is very sacred at Kanakhala, the Sarasvatī at Kurukshētra, but the Narmadā is sacred everywhere, in any village or forest”¹ I have already spoken about the extent of the Kōsala country in which Tumānaka or Tummāna, the present Tumān, is situate. It is 45 miles north of Ratanpur, which in its turn is 16 miles north of Bilāspur, the headquarters of the district of the same name. The district is formed of many old *mandalas* of which Kōmō-*mandala*, whence the donor's mother hailed, is still identifiable with the Pendra zamīndārī, in which there is still a village named Kōmō. The Yayapara-*mandala*, in which the village Vasahā or Basahā lay, must have been the tract lying about the present village Jajapur, 10 miles from Amodā. Basahā apparently exist with its name unchanged in the Bilāspur *tahsil*, a part of which must have been included in the Jajapur-*mandala* of ancient days. Among the countries mentioned as raided by Kōkkala, Karnnāta, the present Karnātak, lies far away in the south. Close to it is Konkana, still retaining the same name. Further up one meets Gurjara, the present Gujarāt, to the east of which in Rājputāna lies the country of Śākambharī, the tutelary goddess of the Chauhāns. Vanga is (Eastern) Bengal, but it is not clear what country the Turushkas and Raghus then occupied. Apparently, the latter's dominions had no specific name. Kamalarāja is stated to have vanquished an Utkala or Orissa king, but the personal names of the conquered have been left out in every case.

The temple of Vankēśvara, as is clear from the record, was situated in Tumāna, where a superb temple, now in ruins, still exists. For further details I may refer the reader to my article on a visit to Tumāna published in the *Indian Antiquary* of 1924. The temple of this god has also been mentioned in a stone inscription of Jājalladēva of the year 1114 A.D.² But I cannot find a god of this name in the recognised Hindu pantheon. Apparently he was an aboriginal local deity, believed to exercise the greatest influence and was, therefore, adopted by the Kalachuris as their tutelary god in order to prevent him from doing any harm to the newcomers, unless it is another name for Śiva, of whom the Kalachuris were the great worshippers. In fact they styled themselves as *Perama-Māhēsvras*, as has been done in this charter also. They belonged to a sect which is known as Pāsupata-pantha, now believed to practise a degraded form of Śiva worship. Vankēśvara means the ‘lord of vagabonds’, a title equally applicable to an aboriginal god or to Śiva, as the latter is always accompanied by an army of vagabonds. Prior to the advent of the Kalachuris in the Bilāspur District, the country was inhabited mostly by aborigines, as it is so even now in the portion where Tumāna is situated. It is, therefore, very likely that Vankēśvara was adopted from their pantheon, otherwise we should have temples dedicated to that deity in the Dāhala country, at least in the capital at Tripurī, but we find no trace of him there.

It is curious that, barring the names of kings, other names even of high officials like ministers of peace and war sound non-Aryan. The minister was named Dhōdhāka or Dhōdhā in plain language. Although the donee was named as Kēśava and was given the high title of Rishi, yet his father was named Chātta and his grandfather Thirācha, both being out and out non-Aryan names. Even the prince of Kōmō-*mandala* was named Vaju, which cannot be considered to be flattering. His daughter who was married to Ratnadēva bore the name of Nōnnalā, more correctly Nōnnalā as found in other records of the same family. This seems to be an inflation

¹ गङ्गा कनखले पुण्या कुरुक्षेत्रे सरस्वती ।

गामे वा यदिवारणे पुण्या सर्वत्र नर्मदा ॥

² *Ep. Ind.*, Vol I, pp 35 ff.

of Nōni which in the Chhattisgarhī dialect of Hindi means 'a maiden,' as it does in Oriya and Bengali. The ladies of rank apparently had the termination "allā" added to their names, as we find other queens of the same family bearing names like Āvallā, Lāchhallā, Rājallā, Rambhallā, Jāsallā, Sōmallā and Triallā.

In noticing these few points which the charter brings to prominent notice, I have been actuated by the idea that the time has come when a broader view of the manner of studying these records might well be taken, than has been hitherto the case. Up to this time attention was chiefly concentrated on kings, dates and places, but these unusual finds reveal a lot of unusual ethnographical and other data, which is well worth collection.

TEXT

[Metres Vv 1, 4, 10, 11, 12, 17-23, *Anushtubh*, v 2, *Upēndravajrā*, v 3, *Sragdharā*; vv 5, 6, 8, 9, 14, *Vasantatilakā*, vv 7, 15, 16, *Upajāti*, v 13, *Śikharinī*]

First Plate

- 1 ओम् ॥ ओम्^१ नमो ब्र(ब्र)ह्मणे ॥ निर्गुणं व्यापकं नित्यं शि । १^{वं}
परमकारणं । भावग्राह्यं परं ज्योतिस्तस्मै स-
- 2 द्व(द्)ह्मणे नमः ॥[१॥*] यदेतदग्रेसरमस्व(स्व)रस्य ज्यो । १^{ति} स पूषा
पुरुषः पुराणः । अथास्य पुत्रो मनु-
- 3 रादिराजस्तदन्वयेभृङ्गुवि क[१]र्त्तव्योः ॥[२ ॥*] देवः श्रीकर्त्त-
व्योः क्षितिपतिरभवद्भूषणं भूतधाया ह-
- 4 लोक्षिप्ताद्रिवि(वि)भ्यत्तुहिनगिरिसुता[क्षेप]सन्तोषितेशम् । दोर्दण्डाक(का)ण्डसेतु-
प्रतिगमितम्-
- 5 हावारिरेवाप्रवाह^२व्याधूतचक्षुपूजागुरुजनितरुषं रावणं यो वव(वव)न्म^३ ॥[३॥*]
तद्वन्स(वंश)प्रभवा भूपा व(व)-
- 6 भूवुभेवि हैहयाः । तेषां वन्स(वंशे) च चेद्यादिक्षितीसः(शः) कोकलो-
भवत् ॥ [४ ॥*] कार्ण्ण्ट(कर्ण्ण्ट)वङ्गपतिगूर्जरको-
- 7 क्षणेशसा(शा)कंभरोपतितु[रुष्कर]घूङ्गवानाम् । आ[द]ाय की[श]हरिदन्त(न्ति)-
चयं हठेन स्तंभो जय-
- 8 स्य विहितो भुवि येन राज्ञा ॥[५ ॥*] अष्टादशारिकरिकुभविभङ्गसिन्हाः
(सिन्हाः) पुत्रा वभूवुरतिसौ(शौ)र्य-
- 9 पराञ्च तस्य । तत्रायजो नृपवरस्त्रिपुरीश आसीत्पा^४खै(खै) च मण्डलपतो-
न्स चकार व(व)न्धुन् ॥[६॥*] तेषा-

^१ Represented by two different signs [The first symbol possibly stands for सिद्धिरस्तु, see above, Vol. XVII, p. 352 —Ed]

^२ [The *dandas* are unnecessary —Ed] Here the space enclosed by the two vertical lines and just below it in the second line was reserved for making a hole for stringing the first plate with the second plate, but the hole was finally made at the bottom instead of at the top.

^३ Compare with the 3rd *śloka* of the Benares copper plate inscription of Karnaśeva (*Ep Ind*, Vol. II, p. 305).

^४ Elsewhere this reads as क्षेप य (see *Ep Ind*, Vol. I, p. 34, *śloka* 5)

ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ प्रथमोऽध्यायः ॥
 १ ॥ अथ राजा प्रथिवीवर्धनः ॥
 २ ॥ अथ राजा प्रथिवीवर्धनः ॥
 ३ ॥ अथ राजा प्रथिवीवर्धनः ॥
 ४ ॥ अथ राजा प्रथिवीवर्धनः ॥
 ५ ॥ अथ राजा प्रथिवीवर्धनः ॥
 ६ ॥ अथ राजा प्रथिवीवर्धनः ॥
 ७ ॥ अथ राजा प्रथिवीवर्धनः ॥
 ८ ॥ अथ राजा प्रथिवीवर्धनः ॥
 ९ ॥ अथ राजा प्रथिवीवर्धनः ॥
 १० ॥ अथ राजा प्रथिवीवर्धनः ॥
 ११ ॥ अथ राजा प्रथिवीवर्धनः ॥
 १२ ॥ अथ राजा प्रथिवीवर्धनः ॥
 १३ ॥ अथ राजा प्रथिवीवर्धनः ॥
 १४ ॥ अथ राजा प्रथिवीवर्धनः ॥
 १५ ॥ अथ राजा प्रथिवीवर्धनः ॥
 १६ ॥ अथ राजा प्रथिवीवर्धनः ॥
 १७ ॥ अथ राजा प्रथिवीवर्धनः ॥
 १८ ॥ अथ राजा प्रथिवीवर्धनः ॥
 १९ ॥ अथ राजा प्रथिवीवर्धनः ॥
 २० ॥ अथ राजा प्रथिवीवर्धनः ॥

10

- 10 मनु¹जस्य कलिङ्गराजः प्रतापवज्रिचपितारिराजः । जातोन्वये द्विष्टरिपु-
प्रवीरप्रियान-
- 11 नाभोरुहपार्वणेन्दुः ॥[७ ॥*] तस्मादपि प्रततनिर्भलकीर्त्तिकान्तो जातः
पु(सु)तः क[म*]लराज इति
- 12 प्रसिद्धः । यस्य प्रतापतरणावुदित(ते) रजन्यां जातानि पङ्कजवनानि
विकासभोजि(भाज्जि) ॥[८ ॥*] क्षीणो-
- 13 दपु(सु)त्कलन्टपं परिमथ्य धीरो गाद्रे(ङ्गे)यदेवविभवे स(श)मदाच्छ्रियं यः ।
उच्चैस्त्रिस्वरप्रण[धरन्]प-
- 14 रत्नदानसंतोषितासुरसुरः स हि मन्दराभः ॥[९ ॥*] महीभर्तृविभूषाय²
पपो(यो)धिरिव [कीस्तु]-
- 15 भं । जितसू(शू)रप्रतापं हि रत्नराजमसूत सः ॥[१० ॥*] दृष्ट[वि]द्विष्ट-
सामन्तध्वान्त[ध्वं]सनभास्करं ।
- 16 यस्य प्रतापतस्यैव सै(शै)त्याया(धि)श्रिता द्विषः ॥[११ ॥*] नीलसाख्या प्रिया
तस्य सू(शू)रस्येव हि
- 17 सू(शू)रता । कीमोमण्डलनाथस्य सुता या वज्रवर्म्माणः ॥[१२ ॥*] तत[:*]
पृथ्वोदेवः सकलधरणो-
- 18 भूषणमणिः समुत्पन्नः श्रीम[हु]धजनमनोभोजतरणिः । प्रतापाग्नी यस्य
ज्व-
- 19 क्षति सततोत्तप्तद्वयेर्विलीनं सामात्यैर्जडकृतस(श)रीरैरिव परैः ॥ [१३ ॥*]
यस्मिन्मही-
- 20 [म*]वति नीतिविचारस(सा)रे वातोप्यवर्त्मनि पदं न करोति कीन्यः ।
धर्म[1*]ध्वनि[ठि]तमतौ च न

Second Plate

- 21 दैवत्येचन³ दैवतोपि लोकेषु(षु) नूनमुपघातलवोदयोस्ति ॥[१४ ॥*] अनेन
समस्तप्रति-
- 22 पत्तिसमूहससु(सु)पेतश(स)र्वाल्लङ्कारविभूषितेन सं(शं)खयुग्मध्वनिपूरितजगज्जप-
(य)श्वर⁴-
- 23 रवत्रासितारातिचक्रेण समधिगताशेषपञ्च(पञ्च)महाशब्दे(ब्दे)न श्रीमद्भस्त्र(श्व)र-
वरत्नव(व्य)प्रसा-

¹ नू should be short, but apparently it has been made long for the sake of metre, with a view to make it a pāda of *Indravajrā*, like the third pāda of the same *śloka*, the second and fourth being those of *Upēndravajrā*.

² Elsewhere it reads विभूषाय which appears to be better (see *Ep. Ind*, Vol. I, p. 35, *śloka* 9)

³ Delete the first five letters as superfluous.

⁴ [These two letters seem to be unnecessary. The reading is not certain. Mr. Hirajal conjecturally suggests
°जगज्जप-°—Ed.]

- 24 दैकविन्स(विंश)तिश(स)ह्रै(सै)कनाथमप(ह्रा)प्रचण्डसकलकोसलाधिपतिना पर-
समाहेस्व(स्व)रेण कल-
- 25 चुरिवन्सो(वंशो)इवे[नि*]त्यादि समस्तराजावलोविराजमानमहामण्डलेखरेण हस्ति-
यामठिनि-
- 26 गताय । आङ्गिरसगोत्राया(य) उचि(च)थ्यगौतमवसिष्ठेति त्रिः(त्रि)प्रम(व)-
राप(य) व(व)ह्वचसा(शा)खिने [य]सो(शो)दे-
- 27 वप्रणवे(व)उपाध्यायथिराश्चनष्ट्रे चा[टस]ता[य] रिसि(ऋषि) केस(श)राम्न(वाय)-
स्व(ष्वा)लुनकृष्णसप्तम्यां रविदि-
- 28 ने तुमाणके देवश्रीवङ्गस्व(स्व)रचतु[ष्कि]काप्र[ति]ष्ठायां ओमहङ्गस्व(स्व)र[पट्टा]धि-
क्षग्नदो(द्वौ) पादौ प्रचा-
- 29 ल्य कुसा(शा)क्षतहिरण्यसमन्वितवारितुण्डकमाप्तययपरमंडल(मण्डले) वसहा-
ग्रामश्चतुःसीमा-
- 30 विसु(शु)द्धो मातायि(पि)त्रोरात्मनश्च पुण्ययसो(शो)भिद्वन्द्वे [ह]स्तो-
दक[सा](शा)सनतया प्र[द]त्तस्तदयं
- 31 चंद्रदिवाकरचित्तिपाथोधिपवनाम्न(स्व)राणि यावत् म(अ)विह्विभुक्त्याकाग-
[भाग]करमं[ग]लङ्क-
- 32 रसवती¹ दम(समा)हृत्य(त्या)भ्यन्तरसिद्धां(ध्यां) भ्रजेनेतयुत्रपौत्रादिभिश्च
भोक्तव्यः ॥ विपूर्वको विक्र-
- 33 मराजधेयः सौ(शौ)र्याभुतो विक्रमराजनामा । तथार्जुनो वीरवरो
जित्तारिरेभिः प्रद-
- 34 आः(त्ताः) खलु श(स)त्यवाचः ॥[१५ ॥*] ण(त)थ [था] सधे(संधि)विग्रह-
राजमत्तौ श्रेष्ठौ यसो(शो)रत्नपुरप्रधा[न]ः । धोधा-
- 35 क आद्यद्विजज्ञेस(श)[वाय ददौ] च[रां संश्रि]तसत्यधर्मः ॥[१६² ॥*]
व(व)ह्वमिर्वसुधा रु(भु)क्ता राज-
- 36 भिः सगरादिभिः । यस्ययस्य यदा भूमिस्तस्य[तस्य*] तदा फलम् ॥[१७ ॥*]
भूमिं यः प्रतिगृह्णा(ह्ना)ति य-
- 37 च भूमिं प्रयच्छति । उभौ [तौ पुण्यकर्मा]णौ नियतं स्वर्गगामिनौ ॥
[१८ ॥*] रु(शं)खं भद्रासन(नं) कृष्णं वरस्त्रा(राश्वरा) वरवारणाः ।
- 38 भूमिदानस्य चिह्नानि फलमेत[त्पु]रन्दर ॥[१९ ॥*] [हरते हार]यते यो
मन्दबु(बु)द्धिस्तमोवतः । स प(व)क्षो वारुणैः पासै(शै)स्तिर्यग्यो-

¹ [Reading uncertain.—Ed.]

² Metre : *Upajāti*. Apparently the intention was to write in *Indravajrā* metre. But through the fault of the engraver or otherwise it has become irregular.

- 39 निं च गच्छति ॥[२० ॥*] न विषं विषमित्याहुर्व्र(र्त्र)ह्मस्वं विषमुद्य(च)ते ।
विषमेकाकिनं ह[न्ति] व्व(व्र)ह्मस्व(स्वं) पुत्रपौत्रि(व्र, क ॥[२१ ॥*] गर्गोस्व-
(श्व)रः सुक-
- 40 विरल्हण ईशभक्तस्तांत्रे(स्त्रं) चक्र(को)रनयनां(नो) लिखितं सुधाक्षिः । योद्वास्
(श)लः सकलसि(शि)ष्यनिधिः सुव(बु)द्धिस्तीर्ण(र्ण)वा-
- 41 न्म भु(शु)भप(प)त्ति सव(द)त्तरं च ॥[२२* ॥]१॥ य ॥ या यां[य] ।
चेदीस(श)स्व सं ८३१

No. 12—TAKKOLAM INSCRIPTION OF RAJAKESARIVARMAN (ADITYA I).

By K. V. SUBRAHMANYA AYYAR, B. A., M. R. A. S., OOTACAMUND

Takkōlam, which is now a petty village in the North Arcot District¹ and a flag station on the Arkonam-Chingleput line of the South Indian Railway, was an important place in ancient times. It occurs under the name Tiruvūral in the *Dēvāram*, and is stated to have been situated in Tondai-nādu.² It is celebrated for its Śiva temple, referred to in the hymns of the Tamil Śaiva saint Tiruñānasambandar,³ who flourished in the middle of the seventh century A.D. Even at the present day, its Śiva temple is an old structure of the Chōla times, referable to the 9th century A.D., to judge from the inscriptions⁴ engraved on the walls of the central shrine. Besides being a place of pilgrimage, it is historically important as one of the ancient battle-fields of South India. In the middle of the 10th century A.D., it witnessed a sanguinary encounter⁵ that took place between the Chōlas on the one side, and the Rāshtrakūtas allied with the Gangas on the other, the bone of contention being Tondai-mandalam,—the plum of the Pallava dominions,—which had been snatched away by the Chōlas from the Pallavas⁶ in the third quarter of the 9th century A.D. The Chōlas were under the banner of the great Parāntaka I, the general being the valiant Chōla prince Rājāditya, while the contending Rāshtrakūta was the famous Kṛishna III,⁷ allied with the Ganga Būtuga II.⁸ In the encounter, Būtuga managed to get into the *howdah* of the

¹ Regarding the situation of Takkōlam, see *Ep Ind.*, Vol. V, p. 167.

² Tiruvūral is included in the first *Tirumura*; and is stated to be a place in Tondai-nādu.

³ Of the eleven verses composed by this saint verses 6 and 7 are lost and the rest are preserved in the *Dēvāram*.

⁴ The inscriptions of Takkōlam are registered as Nos. 1 to 19 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1897 and Nos. 243 to 277 of the same collection for 1921. The kings represented in them are Rājakesarivarma (No. 5 of 1897 and Nos. 255 and 260 of 1921), Parāntaka I (Nos. 8 to 12 of 1897 and Nos. 245, 246, 248, 249, 251 to 254 and 261 of 1921), Kapparaḍēva (No. 2 of 1897), Parakēsarivarma (No. 6 of 1897 and No. 250 of 1921), Pārthivēndravarma (Nos. 4, 7, 13 and 14 of 1897), Rājaraḥa I (No. 3 of 1897 and Nos. 247, 257, 258 and 259 of 1921), Rājendra-Chōla I (No. 15 of 1897 and 256 of 1921), Vimalāditya (No. 1 of 1897), Rājakesarivarma Vijayarājēndradēva (No. 262 of 1921), Rājakesarivarma Virarājendra (No. 19 of 1897), Kulōttunga I (No. 18 of 1897 and Nos. 243, 263 and 268 of 1921), Tribhuvanachakravartin Kulōttunga (Nos. 16 and 17 of 1897), Tribhuvanachakravartin Rājaraḥa (Nos. 265 and 266 of 1921), Vijayagandagōpāla (Nos. 264 and 267 of 1921), Rājanārāyaṇa-Sambuvārāya (No. 271 of 1921), Dēvarāya (No. 270 of 1921) and Sadāśiva (Nos. 269 and 272 of 1921). One bears no king (No. 273 of 1921).

⁵ This battle is mentioned in the Ātakūr stone inscription (see *Ep Ind.*, Vol. VI, p. 55).

⁶ This fact was first surmised by Mr. Venkayya in editing the Tirukkalukkuṇṇam inscription of Rājakesarivarma, dated in the 27th year of reign (*Ep Ind.*, Vol. III, p. 279), and subsequently proved to be correct by a statement in the Tiruvālangāḍu plates (*S. I. I.*, Vol. III, p. 419, v. 49).

⁷ Kṛishna III is invariably referred to in Tamil Inscriptions by the appellation "*Kachchayum Tanjanyum-konda Kapparaḍēva*," (Kapparaḍēva, the capturer of Conjeeveram and Tanjore). The Doddanārvaram inscription (No. 112 of 1899) refers to his having been encamped at Mēlpādi in the North Arcot district.

⁸ *Ep Ind.*, Vol. VI, pp. 55 and 57.

show an earlier type are *śa*, *ma* and *ta*. The marking of the secondary *ṛ*-symbol from right to left like a circle over the letter is another archaic feature that is worthy of note. The etymology and orthography of the record do not call for any remarks.

The inscription is dated in the 24th year of the reign of Rājakēśarīvarman without any distinguishing epithets and registers the grant of a silver water-vessel with a spout, made to the temple of Tiruvūral-Mahādēva by Pīṇḍipadiyār, son of Māramaraiyar, on the occasion of a solar eclipse which occurred on the first day of the bright fortnight in the month of Āṇi. The donor Pīṇḍipadiyār is no doubt identical with the Ganga Prithvīpati II, son of Mārasimha, who is referred to by the name of Māramaraiyar here.¹ It was on this Ganga chief that the Chōla king Parāntaka I (A.D. 907 to 953) conferred later on the Bāṇa kingdom which he had obtained by defeating the then reigning Bāṇa chief, along with the feudatory title Śembiyan Māvali-Vānarāyan.² Since before Parāntaka I the only Chōla king that bore the title Rājakēśarīvarman was Āḍitya I, this inscription must belong to him. Palaeographical considerations and the fact that Prithvīpati II figures as donor in this record point to the same conclusion.

The importance of this inscription consists in the fact that it can, with certainty, be ascribed to the Chōla Āḍitya I, that it enables us to fix the date of his accession to the throne which has not hitherto been done, besides, it also reveals the fact that the Gangas under Prithvīpati II assumed a subordinate position under, or were at least friendly towards, the Chōlas even during the reign of Āḍitya I, as they certainly were in the time of Parāntaka I.

It is reported in the Udayēndiram grant that the Ganga king Prithvīpati I, grandfather of the donor of our record, fought on the side of the Pallava Aparājita against the Pāṇḍya king Varaguna in the battle at Śrīpurambiyam and secured victory for his ally, though he himself lost his life in the strife.³ The Pāṇḍya king Varaguna, who was defeated in this battle, is no doubt Vatrakunavarman, the eldest son of Śrīmāra Parachakrakōlāhala.⁴ Of his reign an inscription had been found at Aivarmalai⁵ in the Madura district dated in the 8th year and Śaka 792, from which it is learnt that he ascended the throne in A.D. 862. It is clear that the battle of Śrīpurambiyam must, therefore, have been fought some time after that date, perhaps in about A.D. 870. The victor in this battle, *i.e.*, the Pallava king Aparājita, continued his rule for some time⁶ when he had to encounter a more formidable foe in the Chōla Āḍitya I. The Tiruvāṅgādu plates state that Āḍitya I defeated the Pallava Aparājita, gained victory and took possession of his dominions.⁷ This must have happened in about A.D. 870.

The statement made in this inscription that in the 24th year of the king's reign there was a solar eclipse in the month of Āṇi is of the utmost importance, for it enables us to fix the year of his accession to the throne as will be shown presently. Keeping A.D. 907, the year of accession of Parāntaka I, as the last year of the reign of Āḍitya I, we have to look for the date meant in the

¹ Prithvīpati I, having died in the battle of Śrīpurambiyam, it is impossible that he might be meant in this record though Māramaraiyar may be equated with Śivamāra or Mārasimha.

² See *S I I*, Vol. II, page 384. See also Sholingur inscription of Parāntaka I (*Ep Ind*, Vol. IV, page 224), where the following words अरुमत पदमय प्रसाद बाणाधिराजपदरत्नसमर्पण are used with reference to the title obtained by Prithvīpati II from Parāntaka I.

³ See *S I I*, Vol. II, p. 384, v. 18, and *Ep Ind*, Vol. IX, p. 87.

⁴ *A R on Epigraphy* for 1907, Pt. II, page 66 f.

⁵ No. 705 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1905.

⁶ The inscriptions of Aparājita range in date from the 7th to the 18th year of reign (see No. 435 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1905 and No. 351 of the same collection for 1908).

⁷ *S I I* Vol. III, p. 419, v. 49.

inscription. From Mr L. D. Swamikkannu Pillai's *Indian Ephemeris*, it is seen that before A.D. 907 the following are the dates when solar eclipses occurred in the month of Āṇi :—

- 1 Saturday, 5th June 829 A.D
- 2 Thursday, 5th June 848 A.D
- 3 Saturday, 16th June 866 A.D.
- 4 Friday, 6th June 867 A.D.
- 5 Saturday, 27th May 876 A.D
- 6 Wednesday, 16th June 885 A.D
- 7 Friday, 7th June 894 A.D
- 8 Wednesday, 28th May 895 A.D

It may be noted at the start that as Parāntaka I had had a long reign extending to 46 years Āditya I, his father, could not have reigned as long. And if the fact that the Pallava king Aparājita and his Gaṅga ally Prthivīpati I fought at Śrīpurambyam in the Tanjore district not far from the new capital of the Chōlas, without the Chōlas taking any part in it, against the Pāṇḍya king Varaguṇa,—which event must have taken place after A.D. 862, the year of accession of Varaguṇa and somewhere about 870,—could suggest anything, it is that the Chōlas had not formed themselves into a power to count for much. For these reasons, we cannot place the date of accession of Āditya I, prior to A.D. 862. As such, we can safely leave out of consideration the first six probable date-equivalents of the details given in our record, since they give an accession date earlier than A.D. 862. Thus, the only two probable equivalents of the day of the solar eclipse in Āṇi given in this inscription are 7th June 894 A.D. and 28th May 895 A.D. which would place the accession of Āditya I in A.D. 870 or 871 and give him a rule of 36 or 37 years. The only other equivalent that is worthy of consideration is 16th June A.D. 885. This would place Āditya's accession in A.D. 861 and give him a long reign of 46 years. In the absence of any evidence to show that Āditya I was a mere boy at the time of his coronation, one would rather hesitate to adopt this as a probable date for the reason that the reigns of Āditya and his son Parāntaka I would cover a period of 92 years.¹ Sometime after his accession to the throne Āditya I should have thought it opportune to try issues with the Pallava victor of Śrīpurambyam, i.e., Aparājita. While the Tiruvāṅgādu plates state that Āditya fought with the Pallava Aparājita and defeated him,² the Kanyākumārī inscription goes further and explicitly declares that he killed him and got possession of the territory.³ It is very likely that Aparājita, after having reigned for 18 years, lost his life and his kingdom in the encounter with the Chōla Āditya I.

Here it becomes necessary to consider certain inscriptions of Rājakesarivarman which have been thought, perhaps on palaeographical grounds, to be of an earlier date than A.D. 907 and consequently as belonging to Āditya I, noticed on page 96, para 20 of Part II of the *Annual Report on Epigraphy* for 1915 and for which 5 possible equivalents are noted on page 72 of the same report. Of these equivalents, the only one that agrees with one of the equivalents of the present record is the first which places the accession in A.D. 861 and which also we consider as highly improbable. I think these inscriptions of Rājakesarivarman should belong to some sovereign in the Chōla line who came after Parāntaka I and not to one that preceded him. My reasons for thinking

¹ South Indian history affords an odd example where the reigns of two consecutive sovereigns together lasted for more than a century. This is the case of Nandivarman Pallavamalla and his son Dantivarman; but in this case we are assured that Nandivarman Pallavamalla was crowned king while he had not reached the teens.

² *S I I*, Vol III, p 419, v 49

³ *Trav Arch Series*, Vol III, p 155, v 55, where it is stated that Āditya, called also Kōdanḍarāma, pounced upon and killed in battle the Pallava king who was seated on a rutting elephant.

elephant on which Rājāditya rode, engaged him in a hand-to-hand fight and put him to death, thus securing victory to his overlord¹ Soon after, Krishna III is said to have marched through Tondai-mandalam.²

To fix the date when the Rāshtrakūta invasion of the Chōla country took place,³ we may briefly state here the events of the period —

(1) A number of stone inscriptions of Parāntaka I have been found dated in years 40 and later and of these the latest known so far is one belonging to the 46th year of reign⁴ His accession being in A.D. 907, the last date takes us to A.D. 953 In the face of the existence of this record which has been recently examined and found to be clearly of the 46th year and of another dated in the 45th year, we cannot place Parāntaka's death before A.D. 952-3

(2) The Kanyākumārī inscription states that Parāntaka I himself fought with Krishnarāja and defeated him earning thereby the title Vīra-Chōla, though it does not state when and where the encounter took place⁵ If the success attributed to Parāntaka I is to be taken seriously, we must regard this event as having happened before A.D. 944 when, as will be shown in (3) below, Krishnarāja was occupying Tondai-maṇḍalam

(3) The Rāshtrakūta king Krishna III occupied Tondai-mandalam in at least A.D. 944, for there is a clear record of his at Siddhalingamadam in the South Arcot District dated in the 5th year of his reign mentioning his conquest of Kachohi and Tanjai.⁶ Records of Krishna III show that he reigned for 28 years⁷ and one of them states in unmistakable terms that he died in A.D. 967⁸ Therefore, it is certain that his reign lasted from A.D. 940 to 967 and that his fifth year fell in A.D. 944⁹

(4) A few years after his occupation of Tondai-mandalam, Krishna III had to fight against the Chōlas at Takkōlam. We have definite information in contemporary records as to when this happened and the whole course of events that followed The Śōlapuram record is dated in A.D. 949, which is stated to be two years after Krishna III had fought with Rājāditya and entered Tondai-mandalam.¹⁰ Who it was that killed Rājāditya in the battle and what kind of entry is referred to here are clearly learnt from the Ātakūr stone inscription. It states¹¹ that at the time when Krishna III was fighting against the Chōla, Būtuga II (the Ganga ally of the

¹ *Ep. Carn.*, Vol. III, Md 41 and *J. R. A. S.* for 1909, p. 443

² *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. VII, p. 195

³ *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XV, p. 52 Some of the statements therein made fall self condemned

⁴ Madras Epigraphical collection Nos. 384 of 1903, 232 of 1894, 82 of 1896, 520 of 1905, 310 of 1906, 225 of 1915, 345 and 353 of 1918 belong to the 40th year, Nos. 88 of 1892, 419 of 1903, 184 and 313 of 1906 and 149 of 1916 belong to the 41st year, No. 465 of 1918 belong to the 45th year and No. 15 of 1895 to the 46th year.

⁵ *Trav. Arch. Series*, Vol. III, p. 143, v. 48

⁶ No. 375 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1903.

⁷ Quite a large number of inscriptions of the 28th year of this king have been found see Nos. 125 of 1906 and 364 of 1902 of the Madras Epigraphical collection.

⁸ No. 236 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1913 from Kolagallu is dated in Śaka 839, Kāshya, Phālguna, śu. d. 6, Sunday, and states that Krishna III died in this year and Koṭṭiga succeeded him The date equivalent is Sunday, February 17th, A.D. 967

⁹ Since the Beoli grant of Krishna III is dated in 940 A.D. and does not mention his conquest of the Chōlas, that event should have happened after this date and most probably in A.D. 944

¹⁰ *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. VII, p. 195 The actual words used are “*Srasu Śrī yāndu vandu Śala varsham ennāṅṅ-eḷ ipuḷḷ onru chāḷaravartti Kannaradēva-vallabhan Rājādittarav eṇṇṇṇu Tondai mandulam pagundav-āṇḍu.*”

¹¹ *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. VI, p. 57, l. 20 and *J. R. A. S.* 1909, p. 445

Rāshtrakūta king) made the *hou dah* of the elephant on which Rājāditya was mounted the battle field, fought with Rājāditya, stabbed him with a dagger and killed him. In token of appreciation, Kṛṣṇa III gave Būtuga the Banavase 12,000, Belvola 300, Purigeṛe 300, Kīrukāṇḍ 70 and Bāgenād 370. The same record further informs¹ us that Kṛṣṇa III having attacked Mummaḍi-Chōla Rājāditya and having fought and killed him at Takkōlam was going in triumph. Thus, it is clear that this entry into Tondai mandalam which took place a few years after the Rāshtrakūta occupation of that part of the Chōla dominions was the final triumphant march or state procession in the conquered territory when all obstacles had been overcome. It will be noted that Rājāditya died long before his father's death. Accordingly, we see that the Tiruvālangāḍu plates do not state that he became king while they do say so with regard to his brothers.²

- (5) Twelve years after Kṛṣṇa III had his state entry into Tondai-mandalam, i.e., on the 9th day of March 959 A.D., he was encamped with his victorious army at Mēlpādi in the Chittoor district when he established his followers in the southern provinces, took possession of the estates of the provincial chiefs and began to construct temples to Kālapriya, Gandamārtanda, Kṛṣṇnēśvara, etc.³

The events of the period, in the order of occurrence, may be given thus —

- | | |
|-------------------|--|
| 1 Before A.D. 944 | Parāntaka I fought with the Rāshtrakūta king Kṛṣṇa III and gained victory |
| 2 A.D. 944 | Kṛṣṇa III occupied Tondai-mandalam. |
| 3 A.D. 947 | Battle of Takkōlam. Rājāditya killed by Būtuga and the triumphant march of Kṛṣṇa III into Tondai-mandalam. |
| 4 A.D. 953 | Last year of Parāntaka's reign known so far |
| 5 A.D. 959 | Kṛṣṇa III's encampment at Mēlpādi and the establishment of Rāshtrakūta subordinates in the several provinces of Tondai-mandalam. |
| 6 A.D. 967 | Death of Kṛṣṇa III |

The subjoined inscription is engraved on the west wall of the central shrine in the Jalānāthēśvara temple at Takkōlam.⁴ It is written in the Tamil and Grantha characters of the ninth century and is in the Tamil language. The record is in a good state of preservation. The Grantha letters used are *svasthi śrī* (l. 1), *sūryya graha* (l. 5) and *māhēśvarakṣa* (l. 11). The *vū* in *Tiruvūṇḍal* (l. 6) is shaped as in Grantha. A careful comparison of the characters employed in this record with those of Parāntaka I found in the same place, shows that this inscription must belong to a slightly earlier period. It is worthy of note that while the Parāntaka inscriptions in this place do not use the *pulli* or *virāma*, it is invariably marked by a small vertical line over the letters⁵ throughout this inscription, wherever necessary. The characteristic Tamil letters that

¹ *Ibid.*, p. 55, l. 2

² *South-Ind. Inscri.*, Vol. III, p. 419, v. 54

³ *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. IV, p. 281. It is stated in this inscription that Kṛṣṇa III erected a high column of victory at Rāmēśvaram after making the Chēra, Chōla, and Pāṇḍya his tributaries (V. 35 of the Kīrkadī plates).

⁴ No. 5 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1897

⁵ It is also marked in the Tirukkalukkuram inscription of the same king (*Ep. Ind.*, Vol. III, plate facing page 284)

that they are later than the time of Parāntaka are (1) that in two of these records,¹ which palaeographically indicate the same period, there occurs a village called Uttamaśīli-chaturvēdimaṅgalam which should have been so termed after Uttamaśīli, one of the sons of Parāntaka I as we know it from his inscriptions, and (2) that these two inscriptions mention a chief named Vēlān Vīranārāyana *alias* Śembiyan Vēdi-Vēlān, who must have been so called after Vīranārāyana, one of the surnames of Parāntaka I. The only two Rājakēśarīvarmans to whom they could be assigned in my opinion, are Sundara-Chōla and Rājarāja I, both of whom coming after Parāntaka I bore the title Rājakēśarīvarman. The equivalents of the details of dates given in these records for either of these two kings are noted below —

No and year	Details of date	Equivalent for Sundara-Chōla.	Equivalent for Rājarāja I
74 of 1914 . .	5th yr Makara, Friday, Punarvasu	4th Jan 964 A D .	2nd Jan 991 A D
101 of 1914	7th „ Makara, Tuesday, Ārdrā	27th Dec 964 „	19th Jan 992 „
104 of 1914 .	7th „ Makara, Thursday, Mūla	14th Jan 964 „ .	11th Jan 994 „
105 of 1914	7th „ Simha, Saturday, Rōhini	15th Aug 963 „	12th Aug 993 „
127 of 1914 . .	6th „ Makara, Tuesday, Svāti	23rd Dec 962 „	17th Jan 993 „
130 of 1914 . .	6th „ Makara, Tuesday, Ārdrā	27th Dec 964 „	19th Jan 992 „
133 of 1914 .	5th „ Mithuna, Wednesday, Svāti	4th Jan 961 „	27th May 991 „

The part played by the Gangas in the political affairs of the Tamil country calls for some remarks. In the beginning of the 9th century A D, the Western Gangas of Talakkād were hard pressed by the Rāshtrakūtas who under Dhruva II raided the Ganga territory, actually took possession of a part of it and twice kept in prison Śivamāra II, the then reigning Gaṅga sovereign. Not long after Śivamāra II was set at liberty and reinstated on his throne by the Rāshtrakūta Gōvinda III he passed away, and the country became subject to the rule of Rājamalla Satyavākya I, who tried to regain possession of the territory lost under the late king, and when he was effecting this, he found a fierce opponent in Bankēśa, a general of the Rāshtrakūtas.² Fortunately for the Gaṅga this general was recalled owing to certain internal dissensions in the Rāshtrakūta realm, thus affording the Gangas a breathing time. Rājamalla's successor Nītimārga had to face the rising of the Bāṇas who took up the place of the Rāshtrakūtas in causing disturbance to the Gangas, and this he did effectively by gaining a victory over the Pallava army at Rājarāmaḍu and capturing from the Bāṇas Mahārājara-nāḍu called also the Mahārājavādi (in the Cuddapah district).³ We find Rājamalla occupying the North Arcot district which should have been previously held by the Bāṇas and where their inscriptions are actually found.⁴ While this was the case with the Gaṅgas, the country of Drāvida was not in a state of

¹ Nos. 104 and 105 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1914

² *Ep Ind*, Vol VI, p 26

³ *Ep Carn*, K1 90. Nj 269, and Mb 228

⁴ *Ep Ind*, Vol. IV, page 140



quiet The successors of Nandivarman Pallavamalla could not command his strength or tact A general like Udayachandra was also absent from the scene The Pallava dominions were exposed to the rushing tide of the Pāndya aggression which was ever threatening to sweep off at least the southern parts of it since the time of Arikēsari Māvarman¹ Seeing that the Pallavas were becoming weaker, the Bāṇas also appear to have aimed at independence. The trouble caused to the Pallavas which is evidently manifested by the Pāndya king Varaguna-Mahārāja marching as far north as Araśūr on the banks of the river Pennar,² and the pressure that was brought to bear on the Gangas by the Rāshtrakūṭas and the Bāṇas, as we have seen already, appear to have brought about a union of the Pallavas and the Gangas at this period The Chōlas were then holding, be it noted, a subordinate official position under the Pallavas and this is in evidence in the Vēlūrpālaiyam plates which state that the Chōlamahārāja Kumārāṅkuśa was one of Nandivarman III's principal officers³ The position of the several powers of South India at the time of which we are speaking is clearly brought out when the Śīṇamaṇūr plates state that Śrīmāra Parachakrakolāhala fought at Kudamūkkū, i.e., Kumbhakōnam against the allied armies of the Ganga, Chōla, Pallava, Kalinga and others⁴ Not long after, we notice the Gaṅga Prithvīpati I, son of Śivamāra II, forming an alliance with the Pallava Aparājita and fighting against the latter's foe, i.e., the Pāndya Varaguna⁵ We can well imagine that friendly relations must have existed between the Gangas and the Chōlas, the latter of whom held then a subordinate position under the Pallavas, while the former were their allies⁶ This relationship should have continued even after the downfall of the Pallava power which was brought about by Āditya I it is not unlikely that the Gangas aided the Chōlas in the endeavour. The aim of the Gangas must have been to secure help against the Bāṇas which they needed badly and which was fully obtained in the reign of Āditya's successor Parāntaka I These circumstances clearly show the interest taken by the Gangas in the affairs of the Tamiḷ country and account for Prithvīpati II figuring as donor in our record and the subsequent acquisition by him of the rule of the Bāṇa kingdom together with the title Śeṇṇaiyaṇ Mahāvaḷi Vāparāyaṇ from the hands of Parāntaka I.

TEXT

- 1 Svasthu(sti) śrī [||*] Kōv-Irāsakē-
- 2 śarīpanma[r*]kkū iyāndu
- 3 irubattu-nālāvadu Ā-
- 4 pi-ttala-ppiraiyāl
- 5 tūdiṇa Sūryya-grahanat-

¹ The Pāndya king Arikēsari Māvarman is said to have gained a victory over Pallavamalla Varaguna-Mahārāja is reported to have advanced as far north as Araśūr on the Pennar and to have encamped there Śrīmāra Parachakrakolāhala called also Pallavabhaṇjāna is said to have fought the battle of Kudamūkkū against the Pallava and others

² *Ep Ind*, Vol. IX, pp 86 and 91

³ *S I I*, Vol II, p 512, v 26 and the Tamiḷ portion which follows it It is said of him that he was the heroic head jewel of the Chōla race, that his glory was well known, that he had the liberality of Karna and that his conduct was upright

⁴ *Annual Report on Epigraphy* for 1907, p 68, para 23

⁵ *S I I*, Vol II, p 384, v 18 and *Ep Ind*, Vol IX, page 87

⁶ All the circumstances so far known seem to suggest that Vijayālaya, the first member of the revived Chōla line, could not have had any independence There is no question of his valour or chivalry At the same time there is nothing to suspect the statement of the Tiruvālaṅkāḍu plates that he captured the town of Tañjāpurī. What looks probable is that he might have done it being under the employ of the Pallava. Perhaps, he was left to protect the Pallava interest in the southern portion of their dominions, i.e., the Tanjore district, which was exposed to attacks for years by the aggressive Pāndyas

- 6 ti-nāṅṟu Tiruvūṟal-Mādēva-
 7 rṅku Māramaraiyar magaṇṇār
 8 Pīṇḍipadiyār kuḍutta ve-
 9 ||i-kkendī nīrai munṇū-
 10 ṟṟu-orubatt-eḷu kaḷaṇṇu
 11 idu paṇ-Māhēśva[ra*] rakshai [||*]

TRANSLATION.

Hail ! Prosperity ! On the day of the solar eclipse which occurred on the first moon in the month of Āṇi in the 24th year of (the reign of) king Rājakēśarivarman, Pīṇḍipadiyār (i.e., Pīṭhvipatī), son of Māramaraiyar (i.e., Mārasimha), presented a silver can with a spout weighing three hundred and seventeen kaḷaṇṇu, to (the temple of the god) Mahādēva at Tiruvūṟal. This (gift shall be under) the protection of all Māhēśvaras

No 13 — A FURTHER NOTE ON THE BEZWADA PILLAR INSCRIPTION OF
YUDDHAMALLA.

By J. RAMAYYA PANTULU, B.A., B.L.

Mr. C. R. Krishnamachari's note¹ on the inscription, named above, and his readings or interpretation of it cannot be accepted except in one case. He says that the word "*bayanna*" in the 3rd line of the 4th verse (l. 27 of the inscription) must be read as *mayanna* (*m̐ba* does not scan well) and not as *mayunna* as proposed by me. Apart from the difficulties of construction, Mr. Krishnamachari's reading offends the law of prosody in a very important respect. It was shown in the original article that the verses of the inscription are in the Madhya-akṣara metre. The scheme of this metre requires an *indra-gana* at the place where *bayanna* stands. *Bayanna* is a *ṇa-gana* and a *ṇa-gana* cannot be an *indra-gana*. The possible contention that *ṇa-gana* may have been regarded as an *indra-gana* at the period when the inscription was composed upsets the whole scheme of the metre adopted in the inscription. The emendation *mayunna* meets this difficulty and renders the passage quite natural and clear. Admitting that emendations should not be proposed where the original reading can possibly be adopted, it may be contended that this is a case in which the original wording of the inscription cannot be adopted and an emendation is necessary.

As for the contention that the verse should be so interpreted as to mean that it was king Yudhamalla, and not the god Kumārasvāmī that went on a pilgrimage from Chēbrōlu to Bezwada, it must be admitted that this interpretation is literally possible, though the interpretation offered already is the more probable one. Chēbrōlu does not appear to have ever been a Chalukyan capital.

The second point in the note concerns the prose passage in lines 29-36. The restoration of the lost letters suggested herein is problematical and rests upon emendations in other parts of the passage.

The third point is in regard to the reading and interpretation of the word '*vēṇṇu*' in lines 39 and 40. The exact reading is certainly *vēṇṇu* but the interpretation put upon it by Mr. Krishnamachari cannot be accepted. '*ṇṇu*' is unknown to Telugu. In Kanarese, it is a verb meaning 'to be complete', and it can hardly be used in Telugu as an adverb in the way suggested.

The fourth and last point is in regard to the reading and interpretation of the concluding portion of the inscription consisting of the last two letters of line 44 and lines 45 and 46. The deci-

¹ [See above, Vol. XV, p. 364 f. — Ed.]

phering of this passage is quite correct Mr Krishnamacharlu takes the last two syllables *kunda* as a noun meaning 'a pillar', and interprets the passage *nr̥ipula kunda* as meaning 'pillar for kings (that recognize and maintain his charity)' The Kanarese word *kunda* is identical with the Telugu word *kundamu* and means the same thing, viz., 'a pile of bricks or tiles' This is not exactly a pillar *Nr̥ipula kunda* means *kunda* of *nr̥ipulu* (kings) but not *kunda* for *nr̥ipulu* 'Pillar of kings' does not give any sense. Yuddhamalla, apparently, erected this pillar for the purpose of having the inscription engraved thereon and not to the honour of unnamed future kings whom he wants to maintain his charity. How does this pillar serve the latter purpose? Is there any other instance of such a pillar being erected?

The passage, so far as it goes, scans exactly to the *Madhya-akkara* metre and the last syllable *da* which, for purposes of *yāti*, matches with *ta*, the initial syllable of the passage, certainly suggests that the passage is part of a verse line, and a glance at the estampage cannot fail to show that the engraving is abruptly left off at this point

No 14 —THE KANDUKURU PLATES OF VENKATAPATIDEVA I SAKA 1535.

By G. V SRINIVASA RAO, B A , MADRAS

These five copper-plates were secured on loan from M R Ry. Uddi Narasimhacharya of Kandukūru, Madanapalle Taluk, Chittoor district, in 1921-22.¹ They have raised rims and curved tops with a ring-hole, about $\frac{1}{2}$ " in diameter, bored in the middle They measure $9\frac{1}{2}$ " in height together with the projections and $7\frac{1}{2}$ " without them and are $6\frac{3}{4}$ " wide. To the ring, which is circular in shape with a diameter of $2\frac{3}{4}$ ", is attached, by a hole at the back of it, a sliding circular seal measuring $1\frac{1}{2}$ " in diameter On this is represented in high relief a boar, advancing to the proper left, and a dagger pointing downwards, both cut upon a horizontal double line supported by a vertical line in the centre. Above the boar are the figures of the sun and the crescent. The plates with the ring and seal weigh 307 tolas The ring had been cut when the plates were received in the office of the Assistant Archæological Superintendent for Epigraphy at Madras.

The inscription is engraved on the inner sides of the first and last plates and on both sides of the rest The leaves are numbered in Telugu numerals incised to the left of the ring-hole on the first written side of each plate. The alphabet of the grant is Nandi-Nāgarī except the sign manual 'Śrī-Venkatāśa' at the end which is in Telugu, and the language is metrical Sanskrit. The portion in lines 148 to 152 is, however, in the Telugu language and is evidently an addition made after the original grant was completed.

The inscription shows the various orthographical peculiarities usually seen in the Vijayanagara grants, such as (1) the invariable use of *anusvāra* in place of the nasal and *vice versa*, (2) the treatment of the second letter as adjunct to the *rēpha* in conjunct consonants, (3) the omission of the *visarga* generally before the letters *śa* and *sa*, and also in a few other cases, (4) the omission of the first member in double consonants, (5) the superfluous use of an *anusvāra* before nasals, (6) the use of a stroke in addition to a hook after the vowel *i* to denote length as in consonants, (7) the occasional use of the letter *a* followed by *i* to denote *ai* sound in consonants, (8) the substitution of their mere vowels for the letters *ya* and *va* and *vice versa* ²

The grant was issued by Venkatapatidēva of the Karnāṭa dynasty and is dated in Śaka 1535, Pramāthin, Vaiśākha, śu 12, which regularly corresponds to A.D 1613, April 21,

¹ No 9 of Appendix A to the *Madras Epigraphical Report* for 1921-22

² See *Ep Ind*, Vol III, p 236, Vol IV, p 299, Vol XI, p 327 and Vol XVI, p 241

Wednesday, and is, therefore, nearly three months earlier than the British Museum plates of the same king ¹ After the usual invocatory verses, the inscription begins with the genealogy of the king which agrees with that given in all the other grants of the dynasty up to Tirumala I. Like the *Daḷavāy-Agrahāram* plates² and the *Viḷāpākkam* grant,³ this record also mentions the two sons of Tirumala by *Venkaḷāmbā*, viz, *Śrīraṅgarāya* and *Veṅkaṭapatiḍēva*

In the course of the narration of his ancestry and its panegyric, the document mentions *Bukka* as having firmly established *Sāluva-Nṛsiṃha* on the throne, and his son *Rāmarāya* as having put to flight *Kāsappaḍaya* and captured the hill-fortress *Ādavanī* 'protected by *Sapāda*'s army of 70,000 *Sindh* horse' as well as *Kandanavōlu*. *Kāsappaḍaya* has been surmised to be identical with *Kāchapa-Nāyaka* of *Ādavanī*⁴ who figures as a subordinate of *Sāluva Narasingarāya* in *Śaka* 1420 ⁵ Possibly *Kāchapa*, for selfish ends, made common cause with the *Mussalmans* who invaded the *Vijayanagara* dominions in *Śaka* 1425,⁶ and *Rāmarāya* continued his allegiance to the political successors of the *Sāluvas* under king *Krishnarāya* ⁷ *Sapāda* has been identified with *Yūsuf Adil Shāhī* of *Biḷāpūr* who is said to have borne the name *Saiace*.⁸ The next important member of the line was *Tirumala*, the brother of *Aliya Rāmarāya*, who was the first to adopt the title '*Samrāt*'. His successor was *Śrīraṅga* and after him came *Venkaṭa*, the donor of the grant and the last powerful king of the family. He was born about *Śaka* 1471 (A.D. 1549-50) if we can rely on the testimony of *Barradas* who says that he was 67 years⁹ at the time of his death which, according to *Floris*, took place in A.D. 1614 ¹⁰ He figures as a subordinate of king *Sadāśiva* in A.D. 1567-68 ¹¹ We learn from the *Vasucharitramu* and the *Chikladēvarāya-vamśāvalī* that during his father's time he was the Viceroy of the *Chandragiri-rājya* comprising the *Tuṇḍīra*, *Chōḷa* and *Pāṇḍya* countries, and had his capital at *Chandragiri* while his brother *Śrīraṅga* governed the *Telugu* districts from *Penukoṇḍa*. When the latter came to the throne, *Venkaṭapati* continued to be the Viceroy¹² and held the charge of the *Telugu* country also. This is gathered from No 541 of 1909 which states¹³ that in *Śaka* 1502 (A.D. 1580) the *Golkonda Sultān* *Hazrat Ibrāhīm Pādīshāh* acquired *Uddagiri* (i.e., *Udayagiri*) by driving out *Venkaṭarāju* and captured the regions around *Vinikonda*, etc., and *Koṇḍaviḍu*.¹⁴ In the same year *Śrīraṅga* was taken captive by the *Sultān* who, with the help of the *Haṇḍe* chiefs, gained effective possession of the territory lying to the north of *Penukonda*. This event is mentioned in No 70 of 1915 dated *Śaka* 1506 (A.D. 1584) which states that *Ahōbala* had been in the occupation of the *Muhammadan* chief *Vibhurāmu* and his *Haṇḍe* allies for about 7 years. Probably it is these reverses that account for a grant of land in A.D. 1579 to a temple at *Mahābalipuram* by *Gōbūrī Trumalai-Nāyakkar* for the merit

¹ *Ibid.*, Vol. XIII, p. 231 f

² *Ibid.*, Vol. XII, pp. 159 ff

³ *Ibid.*, Vol. IV, pp. 269 ff

⁴ *Mad. Ep. Report* for 1920 21, Part II, paragraph 12

⁵ No 719 of the *Mad. Ep. Collection* for 1917

⁶ *Brigg's Ferozshāh*, Vol. III, p. 348

⁷ The *Krishnarāya vijayam* mentions *Araviti-Bukkarāju* as one of the chiefs who attended the coronation of the king (*Sources of Vij. Hist.*, p. 129)

⁸ *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XVI, p. 243, footnote 6

⁹ *Sewell's Forgotten Empire*, p. 224

¹⁰ *Sewell's List of Antiquities*, Vol. II, p. 251

¹¹ Nos 240 of 1897 and 163 of 1905 of the *Mad. Ep. Collection*.

¹² In No 383 of 1919 dated *Śaka* 1496 in *Śrīraṅga*'s reign he confirms certain appointments made by *Tātā-chārya*

¹³ *Mad. Ep. Report* for 1910, Part II, paragraph 64.

¹⁴ These, according to the copper plate grant No. 23 of 1910 11, had been conquered by *Śrīraṅga* in *Śaka* 1498. *Ibid.* for 1911, Part II, paragraph 57.

of Venkatapati¹ The Telugu work *Rāmarājīyam* states that Venkata chased the Golkonda army back and defeating it on the banks of the Penner settled, with his vanquished and suppliant enemy, the river Krishna as the boundary line between their territories. His faithful feudatories who helped him on these and other occasions were the Matla chief Ananta who calls himself 'the right hand of the Karnāta emperor,'² and the Tanjore chief, Achyutappa as well as his son Raghunātha who 'brought all the Karnāta territory once more under Venkatadēvarāya.'³ But he had his own internal enemies to contend against; for we hear of a revolt of the Nandyal chief Kṛṣṇama having been quelled by Venkata early in his reign⁴ and of Krishnappa-Nāyaka of Gingee having been imprisoned by the emperor and subsequently set free.⁵ Virappa-Nāyaka of Madura also seems to have aimed at independence. The *Chikladēvarāya-vamśāvali* informs us that shortly after his accession, Venkata sent his nephew Tirumala against Madura, but the latter received bribes from the chief and retired with his army to Śrīrangapattana. In spite of this, Venkatapati should have asserted his authority over Virappa as evidenced by later grants.⁶ We get some interesting glimpses into the history of this period from certain Jesuit letters⁷ noticed by the Reverend Father Heras of Bombay. About A.D. 1607 Venkata had removed his seat of government to Vēlūr⁸ though Chandragiri was still 'the royal city'. Towards the close of his reign Venkata had to yield to the rising chief Rājā-Udayar of Mysore on whom he had to confer the viceroyalty of Śrīrangapattana, as his attentions were diverted again by the troublesome Golkonda chiefs who threatened his dominions in the north. It was on this occasion that Raghunātha-Nāyaka of Tanjore came to his rescue and saved the kingdom from the Muhammadan invasion. It is probable that Muttu-Virappa-Nāyaka of Madura was also trying to shake off the Vijayanagara sovereignty, and therefore espoused the cause of Jaggarāya in the war of succession after Venkata's death.⁹

The object of the document is to record the grant of some garden, lands and fields at Chandragiri and Gollapalle for the worship of the god and the goddess at Tirupati during certain festivals specified in it. The grant was made by Venkatapatidēva at the request of *Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara Gōbūrī Śēshādrirāja*, the son of Venkatarāja and the grandson of Pāpa-Timmarāja of the Solar race and the Kāśyapa-gōtra. Very little is known of these Gōbūrī chiefs so far except the names of some individual members of the family. They first figure in the reign of Kṛṣṇarāja at the time of his expedition against Kalinga,¹⁰ but came into prominence during the rule of Sadāśiva and his successors and had frequent matrimonial alliances with the latter.¹¹ We meet with a certain

¹ *Mad Ep. Rep.* for 1910, Part II, paragraph 56

² *Ibid.* for 1916, Part II, paragraph 75.

³ *Sources of Vij. Hist.*, p. 285

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 243.

⁵ तदाख्यो (तदख्यो) वातधराधिनाथ.

रक्षकतानी रघुनाथमूपा ।

आराधित कृष्णपनायक व

अनीचयहकटदेवरायात् ।

(*Raghunāthābhīyudayam* of Rāmabadrāmbā, Canto VII, verse 73)

⁶ *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XII, pp. 159 ff. Copper plates Nos. 9 of 1905-06 and 9 of 1911-12 of the Madras Epigraphical collection

⁷ *Mythic Society Journal*, Vol. XIV, pp. 130-140 and 312-317

⁸ This is probably in consequence of the revolt of Liṅgama-Nāyaka whom, according to *Bahulāśvacharitam*, Chenna defeated on behalf of Venkata

⁹ Sewell's *Forgotten Empire*, p. 230

¹⁰ *Sources of Vij. Hist.*, p. 131

¹¹ According to the *Rāmarājīyam*, Koṇḍamma, one of the five queens of Venkata I, was a daughter of Ōbarāja, while two more daughters of his, Narasingamma and Baṅgāramma, were respectively married to Rāma and Venkata II, the grandsons of Aḷiya Rāmarāja. Other members of the family who had marriage connections with the Āraṇḍu chiefs were Gōbūrī Veṅgaḷa, the father of a certain Pāpamma married to Śrīraṅga III, the adopted son of Gōpāla who was himself the son-in-law of (Gōbūrī) Gīriyappa, and Yatrāju whose daughter Koṇḍamma was married to Rāma IV.

Mahāmandalēśvara Gōbūrī Ōbayadēva-Mahārāja as a subordinate of Sadāśiva in Śaka 1469 in an inscription at Ahōbala,¹ though we cannot say for certain whether he is the same chief who is referred to as *Mahāmandalēśvara* Gōbūrī Aubhajarājayya in No 543 of the Epigraphical collection for 1915, dated in Śaka 1482, from the Bellary district. About this period some more chiefs of the family are brought to our notice, who were connected with the Kurnool, Cuddapah and Chingleput districts. For instance, we find a certain Konḍrāju in Śaka 1473 at Koilkuntla,² a Narasarāju in Śaka 1478 at Tondūru,³ a Gīriyapparāju in Śaka 1529 at Dudyāla,⁴ a Gōbūrī Tirumalai-Nāyaka in Śaka 1501,⁵ and a *Mahāmandalēśvara* Gōbūrī Ōbarājyadēva-Mahārāja.⁶ Barradas⁷ mentions a certain Ōbo Rāja as the brother-in-law of Venkata and a Chinnaobraya (Chinna-Ōbala-Rāja) as a brother of the traitor Jaggarāja who also belonged to the Gōbūrī family,⁸ and whose daughter Bāyamā was married to Venkata. This Ōbarājyadēva should evidently have been different from Ōbayadēva, the subordinate of Sadāśiva, and possibly his grandson. He has been surmised⁹ to be a son of Tirumalai-Nāyaka of the Kunnattūr inscription with whom again, if we may hazard a guess, Pāpa-Timmarāja, mentioned above, and Timma, who married Ōbāmbā, the sister of Tirumala I,¹⁰ and was the father of Narasa, might be identical. In that case Venkatarāja, the father of Śēshādrirāja of the present grant, Ōburāja or Ōbalarāja and Narasa should have been brothers.

Of the places mentioned in the grant, Tirupati is called Śēshāchala and Phanīśvaragiri. Tangatūru is a village in the Proddutūr taluk of the Cuddapah district. Chandragiri is too well known to require identification. Venkatājammapēta seems to have been a part of Chandragiri itself. The name Tondavādi-tatāka seems to be connected with the modern Tondavāda near Chandragiri and Gollapalli is a few miles further east. I am unable to identify Gōpidēvīpāṭva. Like the Mangalampād charter of the same king¹¹ this grant was also composed by Chidambara-Kavi and incised by Kāmayāchārya.

TEXT

[Metres Verses 44-69 and 73-76, *Anuṣṭubh*, vv. 70-72, *Aryā*, v. 77, *Śālinī*]

Fourth Plate, First Side

- 111 * * * ¹²बाणशक्तिक-
 112 ऋवेंदुगणिते शकवत्सरे । प्रमाधीश¹³भिधे वर्गे मासि वै-
 113 शाखनामनि ।[188*] पक्षे वक्तुं पुण्यर्क्षे पुण्यायां द्वादसी(शो)तियो । ओ-
 114 धेकटेशपादामसन्निधौ त्रैयसन्निधौ¹⁴ ।[189*] श्रीरामाकुच

¹ No 63 of the Mad Ep Collection for 1915

² Rangacharya's *Madras Inscriptions*, K1 110

³ *Ibid*, Cd 635

⁴ *Ibid*, K1 401

⁵ No 255 of the Mad Ep Collection for 1909 See *Ep Rep* for 1910, p 105, para 56

⁶ No 332 of Mad. Ep Collection for 1909

⁷ Sewell's *Forgotten Empire*, pp 223 and 228

⁸ *Sources of Vij Hist*, p 263

⁹ *Mad Ep Rep* for 1910, Part II, para 56

¹⁰ *Sources of Vij Hist*, Genealogy on page XIV.

¹¹ *Nellore Inscriptions*, Part I, p 26

¹² In lines 1 to 111 the first forty verses of the Viṣṇupāṅkam grant (*Ep Ind*, Vol IV, pp 272-276) are reproduced with two other verses (Nos 29 and 80) which occur in the Penagalūr grant as vv 81 and 82 (*Ep Ind*, Vol. XVI, p 250).

¹³ Read प्रमादीश^o [The name of the year is Pramādīn —Ed.]

¹⁴ Read त्रैयसन्निधौ.

- 115 कस्तूरीचिह्न(ङ्ग)श्रीवत्सलक्षणे । पूषानुष्णांशुनेत्राय शेषाच-
 116 लकुटुद्विने ।[184*] स्वामिपुष्कर(रि)णीतीरधामनित्यविहारिणे ।
 117 इदिराया जगन्मातुर्मदिरा(यि)तवक्षसे ।[185*] शयनालीनदु-
 118 ग्धान्विशैवाललतिकोपमां । वहते वारिजाक्षाय वक्षसा
 119 वनमालिका ।[186*] शंखं चक्रं च वहते 'श्याभ्यामुज्ज्वलं' इवा ।
 120 दृशाविति ज्ञापयते चंद्राकौ वामदक्षिणे ।[187*] महनीय(य)तरं र-
 121 द्रमकुटं मूर्ध्नि(भिं) विभूते । चक्षुर्भूतैर्दुमार्ताडजो(ज्यो)तिश्चक्रमि-
 122 वाश्रितं ।[188*] श्रीमद्वैकटनाथाय श्रीनिवासाय विष्णवे । श्री-
 123 (श्री)वैकटाचलेद्रस्य शिखराभरणा(यि)ते ।[189*] प्राचीभागपरिष्ठा-
 124 रे शोणस्वल्पशिलोच्चयात् । नटलक्ष्मी[न*]रसणनायकोद्यान-
 125 दक्षिणे ।[190*] विशालरथवीथ्याश्च वायवो दिशमाश्रिते । शयस्कर-
 126 ज्ञेयगारितोटादुत्तरदिग्भवे ।[191*] श्रीमन्नोबूरिशेषाद्रिरा[जा]-
 127 रामे मनोरमे । दीपयतं दिशो दीप्त्या महार्घमणिमंट[पं] ।[192*]

Fourth Plate, Second Side

- 128 ²पतिमासं भूषयतः फणेश्वरगिरीशितुः । विविधा-
 129 पूषनैवेद्याभिभ्रो(वो)त्सादनाय च ।[193*] तत्रैव स्वामिनो ब्रं-
 130 ऋ³वसतोत्सवयोरपि । नानागंधोपचाराय नैवेद्याय
 131 विशिष्य च ।[194*] 'मुक्तोत्तीर्थनाश्वारितेष्पदिव्योत्सवेषु च । शर-
 132 प्यर्थं च सततपुष्पदामार्पणाय च ।[195*] रमास्यद चद्रगिरि-
 133 राजधानीप्रसाधनं । गोपिदेवीपाक्ष्यराजवोधी⁴निधिपथा-
 134 दपि ।[196*] श्रीवैकटाजमपेटादपि प्राचीदिगाश्रयं । श्रीमन्नूउ(वु)ल-
 135 बडाश्च दक्षिणस्यां दिशि स्थितं ।[197*] तीडवाद्रि(डि)तटाकांतसीमांता-
 136 दपि पश्चिमं । बु(उ)त्तरं श्रीगोपराजकाक्वाकेदारवैभवात् ।[198*] तंग ।
 137 टूरि कीडुभट(ट्ट)मान्यकेदारकं विना । सूरपका[क्वा]सुभगतोद्वे-
 138 चकदंबकं ।[199*] गोलपश्यामुक्कवडकाक्वाकै(के)दारकाण्यपि । सर्वमा-
 139 न्यं चतुस्सी(स्त्री)मासहितं च समं[त*]तः ।[200*] निधिनिक्षेपपाषाण-
 सिद्धसाध्य-
 140 जलान्वितं [1*] अ[क्षि*]प्यागामिसयुक्तं⁵ देवभोज्यं सभूरुहं ।[201*]
 परोतः प्र-

¹ Perhaps a mistake for .

करास्य

² Read प्रति⁰³ Read द्रष्ट

⁴ मुक्तोत्तीर्थ is the name of a tank at Tirupati. Almost every temple in South India has a tank or a well with a sacredness attached to it. The literal meaning of the first part of the word is 3 crores and the belief is that the tank has the collective virtue of so many sacred waters of the country. Compare the *Kēṭi-tirtha* at Rāmēsvaram and the *Sarva-tirtha* at Conjeevaram.

⁵ Read नीययी⁰.⁶ Read सुदृक्.

- 141 यत्ते[.*] स्निग्धैः पुरोहितपुरोगमैः । विविधैर्विवुधैः[.*] श्रौतपथिकैर-
 142 धिकैर्गिरा ।[148*] कास्य(श्य)पान्वयदीपस्य कास्य(श्य)पोकल्पशाखिनः । ओ-
 143 सूर्यवंशरत्नस्य श्रीमतामग्रयादने¹ ।[149*] श्रीमन्महामंडलेश्वर-
 144 स्य सारस्य शालिनः । प्रतीतिमत्पापतिमराजपौत्रस्य रा-
 145 जतः ।[146*] श्रीवेंकटमहीपालपुत्रस्यामिचकशिर्नः । श्रीमहोद्-
 146 रो(रि)शेषाद्रिराजस्य रवितेजसः ।[147*] विशेषज्ञानभरिता विप्रसि-
 147 मनुपालयन् । श्रीवीरवेंकटपतिमहारायमहीपतिः ।[148*] सहि-
 148 रण्यपयोधारापूर्वकं दत्तवान्मुदा² ॥ [149*] श्रीवेंकटेश्वरस्वामुलु क[६]-
 149 ड शेषिनदि धर्मकर्त श्रे(से)नामोदलारि कृष्णयगारिकि³ प्रतिसंवत्सरानकुम्भ
 ग २४

- 150 वरहालु । तोटवाक(कि)ट चलिविद्रकुम्भ

Fifth Plate

- 151 तोट शेषेवालकु प्रासालुद्भु ई कात्स्वरोत्खलीनु क-
 152 ड्ड शायनवधरिचिनाह ॥ श्री ॥
 153 श्रीवेंकटपतिरायचित्तिपतिवर्यस्य कीर्त्तिधुर्य्यस्य⁴ ॥
 154 शासनमिदं सुधोजन⁵कुवलयचंद्रस्य भूमहे(हे)द्रस्य(र) ॥ [१०*] श्री-
 155 वेंकटपतिरायगिरा 'सिवसूर्य्यकवोद्रभागिनियत-
 156 या [1*] कलिनोन्नतिचंद्रवरकविरवदत्ताम्नशासनश्लोका-
 157 न् ।[११*] श्रीवेंकटपतिरायक्ष्मापतिदेशेन कामयाचार्यः ।
 158 गणपयतनय[.*] शासनमलिखदिदं वीरणानुजस्तामं ।[१२*] दा-

Ll 159-167 give five imprecatory stanzas *Dānapālanayōr*, etc etc

- 168 श्रीवेंकटेश⁷

ABRIDGED TRANSLATION.

(Vv 44-69) In the Śaka year computed by the arrows (5), Śakti (3), arrows (5) and moon (1)—(i.e., 1535)—in the (cyclic) year called Pramādin, in the month known as Varṣā-kha, in the bright fortnight, in an auspicious asterism on the sacred *tithi* of Dvādaśī, at the holy lotus-feet of (god) Śrī-Venkatēśa, the abode of all happiness,—to the (same) glorious Vishnu known as Vēkatanātha and Śrīnivāsa, and living at Śēshāchala, ever sporting in his residence on the banks of the Svāmi-Pushkarinī (tank), whose chest is made the abode of Indrā, the mother of

¹ Read 'यायिन

² The second half of this verse is wanting though the sense is complete.

³ This word is written below the line

⁴ Read कीर्त्तिधुर्य्यस्य.

⁵ The letter seems to be a correction from स

⁶ Read शिवसूर्य्य

⁷ In Telugu characters

all the worlds and is adorned with the Śrīvatsa (mark) bearing marks of musk from her breast, who bears on his chest the *Vanamālīkā* (garland)¹ resembling the mossy creeper (growing) in the milky ocean clinging to his couch, who holds in his hands the conch and the disc glowing with lustre, whose left and right eyes are the Moon and the Sun, who wears on his head the magnificent jewelled crown appearing (by its brilliance) as if it were the very halo of light of those dual luminaries settled (thereon), and who adorns like a crest-jewel the glorious Venkata, the king of mountains, for various cake offerings and excellent unguents to this lord of Phanīśvaragiri (Śēshāchala) who adorns every month the jewelled *mantapa* of great value illuminating with its splendour (all) the quarters, built in the pleasure-garden (founded by) the prosperous Gōbūri Śēshādrirāja, which is situated to the east of the Red Hillock, to the south of the fair garden² (called after) Narasana-Nāyaka, to the north-west of the broad car-street and to the north of (the garden) Śayaskara-Jiyagāritōta, for worship with sandal and various offerings (to the god) in the same place during the *Brahmōtsava* (grand annual festival) and *Vasantōtsava* (spring festival), and for the unintermittent offering of flower-garlands particularly during the floating festivals of the goddess (Nāchobāru) in the Mukkōṭṭī-tīrtha (tank); with due regard to the wise request (made for this purpose) by the illustrious Mahāmandalēśvara Gōbūri Śēshādrirāja possessed of great excellence and of splendour like that of the Sun, who was the grandson of the famous Pāpa-Timmarāja and the son of Venkaṭa-Mahīpāla, the destroyer of his foes, who was the gem of the Solar race and the light, as it were, of the Kāśyapa-gotra and was of the school of Kāśyapī-kalpa, and who was the foremost of the fortunate; the glorious king Vira-Venkaṭapati-Mahārāja, being surrounded by pious and amiable priests and several wise and learned men following the path prescribed by the Vēdas, gave away with pleasure, to the accompaniment of libations of gold and water, excluding the small mānya field of Koṇḍu-Bhaṭṭa of Tangaṭūru, the whole beautiful plot of garden-lands and fields called (after the canal) Sūrappa-kālvā which is the very abode of Ramā (Lakṣmī) and the ornament of the capital city of Chandragiri and is situated to the east of the high-road to Gōpīdēvī-pāya and of the happy Venkaṭajammapēta, to the south of (the rock) Nūvulabaṇḍa, to the west of the extreme border-line of the (tank) Toṇḍavādi-tatāka and to the north of the field called (after the canal) Gōparāja-kālvā; and also the group of fields (known as) Uḷvada-kālvā in Gollapalli, together with the trees (growing on them) and (the other eight privileges such as) natural resources and deposited treasures, stones, realised and realisable (income), water, *akṣhiṇī* and *āgāmi*, as a *sarvamānya* with the four boundaries (marked out) on all sides to be enjoyed by the god (in perpetuity)

(Ll. 148-152) (The god) Śrī-Venkaṭēśvarasvāmī ordained (the payment of) 24 *varāhas* every year to the Dharmakartā Sēnā-Modalāri Kṛishṇayagāru. For the watershed at the entrance of the garden and for the maintenance of the gardeners, (He) was (also) pleased to command (payment to be made) from the cash (income) from the above *kālvā*

V. 70 [In praise of king Venkaṭapati] (This is identical with verse 124 of the Kūmyūr plates of Venkata II.)

¹ *Vanamālīkā* is thus defined —

चाणक्यविरचिता माला सर्वलोकप्रसिद्धा ।
मध्ये सुलक्ष्म्याया वनमालेति कीर्तिता ॥

Daśaratha is described as wearing a wreath or *vanamālā* on his crown while going out hunting (*Raghuramā* IX, 51)

² In the vernacular idiom any beautiful place is known as the favourite haunt of Lakṣmī, the Goddess of Prosperity, who is supposed to dance there for sheer joy

³ The meaning of the word *हरपय* occurring in the verse is not clear. Perhaps it is a Sanskrit rendering of the Tamil word *Sirappu* which means "offerings made on special occasions and distributed to the devotees then assembled". It is called *charupu* in Kanarese and Telugu

(Vv. 71-72) By the order of the king, Chidambara-Kavi, the sister's son of the poet Śira-Sūrya, composed this edict and Kāmayāchārya engraved it on the plates.

(Vv. 73-77) The usual imprecation and admonition.

(L 168) Śrī-Veṅkaṭeśa.

No 15.—MATHURA PEDESTAL INSCRIPTION OF THE KUSHANA YEAR 14.

By DAYA RAM SAHNI, M A, RAI BAHADUR.

This inscription is an entirely new discovery, photographs and stampages of which have, with his characteristic promptitude, been supplied to me by Rai Bahadur Pandit Radha Krishna, the Honorary Curator of the Museum of Archaeology at Mathurā. The stone image pedestal on which the epigraph is engraved was found in an elevated part of the Dalpat-ki Khīṭī Mohalla in the city of Mathurā when an inhabitant of that town was digging foundations for his house. The excavation was not done with care with the result that the pedestal was broken into several pieces. Of the statue itself only the feet remain with the lower portion of a small standing figure at each side. There is thus nothing to show the exact nature of the central image, though from the tenor of the epigraph and other indications it must have been a standing image of Gautama Buddha.

The epigraph consists of three lines (measuring respectively 14½", 11½" and 4½") and is in a perfect state of preservation, except for the two *akṣharas*, which have been partially cut away at the end of the first line. The characters used belong to the Brāhmī alphabet of the Kushāṇa period. It must, however, be noted that the *m* everywhere shows the advanced form of the Gupta period with a small knob attached to the left of the letter instead of the triangular base. Similarly the *akṣhara* 'h' assumes the form peculiar to the eastern variety of the Gupta script in which the horizontal base stroke is completely suppressed, the hook of the *akṣhara* being turned sharply to the left. The *anustāra* is throughout represented by a short horizontal stroke instead of the usual dot. The long medial *ā* is in some cases not distinctly defined. The inscription is composed in the usual *mixed dialect*, though the deviations from the Sanskrit mode of spelling, the rules of *sandhi* and declension, etc., are much fewer than are generally found in the inscriptions of the Kushāṇa period. The irregular forms met with in the inscription are — *asmīm* *divasē* in place of *asmīn divasē* in l 1, *bhagavatō pitāmahasya* in place of *bhagavataḥ pitāmahasya*, *sammya-sambuddhasya* in place of *samyak sambuddhasya* in l 2, and *dukkha* instead of *dukkha* in l 3.

The object of the epigraph is to record the fact that, on the 10th day of the month of Pausa in the year 14 of the Mahārāja, Dēvaputra Kanishka, a certain Saṁghulā, the wife of the Prāvarika Hasthi (?), installed, for the cessation of all misery, an image for the worship of her favourite deity, the Lord, the Pitāmaha, who is truly and perfectly enlightened. It will be noticed from the text given below that the name of Gautama Buddha is not mentioned in the inscription. The title *sammya-sambuddha* (Pāli, *sammā-sambuddhō*) is ordinarily applied in Buddhist texts to any supreme Buddha. The term is, however, often used as a proper noun, signifying Gautama Buddha himself, as for example in the sentence, *namō tassa arahatō sammā-sambuddhassa*, which is generally written in the beginning of Buddhist texts.¹ The substitution of the word *pitāmahasya* for *arahatō* in the inscription is inexplicable. Both in Buddhist and Brahmanical texts this word is commonly applied to the Hindu god Brahmā, and I am unable to say why it is used here as an appellation of the Buddha.

¹ Vide Kuchelāyana's *Pali Grammar* by Francis Mason (*Bibliotheca Indica*, No. 123), p. 162.

MATHURA PEDESTAL INSCRIPTION OF THE KUSHANA YEAR 14



(FROM A PHOTOGRAPH)

HIPANANDA SASTRI

SCALE ABOUT A THIRD

SURVEY OF INDIA CALCUTTA

The main interest of the inscription lies in the fact that it is the first Brāhmī inscription of the Kushāna period which quotes the month of its date by its Hindu solar name instead of by the season name, which is invariably the case in other Brāhmī inscriptions of this period. This remark, of course, does not apply to the Kharōshthī inscriptions, as several of them contain the solar names of months.¹ The inscription is also important for another reason. Hitherto we possessed no inscription dated between the years 11 and 22² of the Kushāna era which was definitely assignable to the reign of Kanishka. The present inscription is clearly dated in the year 14 of that king.

TEXT.

- 1 Mahārāja-Dēvaputrasya Kanishkasya samvatsarē 10 4 Pausa-māsa-divasē
10 asmīn divasē Prāvarika-Ha[sthisya]
- 2 bha(ā)ryā Samghilā bhagavatō pitāmahasya Sammyasambuddhasya svamatasya
dēvasya pūjārttham pratima(ā)m pratishthā-
- 3 payatī sarva dukkha-prahāpārttham—[||*]

TRANSLATION.

On the 10th day of the month of Pausa in the year 14 of the Mahārāja Dēvaputra Kanishka, on this day, Samghilā, the wife of Prāvarika Hasthi^(?), installs (*this*) image for the veneration of her favourite deity, the Bhagavat, the *pitāmaha*, Gautama Buddha (*lit.* who is truly and completely enlightened), for the cessation of all misery

No 16—PATNA MUSEUM PLATES OF SOMESVARA II

By R. D. BANERJI, M.A.

The inscription edited below is inscribed on a set of three copper-plates discovered in the Bandh State of Orissa by Mr L. E. B. Cobden Ramsay, I.C.S., Political Agent, Orissa Feudatory States. The plates were sent to the late Dr D. B. Spooner, B.A., Ph.D., then Superintendent, Archaeological Survey, Eastern Circle, who had them sent to Rao Bahadur H. Krishna Sastri, the then Government Epigraphist for India. A short note on the inscription was published in the *Annual Report of the Archaeological Survey, Eastern Circle*, for the year 1916-17.³ A set of impressions of the record was supplied to me by Dr D. B. Spooner for publication. Later on, at my request, Sir Edward Gait, I.C.S., K.C.S.I., then Lieutenant Governor of Bihār and Orissa, kindly lent the original plates to me for examination.

The plates are joined together by a thick ring of copper to which is attached the seal, bearing a lion couchant in relief but no inscription. The first and third plates are inscribed on one side only while the second plate is inscribed on both the sides. The characters used in the inscription are Oriyā of the fourteenth or fifteenth century A.D., and are much later than the Sonpur plates of Kumāra Sōmēśvara and the Mahada plates of Yōgēśvara-

¹ Cf. *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XXXVII, p. 46.

² See my article on "Three Mathura Inscriptions, etc." in the *J. R. A. S.*, 1924, pp. 294ff.

Page 4, para 5

dēvavarman¹ The beginnings of the cursive Oriyā script are to be found in the form of *a* in l. 25. The first eight lines contain three verses giving the genealogy of the donor. The first person mentioned is Chāllamarāja of the Chōla lineage (l. 2), whose son was Jasarāja (=Yaśōrāja) I, whose son was Sōmēśvara I. This prince was succeeded by his nephew (*bhrātrija*) Jasarāja II. The donor of the grant is the latter's son Sōmēśvara II. An additional name is furnished in the prose account of the genealogy in ll. 8-14, according to which Sōmēśvara II meditated on the feet of the *Paramamāhēśvara* Jasarāja II,² who meditated on the feet of the *Paramamāhēśvara* Chandrādityadēva.³ The last named person may be the younger brother of Sōmēśvara I and the father of Jasarāja II. Sōmēśvara II is styled the lord of the entire Kōsala (*sakala-Kōsal-ādhiśvara*), the devout worshipper both of Śiva and of Vishnu (*Paramamāhēśvara-Paramavarishnava*), a *Mahāvīryūhapati*, *Rāja* and *Rānaka*. These titles indicate his subordinate position and, most probably, he was a subordinate chief under the Eastern Ganga kings of Kalinga. He is also called the bee on the lotus feet of Vaidyanātha. This Vaidyanātha is evidently the same as that mentioned in the Mahāda plates of Yōgēśvara-dēva varman, and identified by Mr. B. C. Mazumdar with a temple of that name in the State of Sonpur.

The object of the inscription is to record the grant of the village of Phullamuthī together with Dōhālī situated, probably, in the *vishaya* of Chārōdā. The grant is addressed to the people of another village named Vanīyāvandha, the connection of which with the two villages granted is not understood. The donees were Utsavakara and Divākara, the two Brāhmanas belonging to the Gārgya-gōtra, who followed the Rīg-vēda and had studied the rites of the Yajur-vēda. The grant was made with the object of pleasing the Lord Nārāyana (ll. 23-24), on the sixth day of the bright half of the month of Jyāishtha in the year 17, evidently of the reign of Sōmēśvara II. The inscription was written by Paṇḍita Nārāyana and incised by Lōkanātha, a Viṣṇāni.^(?)

I am unable to identify any of the localities mentioned in this grant (*viz.*, Chārōdā-*vishaya*, Vanīyāvandha, Phullamuthī and Dōhālī), except Svarnnapura (l. 14) which is the modern Sonpur in Orissa. I edit the inscription from the original plates.

TEXT.

First Plate

- 1 Ōm⁴ [||*] Āsit kahatṛiya-sattamō Ravi-samutpannē=tra Chōl-ānvayō śrī-
- 2 mān Chāllamarāja ity=ari-vaḍhū-vaiddhavya-dikshā-guruh | tat-putrō
- 3 Jasarājādēva ita vīkyātāḥ satā[m*] vallābhō jītvā vaṇi-va(ba)lam va(ba)-
- 4 bhūva na(nri)patir=dēmō(vaś)chiram Kōsalē || [1*]⁵ Tasmād=abhūd=aṇi-kūlam⁶,
kshaya-dhūma-
- 5 hētuḥ Sōmēśvarō nripat[1*]r=apratima-pratāpāḥ | tad-bhrātrījas=tadan[u*] |⁷
- 6 nīti-vidā[m*] varishthah śrīmān=abha(bhū)n=narapatir-Jasarājādī(ē)vaḥ || [2*]⁸
- 7 Tat-tanayō gunāśālī prasiddha-mad(h)imā jī-āri-vara-vargga[h*]

¹ [The script is not so late. See Mr. H. Krishna Sastri's remark in the note referred to in the preceding para.—Ed.]

² This chief is probably mentioned in the Kankālī and Kawardhā inscriptions No. 235 of the *Descriptive Lists of Inscriptions in the Central Provinces and Berar*, by Rai Bahadur Hiralal, pp. 165-66.

³ Rao Bahadur Krishna Sastri is inclined to identify him with Chāllamarāja, see *Ann. Rep. of the Arch. Sur. of India, E. C.*, 1916-17, p. 4, para. 5. A chief of this name is mentioned in the Bārsūr inscription, *Descriptive Lists of Inscriptions in the C. P. and Berar*, pp. 144-45, No. 198, who also claims to be a Chōla.

⁴ Expressed by a symbol.

⁵ The metre is *Gārdūlavikrīḍita*.

⁷ Delete the *danḍa*.

⁶ The *anuvāra* is superfluous.

⁸ The metre is *Vasantakṛīḍita*.

1

१ श्रीगुरुभिरुपसंहारविष्णु उवाच ॥ ब्रह्मालो ब्रह्मणी
 २ मानवत्तमराज कथं सितवत्पवत् द्वाकागुरुगुरु उवाच ॥
 ३ जसराजदिवकठिविद्या ॥ उः स उतलो जठिवा वि सितलं वा
 ४ ॥ हृदयगतिर्देवा रिरं का जल ॥ उवाच हृदयसिक्कलं क्षयप्रम
 ५ किउः साम प्रसिद्धयउरधुतिमधुगधु ॥ उवाच हृदयसुदना
 ६ गीतिविद्यावसिष्ठः श्रीमान् ब्रह्मरथ उति ससरा जदिववा
 उवाच धाम धामली धमि ॥ ह्रमदिमा उति रितरवधु

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८ श्रीगुरुभिरुपसंहारविष्णु उवाच ॥ ब्रह्मालो ब्रह्मणी
 ९ मानवत्तमराज कथं सितवत्पवत् द्वाकागुरुगुरु उवाच ॥
 १० जसराजदिवकठिविद्या ॥ उः स उतलो जठिवा वि सितलं वा
 ११ ॥ हृदयगतिर्देवा रिरं का जल ॥ उवाच हृदयसिक्कलं क्षयप्रम
 १२ किउः साम प्रसिद्धयउरधुतिमधुगधु ॥ उवाच हृदयसुदना
 १३ गीतिविद्यावसिष्ठः श्रीमान् ब्रह्मरथ उति ससरा जदिववा
 १४ उवाच धाम धामली धमि ॥ ह्रमदिमा उति रितरवधु
 १५ ॥ दानिलीयदि उः ब्रह्मणी वा ॥ उवाच उति ससरा जदिववा
 १६ ॥ दानिलीयदि उः ब्रह्मणी वा ॥ उवाच उति ससरा जदिववा

Second Plate ; First Side

- 8 dharmm-aika-vasatir=amalaḥ sa jayati Sōmēśvarō nripatih || [3*]¹ Paramamāhēśvara-
 9 samasta-prasasty-alamkṛita-śrīmach-Chandrāditya-dēva-pād-ānudhyāta-Paramamāhēśva-
 10 ra-samasta-prasasty-alamkṛita-śrīmaj-Śaśarājā-dēva-pād-ānudhyāta-Paramamāhēśvara-
 para-²
 11 māvaishhava-samasta-prasasty-alamkṛita-dōrddanḍa chandima-khāndit-ārāti-kshatriya-
 kula-mahi-
 12 mā-Mahādēva-Chōla-kula-kamala-kahkā-vikāśa-bhāskara-Vartya(dyā)nātha-pa(pā)da-pa-
 13 nikam(nka)ja-bhramara-sakala-Kōśal-ādhiśvara-mahāvyūhapati-Rānaka-śrīmad-rāja-
 14 Sōmēśvarādēva-pādāḥ kuśalināḥ | Svarṇnapura-samāvāsāt | Ghāṛōdā-vi-
 15 shayīya-Vanryāvandha-[grā]mē³ vrā(brā)hmaṇ-ādī-samasta-jaṇapadān mānayaṇti |
 16 vō(bō)dhaṇanti samādīśanti cha | vīditam=astū bhavata[m]⁴ grāmō-yam Phullamuthā
 17 Dohali-sāhitaḥ chātuh-sim-āvachohhānāḥ sajata-sthalāḥ samatsya⁵

Second Plate , Second Side

- 18 kachchhapah prastara-nikha(ā)ta-kṛita-simō⁶chata(tta)-bhātta-pravēśāḥ sākala-vādihā-
 virōdh-ādī-ra⁷
 19 hitah samasta-rāja-dēya-nikarā-vijay-ādī yāvad-utpattimān⁸ | bhūmichehhidr-āpi(bh)dhā-
 20 na-nyāyēna śchandr-ērka-kshuti-samakālam | Gārgya-sagotrābhyām Tty-ārsha(ē)ya-
 21 prāvarābhyām | Rig-vēdibhyām Yajur-vēda-vihit-ābhyāsābhyām | smṛiti pur-
 22 rān ādi-śrāvāna-nihata-kalmashābhyām nitya-sad-anūshthāna-pavitṛābhyām
 23 mahā-vrā(brā)hmanya-śōbhutābhyām sādhu-UtsavaKara-Divākarābhyām Bhaga-⁹
 24 vatō Nārāyaṇa-bhattārakasya pūṭayā mātā-pitṛōr=ātmanas=cha punya-
 25 yaśō-bhuvrddhy-arthaṁ tāmra-śāsanīkritya pradattō¹⁰smābhūh | atah pra-
 26 bhṛita ētayōr=adhīnibhūya vā[r*]shika-pratyāya-nikar-ādīkam
 27 dadānāḥ sukhaṁ prativasata karshata cha | asmad-anāntara¹¹

Third Plate.

- 28 bhāvibhās=cha rājabhū=bhūmi-dā[na-pā]lana-punya-śravanāt haranā-
 29 n=naraka-pāta-bhayād=asmad-dattam=idam sva-dattam=iv=ānumōdya pari¹²
 30 paripālaniyam | Bhavanti ch=ātra dharmm ānusa(śa)msinah ślōkāḥ | Bhūmim yah
 prati-
 31 grihṇāti yaś=cha bhūmim prayaohchhati [I*] ubhau tau punya-karmṇapau myatam
 sva¹³
 32 rgga-gāmunau ||¹⁴ [4*] Gām=ēkām svarṇṇam=ēkām cha bhūmēr=apy=arddham=
 angum(gu)lam | haran=na-
 33 rakam=āpnōti yāvad¹⁵=ābhūtisamplatra(va)m || [5*] Vā(Ba)hubhū=vasudhā dattā
 rājabhūh Sa-
 34 gar-ādibhūh | yasya yasya yadā bhūmis=tasya tasya tadā phalam || Samvat
 35 17 Jyāishṭha śudī 6 [*] likhitam Paṇḍita-Nārāyaṇēna [I*]¹⁶ utkīrṇnām Vijñāni-Lō(Lō)
 kanā-
 36 thēn=ētē(tī) [I*]¹⁷

¹ The metre is *Arūḍ*² Cancel the *danḍa*³ The letter *grā* was actually written *gyā*⁴ The *anuvāra* mark is peculiar.⁵ *Avagraha* is used here⁶ [Hardly any distinction is made between *t* and *ta*, *n* and *na* and also *m* and *ma* in some cases —Ed.]⁷ This word is superfluous⁸ The *avagraha*-like sign after *sva* is superfluous.⁹ This and the two following verses are in the *Anuśṭubh* metre¹⁰ The letter *dā* is written over the line

No 17 —RITHAPUR PLATES OF BHAVATTAVARMMAN.

By Y R GUPTA, B A, M R A S

These copper-plates were discovered at Rithapur (Riddhapur of the Mahānubhāvas) in the Morsī tāluka of the Amarāvati (Amraoti) district of the Central Provinces, along with a set of copper-plates of the Vākātaka queen Prabhāvatiguptā,¹ and were lent to the Bhārata-Itihāsa-samśōdhaka-Mandala of Poona by Mahanta Dattarāja. The Secretaries of this Mandala handed them over to me for decipherment, and with their kind permission I edit the interesting record incised on them in this Journal.

The grant² is engraved on three copper-plates, which measure $7\frac{1}{8}$ " long, $3\frac{1}{8}$ " to $3\frac{1}{2}$ " broad and $\frac{1}{8}$ " thick and weigh $87\frac{1}{2}$ tolas. The first plate has no writing on its outer side, the second and the third plates are engraved on both the sides. The letters are well-cut and well preserved, except a few on the back side of the third plate. Their average size is $\frac{1}{4}$ " to $\frac{1}{2}$ ". There is no seal attached to the plates though holes, 1" in diameter, apparently meant for the ring, are to be seen on the proper right margin of each plate.

The alphabet is of the box-headed type which was current in the Central Provinces about the 5th century A D. The peculiarities are —(1) the contraction of the breadth of letters, and (2) the conversion of the curves, seen in older forms, into rectangular strokes. Though the box-headed type of the alphabet used here is decidedly Southern,³ yet the influence of the Northern script is clear enough. The most marked Southern characteristics in the present record are —(1) The retention of the ancient forms of *pa*, *sha*, and *sa* open at the top, of the old *ma* and the semi-tripartite *ya*, Cf °*nripa vamsa*-l. 2, *vishayōchitāh* l. 11 and *sadaśa*-l. 16. (2) The right hand stroke of *la* is longer than the left, Cf *lōbhā-* l. 14. (3) The right-angled ornamental strokes to the left of the verticals of *a*, *ā*, *ka*, *na*, *ra*, of the subscript *ra*, and of the medial *u* and *ū*, which are evidently developed out of the curves. (4) The *ḍa* with two right angles, evidently an adaptation of the *ḍa* with the round back, Cf *pindaraka*-l. 19. (5) The medial *ri* with a curled curve to the right, Cf °*nripa*-l. 2. (6) The form of *na*, Cf *hivany ādayah* l. 11. The influence of the Northern script is observable in the following cases —(1) *Ga* and *śa* with bends at the left downward strokes, Cf °*giri-grāmē* l. 3 and *sadaśa*-l. 16. There are two forms of the letters *ga* and *śa* in this inscription, of which one is with a hook and the other has no hook. (2) *Na* with a loop and *ta* without a loop, Cf *Nandīvarddhanāt* l. 1 and =*ānugrihītēna* l. 24. (3) The occasional peculiar *mātrās* above the line, though the horizontal and the middle *mātrās* are most common as in the Southern script, Cf =*asmākam*= l. 6 and =*samvar(ē)dyē* l. 5. The raised marks for the long *ā* are seen in the Southern alphabet also.⁴ (4) The turn of the medial *z* to the left, Cf °*nivarttanīkah* l. 16. There are also some examples of the medial *z* turning to the left.⁵

The epigraphical peculiarities of the present record are —(1) The loop on the left side of *ya* is complete in some cases while not so in others, thus shewing the transition from the tripartite form to the bipartite one. Cf *yō* in -*Yamunayōs*= l. 5, *ya* in *Mātrādhyārgyāya* l. 7, and *yā* in -*lāriḥayā* l. 12. (2) The *tha* with a peculiar transitional ringlet at the base as in the

¹ For a brief notice of the record see the *Quarterly Journal of the Bhār Itih. Sam. Maṇḍala*, Vol IV, pp 115-116.

² *Vide ibid.*, Vol III, Nos. II-IV, pp. 89-90, *Ind. Ant.*, 1924, p. 48, *J. R. A S*, 1924, pp. 94-96 and *J. B. A S*, pp. 53-62.

³ See Bühler's *Ind. Pal.*, Tafel VII, col. XIV.

⁴ *Ibid.*, col. X.

Western script Cf *ēkādāś=ētha* l 20 (3) The form of *ba* is two fold in this record in *Brāhmaṇa* l 3 where it is a correction from *pa*, and in *Bōppadēvēna* l 26 where it is open on the left side but in *Bakasāmalaham* l 19 it is closed on this side The initial *a* occurs in ll 1, 13 and 16, *ā* in ll 10, 12, 22, 23 and 24, *ē* in ll 10, 12, 17 and 20 The final *t* and *m* are reduced in size and slightly different in shape when compared to their usual symbols Cf *t* in ll 1, 15, 16 and 24 and *ma* in ll 6, 7, 9, 10, 21 and 23 The letter *ma* is written in this record in three different forms —(i) with the box-head attached to the left arm of the letter (ll 1 to 5), (ii) with this head attached to the right arm of it (*grāmah* in l 12), *°mariyyādā* (in l 14, etc), and (iii) with the head attached to both the arms (*Kumāra*° in l 8, *°navamāga* and *Mātrā*° in l 10) Similarly there are also two different forms of the subscript *m*, viz, one with one box-head (*°varmmā* and *Brāhmaṇa*° in l 3, *°smābhīh* in l 4), and the other without the box-head at all (*ātma* and *Brāhmaṇa*° in l 10, *asmābhīh* in l 16). The letter *su* is written in two different forms one with the *u*-sign turned to the right as in l 11 and the other with the sign turned to the left as in l 13 The letter *su* is written differently from this letter in the box-headed type shown in Buhler's *Palæographical Table* VII, Col XI, where the *u*-sign is turned to the right of the letter and not to the left as in this record On this account there is a very slight difference between the shapes of *a* and *sa* in our inscription The medial *i* is shown by one curve but the *ī* is expressed by this curve supplemented by a smaller curve within it.

With regard to orthography we may note the doubling of consonants (with the exception of sibilants) following *r*, such as *Mātrādhyāryyāya* and *Dēvāryyasya* l 7 In this process of doubling, if the letter is the 2nd or the 4th of its class, the first member is replaced by the 1st or the 3rd of its class, e g, *Nandivarddhanāt* l 1 The letter *va* is doubled when it comes after the *anusvāra* either in the same word or in the following, see *samvaidyē* in l 5 and *loṇam vvā* in l 15 The class nasals are generally used in this inscription Cf *°kutumbinah* l 4, *Gangā*° (l 5), etc The rules of *sandhi* are often ignored —*°vibhavaḥ Nalanripa-vamśa prasūtaḥ tripatākā* l 2, *°asmābhīh Bhagavataḥ* l 4, *ch=ēty=ēvam ātmanavamāya* ll 9 and 10, etc The *Upadhmānīya* occurs once (l 23) and is used wrongly, being followed by *cha*¹ It is likely that the engraver discovered his mistake and tried to change *hcha* to *mā*. The engraver seems to have misread the draft in the following cases —For *samahattara* he has put in *sama hartara*° l 3, for *°m=avichālyam* he has engraved *hchavachālyam* l 23²

The language is Sanskrit prose, excepting the verse in the Āryā metre which gives the date and mentions the writer of the grant

The inscription refers itself to *Mahārāja Bhattāraka-Artthapati Bhavattavarman* of the Nala family Artthapati, I understand, is only an epithet It literally means 'the lord of riches', that is, 'a king'. But it is probably not used in its general sense in the present record The Assistant Archaeological Superintendent for Epigraphy, Southern Circle, Madras, copied sometime ago at Pōdāgadh in the Jeypore Agency (Viragapatam district), an epigraph of the 12th year of the son of king Bhavadatta, also of the Nala family This document has been briefly noticed in the *Annual Report on Epigraphy for the year 1921-22*, where a facsimile of it is also given³ The possibility that Bhavatta may be a prākṛitised form of Bhavadatta is not altogether precluded.⁴ But it is presumptuous at this stage to identify

¹ Vide f n 7 on p 103 below

² See p 95 and plate II [It was first noticed by the late Mr Robert Sewell who in his *Lists of the Antiquarian Remains in the Madras Presidency*, p 317, mentioned it as an inscription on the rock in Dēvanāgarī characters without giving its contents —Ld]

³ [It is interesting to observe here that another name, which in all probability was Durgga datta, has been written (l 9) as 'Durggattha', and that in 'Dīvadatta' *da* was added as a correction below the line —Ed]

Bhavadatta with Bhavattavarman. As very little was known so far about the Nalas,¹ these two records are of special value for they help us in determining the country over which they ruled.

The inscription records the grant of a village called Kadambagiri-grāma to Mātrādhyāryya and his eight sons, namely, Dēvāryya, Dēvadattāryya, Kumāradattāryya, V₁(Vi)radattāryya, Vasudattāryya, Gō(Gau)ridattāryya, Dhruvadattāryya and Durggatth-(datt)āryya of the Parāśara-gōtra. The grant was issued from Nandivarddhana but actually made at Prayāga or the confluence of the Ganges and the Jumna. However, it does not follow that Prayāga formed part of the dominions of Bhavattavarman, for grants of distant villages, we know, were often made at exceptionally holy places or *tīrthas* like it or Benares. The charter was written at the oral instructions (of the king) by Chulla, his confidential officer, and engraved by Bōppadēva, the grandson of Paddōpādhyāya.

The document is dated on the 7th day of the dark fortnight of Kārttika of the 11th (regnal) year of king Bhavattavarman. Palaeographically the record may be assigned to the latter half of the 5th or the first half of the 6th century A.D.

Of the localities mentioned, Nandivarddhana, from where Bhavattavarman issued the grant, deserves notice. Perhaps, it is different from the Nandivarddhana which has been identified by Rai Bahadur Hiralal with Nagardhana in the Nāgpur district, and is identical with Nandur in the Yeotmāl tāluka of the Central Provinces, which has a good camping ground. Kadambagiri-grāma is apparently Kalamba in the same district, without the appendage *giri-grāma*. Other villages I am unable to identify.

TEXT 2

First Plate.

- 1 सिद्ध[म्] ॥ स्वस्ति [१*] नन्दिर्वर्धनात् [॥*] महेश्वरमहासेनातिष्ठ-
- 2 राज्यविभवः नल्लट्टपवंशप्रसूतः त्रिपताकाध्वजः श्रीमहाराज-
- 3 भवत्तवर्मा कदम्बगिरिग्रामे [ब्र]ह्मणपुरोगान् समहर्त्त(त्त)र-
- 4 कुटुम्बी(म्बि)नः समान्नापयति यूयमस्माभिः भगवतः प्रजापतिः(तेः)
- 5 प्रसादसिद्धक्षेत्रे मङ्गायमुनयोऽसंवे(वे)क्ष्ये प्रयागस्थितैरदकपूर्वकं

Second Plate ; First Side.

- 6 सम चाचपी(पि)⁵ भट्ट[१]रिकायाश्च दम्प(दाम्प)त्यस्यास्माकमनुग्रहात्
- (त्त) पराशरस-
- 7 गोत्राय मात्राद्यार्याय पुत्राणां चास्काष्टानाम्(नां) यथा देवार्य्यस्य
- 8 देवदत्तार्य्यस्य कुमारदत्तार्य्यस्य वि(वी)रदत्तार्य्यस्य वसुद-
- 9 त्तार्य्यस्य गो(गौ)रिदत्तार्य्यस्य ध्रुवदत्तार्य्यस्य दुर्गन्त्या(दत्ता)र्य्यस्य चेत्येवम्
- 10 आत्मनवमायमा चाक्रार्याय दत्ता(त्तो) यत एतेषाम् ब्राह्मणा[ना*]म्(नां)
- वि-

¹ See the *Dynasties of the Kanarese Districts of the Bombay Presidency*, p. 6, and the *Early History of the Deccan*, p. 49.

² From the original plates.

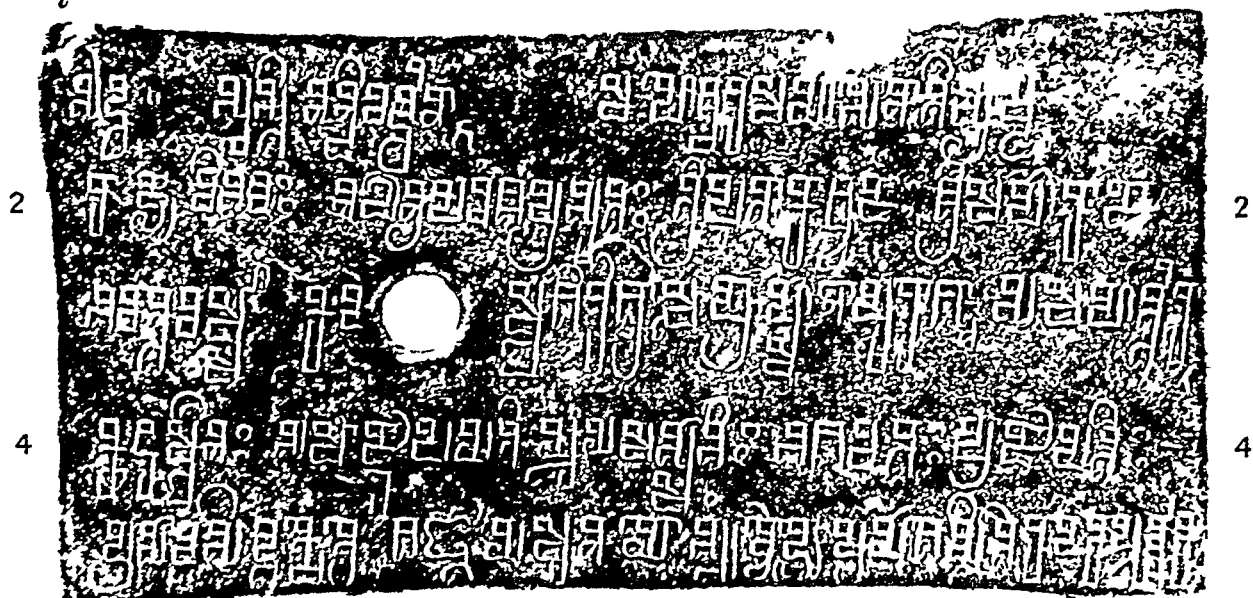
³ The letter ष seems to be a correction from प.

⁴ [The plate reads समहर्त्त(त्त)र[१]न्, न् being inscribed below र।—Ed.]

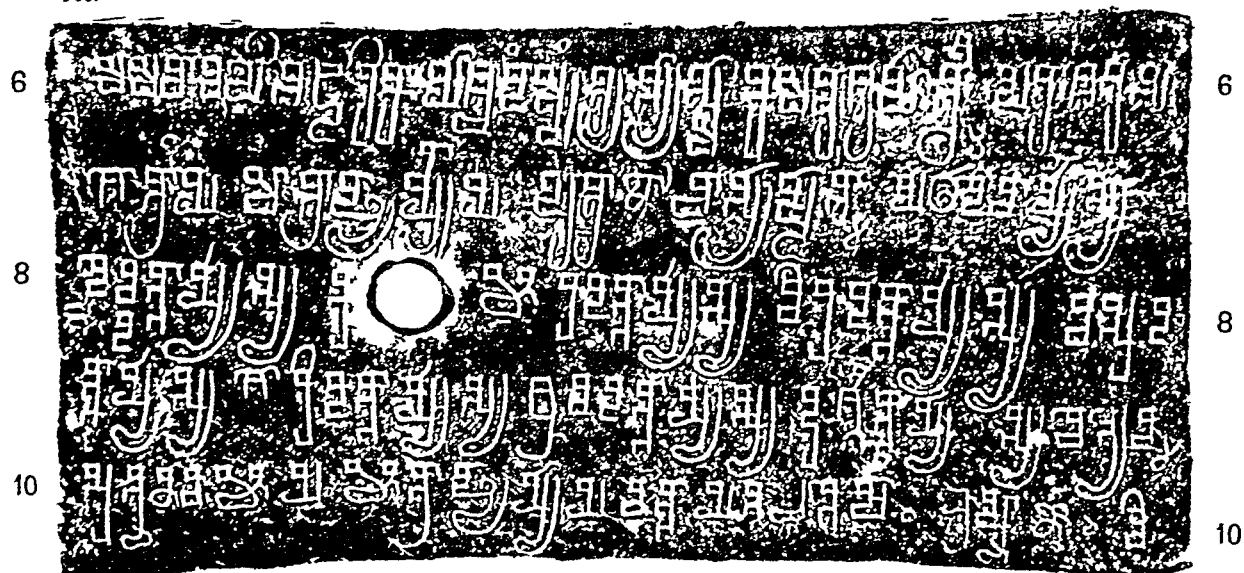
⁵ Superfluous. [Or perhaps अपि is meant.—Ed.]

⁶ द is added below the line by way of interlineation. The two horizontal lines in the margin may be noticed.

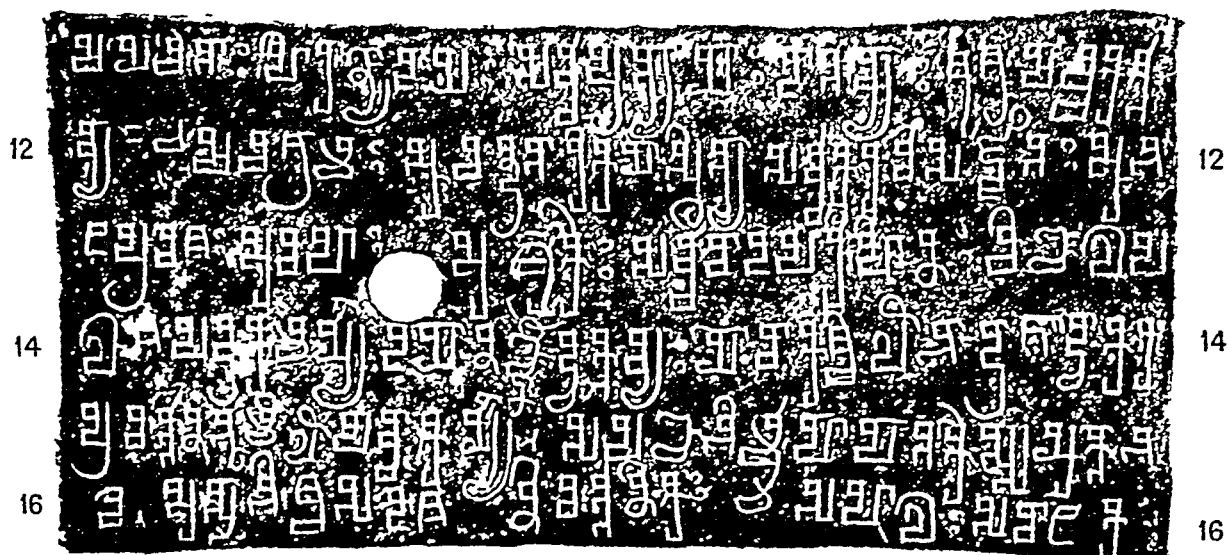
2



va



vb



12244

18

18

20

20

22

22

uub

24

24

26

26

Second Plate, Second Side

- 11 ष[यो]चिताः हिरण्य[र]दयः सर्वग्रन्थायाः दातव्याः शुश्रूषाच्च(च) वर्त्त-
 12 व्या = एष च ग्रामः आचन्द्रतारिकया स्थित्या सर्वकरविसर्जितः
 आ(अ)भ-
 13 इप्रवेशः अवहः अशुक्लैः(ल्कः) सर्ववादपरी(रि)हीनः विश्वालय-
 14 लाशपद्रकमर्यादया न कि¹चिद्वक्तव्यः [॥*] यो वा कश्चिलो(लो)भाद्रागाहा
 कर-
 15 प्रवर्त्तनं भूमिलोप(पं) व्या(वा) कुर्व्यात् स पञ्चभिर्भृष्टापातकैस्संयुक्तो भ-
 16 वेत् [॥*] अस्माभिश्च सदशनिवर्त्तनिकः सहलः सवाटकः

Third Plate, First Side

- 17 ग्रामोयम् दत्तः यत एतदर्थम्(र्थं) न क(के)नचित् किञ्चित् वक्तव्यः
 [॥*] सि(सी)मा चास्व
 18 ग्रामस्य उत्तरेण पर्वतः विषयसि(सी)मान्तिको कर्मन्तकेन सह मा-
 19 तुकविरकः मधुकलतिका² पिण्डिरकवृक्षेण वकसामलकम्(क) त्रिमन्दर-
 20 ख विरकः राज्यसि(सी)मेति [॥*] ³याचै⁴कादशेथ वर्षे कार्तिकमासस्य
 बहुल-
 21 सप्तम्याम् [॥*] स्वमुखाज्ञा(ज्ञ)या⁵भिलिखितः(ता) रहसि नियुक्तेण(न) जुझेन
 ॥ श्रीमहारा-
 22 जातर्षपतिभट्टारकेण आत्मन मातापित्रोः पुण्यकोर्त्तिवर्द्धनधर्मस्थान(न)

Third Plate, Second Side

- 23 [पुत्राणां अष्टाणां]⁶[मा]चन्द्रार्कस्थितिका[लि]क⁷(म)[वि]चाल्य भवत्विति
 आत्म-
 24 न[॥*] आर्यकपादप्रसादानुगृहीतेन ताम्र(ख)शासनमेतत् कारितमि-
 25 ति [॥*] स्वस्ति गोब्राह्मणप्रजाम्यः = सिद्धिरस्तुः(स्तु) ॥
 26 पद्मोप(पा)ध्यायपुत्रस्य पुत्रेण वोष्पदेवेण(न) क्षतमिद[॥*]

¹ कि is engraved below the line² The का of लतिका is entered below the line.³ या is written above the line⁴ Here follows a verse in the *Āryā* metre.⁵ [A letter like सा seems to be written below the symbol for धा, apparently, as a correction —Ed.]⁶ The reading पुत्राणां⁶ is not quite certain, but the traces of the damaged letters favour the reading अष्टाणाम्⁶ at any rate. [Then अष्टाणाम् would require correction. Cf. reading in l. 7 above —Ed.]⁷ [The correct reading seems to be का[लि]कम[वि]चाल्य भवत्विति —Ed.]⁸ The engraver seems to have inserted a द above व्याय so as to make it व्याय.

TRANSLATION.

(Lines 1-21) Perfection has been attained¹ Hail ! From Nandivarddhana The illustrious *Mahārāja Bhavattavarman*, whose banner bears the *Tripatākā* (hand with three fingers stretched out or whose banner consists of three pennons), who is born of the lineage of the *Nala* kings, upon whom has been bestowed the glory of royalty by Mahēśvara (Śiva) and Mahāsēna (Kārttikēya), orders the house holders and great men headed by the Brāhmins, residing in the village of *Kadambagiri*, as follows —(*Know*) ye (*that*) by us while staying at *Prayāga*, the place blest by the favour of the Divine *Prajāpati* (*Brahmā*) at the confluence of the *Ganges* and the *Jumna*, (*this village*) is bestowed for blessing the matrimonial relationship of ours, *i e*, myself and (*my*) queen, with libations of water, on *Mātrādhyāryya* of the *Parāśara-gōtra* and his eight sons, namely, *Dēvāryya*, *Dēvadattāryya*, *Kumāradattāryya*, *Vī(Vi)radattāryya*, *Vasudattāryya*, *Gō(Gau)radattāryya*, *Dhruvadattāryya* and *Durggatth(datt)āryya*, he himself being the ninth (*recipient*)

To these Brāhmins, therefore, all the taxes including gold duly accruing from the place (*mentioned below*) should be given and (*all customary*) services should be rendered And this (*grant of the*) village is to endure with the moon and the sun (*i e*, for ever), free from all taxes. It is not to be entered by soldiers or horses² It is to be free from tolls and customs duties and from disputes

Nothing shall be said (*against this grant*) with (*reference to some*) tamarind or *palāśa* tree or any boundaries in the village. Whoever out of covetousness or passion, levies taxes or takes away the land (*granted*), shall incur the five great sins This village, measuring in extent ten *nivartanas*, is given together with (*the right of*) ploughing and the garden, for which nothing should be spoken (*against it*) by anybody The boundaries of this village are to the north is the mountain, the extreme limit of the *vishaya* (district), *Māluka-viraka*³ with the cultivated ground, *Madhuka-latikā*,⁴ *Bakasāmalaka* with the pomegranate tree, *Trimandara-viraka*, and the boundary of the district (*rājya*)⁵, which (*royal grant*) has been written at our oral command by *Chulla*, the Confidential Officer,⁶ on the seventh day of the dark fortnight of *Kārttika* in the eleventh (regnal) year

(Lines 21-26) This copper-plate charter, which is the abode of the virtue of increasing the sacred fame of his father and mother, has been caused to be made by the illustrious *Mahārāja Artthapati*⁶ *Bhattāraka*, who has been favoured by the kindness of respectable people, so that it may last undisturbed (*in the possession*) of the (*said*) eight sons (*enduring*) with the sun and the moon (*May there be*) prosperity to cows, Brāhmins and subjects¹ May there be success¹ Engraved by *Bōppadēva*, the son's son of *Paddōpādhyāya*

¹ वङ्ग may either stand for a horse in particular or a conveyance in general

² विरक apparently stands here as well as below (l 2) for a village or its suburb

³ मधुकलतिका, कसामलकम् and विमन्दर विरक are apparently the names of bordering villages or suburbs

⁴ रज्य does not mean a kingdom here. It is used for a division of a kingdom.

⁵ See l. n 5 on p 103 ante —Ed]

⁶ This is apparently, as suggested by Mr K N Dikshut, M.A., an epithet of king Bhavattavarman. In construing these words as I have done, there will be, I must admit, the fault of *dūrāntaya*.

No 18—TWO INSCRIPTIONS OF THE PALLAVA KING RAJASIMHA-NARASIMHAVARMAN II

By V RANGACHARYA, M A

A—THE MAHĀBALIPURAM INSCRIPTION¹

This record is engraved on the plinths of two platforms in the western side of the second courtyard of the Shore Temple at Mahābalipuram (Māmallapuram), and was discovered by the Archaeological Department in 1912. The platforms have been surmised to be either the *balipīṭhas* of the two main shrines of that temple or the supports of their missing flagstaffs. One of the three Chōla inscriptions² of the Shore Temple, discovered in 1887, calls the god of the temple 'the Lord of Tirukkadalmallai'. Another calls the temple itself Jalasayana, while the third mentions the shrines of Kshatriya-simba-Pallavēśvara-dōva, Rājasimha-Pallavēśvara-dōva and Pallikondaruluha-dōva. Rao Saheb Krishna Sastrī³ believes that the two platforms, above mentioned, and the monolithic *dhvajastambha* in the sea are the probable remnants of the three shrines referred to in the last of the Chōla epigraphs. The discovery of the inscription on the platforms is important for the fact that it throws light on the identity of the king who built these shrines, a question about which nothing definite has been known. It is true that the names Rājasimha and Kshatriyasimha, after which two of the deities were named, indicated a Pallava origin to the temple, but no direct or contemporary evidence had been available to prove it. The present inscription supplies it.

The inscription⁴ is written in the Pallava-Grantha character and consists of a single line running round the plinths. It is much damaged. The existing portion comprises six Sanskrit verses in the *Āryā*, *Vasantatilakā* and the *Anushtubh* metres, besides the attributes [Bhaya]rahita and Bahunaya after the first verse and the title *śrī-Udayachandra* after the second verse, which are in prose. They contain the names, surnames and titles of a Pallava king who, as will be shown presently, has to be identified with Narasimhavarman II. The first verse, which is wanting in the last three syllables, gives the king the epithets of *Apātima*, *Avanibhūshana*, *Akalanka*, *Dharanichandra*, *Arimardana*, *Atulabala* and *Kulatilaka*. The second verse gives him, among others, the titles of *Atyantakāma*, *Aparājita*, *Chandrārddhasē-*

¹ See my *Topographical List of Inscriptions*, Vol I, pp 327-329. The local inscriptions herein noted (Cg 50 51 f) do not include those taken from the Mack. Mss., which are 31 in number. Of the thirty six included in the list twenty (Cg 58 74 & 77-79) have been edited by Dr Hultzsch in *S I I*, Vol I, pp 1-16 and *Ep Ind*, Vol X, pp 1-11. Two inscriptions (Cg 75 and 76) discovered by the late Mr Venkayya in 1907 are edited in *Ep Ind*, Vol X, p 8, under Nos 18 and 19. All these belong to the Pallava kings from Mahēndravarmā I onward. Of the remaining nine epigraphs five belong to the Chōla kings Rājārāja I, Rājendraditya, Vīra-Rājendra and Kulōttunga Chōla I, the details of two (Cg 53 and 54) are not available, and one (Cg 56) is dated in the reign of the Vijayanagara emperor Achyutarāya. The inscription which is edited above, forms No 566 in that year's official list of epigraphs and Cg 80 in my *Topographical List*.

² These are Nos 1, 2 & 3 of 1887 and Cg 50 52 in the *Topographical List*. They have been edited by the late Dr Hultzsch in *S I I*, Vol I, under Nos 42, 40 and 41 respectively.

³ *Madras Epigraphic Rep*, 1913, p 88, para 8. The Rao Saheb surmises that god Talasayana whom Tirumangar-Ālvār refers to was Viṣṇu and the Saivite god, Kshatriyasimha Pallavēśvara 'who is directly facing the sea and being even washed by it, appears to have received the name Jalasayana'—the one being on land, and the other on water. It seems to me that Jalasayana is a later prairic variant of Talasayana and that both the terms can refer to Viṣṇu Pallikondaruluha-dōva alone, as Śiva is not in the *sayana* posture. Moreover, *Talasayana* is only a shorter form of *Kadalmallai-talasayana* and, as such, need not be taken as a term of contrast to *Jalasayana*.

⁴ It may be pointed out that the analysis given in this paragraph is not based on the plate given in the *Madras Epigraphic Rep*, 1913 (p 88), but a revised one kindly prepared by the Government Epigraphist for the present edition. A comparison of the two plates will show that the order of the verses is changed.

śekhara-śikhāmanī and Chandāsani The third verse is identical with the last verse of the inscription round the outside of the Rājasimhēśvara shrine in the Kailāsanātha temple at Kāñchīpuram¹ Verses 4 and 5 give, among others, the *birudas* Śrī-kārmuka, Kalakāla, Abhirāma, Ranabhīma, Gunālaya, Śrī-Vallabha, Atimāna, Ūrjita, Unnatarāga and Yuddhārjuna. The last verse, which is damaged in the beginning and which cannot be satisfactorily read, makes, however, clear mention of the expression Narēndrasimha in its latter part

The identification of the king who bore the above titles is, as Mr. Krishna Sastri has pointed out, easy enough First, it is obvious that he was the same as the builder of the Kailāsanātha temple at Kāñchī Secondly, the identity of verse 3 in the present epigraph with the last verse of the Rājasimhēśvara epigraph at Kāñchī gives a clue to the eulogy of the same sovereign The Kāñchīpuram epigraph tells us that Rājasimha was the son of Ugradanda² or Paramēśvara, who was the destroyer of the city of Ranarasika Dr Fleet has pointed³ out that Ranarasika is an epithet of the Western Chālukya king Vikramāditya I (A.D. 655-680), that Ugradanda is identical with the Pallava king Paramēśvaravarman I who, the Kūram⁴ Plates tell us, crossed arms with Vikramāditya, and that Rājasimha (*alias* Narasimhavishnu) must be identified with Narasimhavarman II Now, an inscription⁵ of Rājasimha Narasimhavarman II discovered at Vāyalūr in 1908 says that he had also the title of Kshatrasimha (Kshatīyasimha of other inscriptions) To quote the passage itself —

श्रीपल्लवान्वयकुलाचलराजसिंहो

यः क्षत्रसिंह इति विप्रतपुण्यकीर्तिः ।

It is thus clear that the two Śiva shrines of the Shore Temple, Rājasimha-Pallavēśvara and Kshatīyasimha-Pallavēśvara, were named after Narasimhavarman II and are, therefore, his works

In his analysis of the scripts of the Mahābalipuram and Śāluvankuppam inscriptions Dr. Hultzsch distinguishes four styles Of these one is entirely northern and may be ignored for the present discussion The remaining three, he attributes respectively to the epochs of Narasimhavarman I, Atyantakāma (whom he identifies with Paramēśvaravarman I) and Atranaachanda (whom he assigns to the age of Nandivarman Pallavamalla) The palaeography of our inscription closely resembles that of the Atyantakāma group As will be seen from my note 12 at page 108 below, I believe that the attribution of the second set of inscriptions to Paramēśvaravarman I by Dr. Hultzsch is without sufficient basis and that it can be equally legitimately ascribed to his son Narasimhavarman II I am also disposed to believe that Atranaachanda is Narasimhavarman II himself (see below, page 109, note 3) But this difference of opinion regarding the identity of the kings need not cause a doubt in regard to the relative times of the three sets of scripts, though even from this standpoint there can be no agreement in regard to the exact chronological gaps dividing them A comparison of their scripts from the fine facsimile plates given above (see Vol. X, plates Nos 1 to 6) shows clearly that the first of these is archaically simple, the second very florid and ornamented with elaborate flourishes, and the third much simpler though not so simple in formation as the first set

¹ *S I I*, Vol. I, p. 13, v. 12

² *Ibid.*, verse 5 रक्षरभिकपुरीमर्हनादुयदण्डात्सुब्रह्मण कुमारी गुह इव परमादीश्वरादातजन्मा

³ *Dyn. Kan. Distr.*, p. 329 f. In his *S I I*, Vol. I, p. 11, Hultzsch identified Rājasimha with Narasimhavarman I, but in *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. X, he accepts the conclusion of Dr. Fleet

⁴ See lines 10-11 विक्रमादित्य कर्पटमानवपरिच्छदमेकाक्षिपलायितम् कृत[वान्*] *S I I*, Vol. I, p. 149, Text 149 f

⁵ Cg 1235 in my *Topo. List* I am thankful to the Government Epigraphist for permission to consult and note from the office copy of this inscription

A close study of the palæography of the present epigraph shows that the Shore Temple inscription is later than the Atyantakāma and Kāñchīpuram inscriptions and earlier than those of the Atiranachandā group. Incidentally it shows that to judge of the identity of kings from the palæography of their inscriptions alone, is dangerous in-as-much as at least three styles, namely, those of the Atyantakāma and Rājasimha group, the Shore Temple inscription and the Atiranachandā group, have to be attributed to the same king, i.e., Narasimhavarman II. This question as well as the chronology of the epigraphs will be discussed in my paper B on the Panamalai inscription of the same king printed below

TEXT.¹

Platform A

West Side—

श्रीः [1*] अप्रतिममवनिभूषणमकलकन्धरणिचन्द्रमवनीन्द्रा [1*] अरिमर्दनमतुल-

South Side—

२[३]ल कुलतिलकं ये नमन्ति ते . . . ३[॥१*] . . ४रहितो बहुनय-⁵

East Side—

॥ अत्यन्तकाममपराजितमेकराजश्चन्द्रार्द्धशेखरशिखामणिमङ्गुतं⁶ यम् [1*] चण्डाश-

North Side—

निं चित्तिभृतामहतामसह्यं सम्प्राप्य काममिव नन्दति जीवलोकः [॥२*] श्रीः(श्री)
उदयचन्द्रः M⁷

Platform B

West Side—

श्रीराजसिंहो रणजय[1*] श्रीभरश्चित्रकामुर्क[1*] एकवीरश्चिरम्यातु
शिवचूडा⁸मणिर्महीम् [॥३*] श्रीकामुर्कः

South Side—

कालकालः काला⁹ [1*][अ]भिरामो विजयते रणभीमो
गुणालय M [४*] श्रीवत्सभमति-

¹ From the plate prepared by the Editor of this Journal I must also thank him for his having permitted me to consult his transcript

² The space available at the beginning of this line is more than necessary for the letter द

³ As the *prīṭhā* of this verse is *Āryā*, four *mītras* are wanting in order to complete the verse. Adopting the above reading, the word चण्डा, will suit the purpose, द्य and ते being appositional सुखिन् would suit equally well

⁴ Two syllables are wanting here They may be भय or कुल as in the 22nd and 9th niches respectively of the Rājasimbhavar temple inscription See S. I. I, Vol I, pp 15 and 16

⁵ The *visarga* of this word is seen in the beginning of the east side

⁶ The reading सहितो⁵ is also possible

⁷ This symbol has been used as a punctuation mark

⁸ छा seems to be the more probable reading, in the opinion of the Government Epigraphist

⁹ Six syllables are wanting to make up the *Anushtubh* metre It might be restored by some such expression as नक्षत्रपदार्थक .

East Side—

मान रणवीरं कुल¹ [1*] कर्जितसुन्नतरामम्पुणमत युद्धा-
[र्जुन]² [II ५*]

North Side—

. . पसर्त्य दृष्टो³ शततम . म . म . . तनयनभक्त . . नरेन्द्रसिंहदमन्ति
नृपा. M [६*]

TRANSLATION.

(Verse 1) Prosperity¹ Those kings (are fortunate who) bow to (the king) who is unequalled,² the ornament of the earth, the spotless,⁵ the moon of the earth,⁶ the conqueror of enemies,⁷ the matchless in strength,⁸ the ornament of (his) family⁹

The faultless (or the guileless)¹⁰ The great statesman¹¹

(V 2) The world of men, having obtained this (king) is happy, as if it has obtained (it) desire—the king whose desires are endless,¹² the invincible,¹³ the sole ruler,¹⁴ the wearer of Śiva as his crest-jewel,¹⁵ the wonderful,¹⁶ the fierce thunderbolt¹⁷ who is intolerable to great (hostile) kings

¹ This space should have been filled by six or seven letters representing eight *mātras* Such as प्रकाशकरं or भवजगति

² As प्रणमत् is Imperative, 2nd person, plural, we have to suppose that this is an address, and an expression like स्वराधीश after युद्धार्जुन may be understood The letter क is found in smaller size after दृष्टो and thus enables us to decipher the word युद्धार्जुन, which is also found in *S I I*, Vol I, No 25, niche 15

³ This reading is tentative As the space available is for 32 letters, the verse may be in the *Anuṣṭubh* metre; but the last portion does not agree with this, and suggests the *Aryā* metre The Government Epigraphist would read the earlier portion thus यमर्त्यदृष्टे शततमसम्पुणमत महामल्ल[१०] विनयनभक्त निदम् The whole verse is so defaced that the reading given above is, as it is, meaningless [In the Vāyalūr inscription also Mahāmalla occurs as a surname of Narasimhavarman II—Ed.]

⁴ See niche 27 in *S I I*, Vol I, No 25

⁵ The same is found in niches 8 and 19 above in modified forms

⁶ Cf अमविदिवाकर in niche 19 of the above

⁷ *Ibid.*, niche 4 Compare also अरिनाश in niche 44

⁸ *Ibid.*, niche 26

⁹ *Ibid.*, niche 4

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, niche 9 where the expression कूलरहित is found and niche 22 where the epithet भयरहित is given

¹¹ The epithets श्रीवृद्धय and जयानुसारी occur in the 3rd and 42nd niches of the above epigraph. Compare also विदितवृद्धय in *S I I*, Vol I, No 24, verse 5.

¹² This *virūda* is found in *S I I*, Vol. I, No 24, verse 5, *ibid.*, No 25, niche 1, and the Vāyalūr and Tiruppōrūr inscriptions *Atyantakāma* was also a *virūda* of Narasimhavarman I as is proved by No 5 of the Dharmarājaraṭha inscriptions at Mahābalipuram The late Dr Hultzsch believed that it was also the title of Paramēśvaravarman I, to whom he attributed No 17 of the Dharmarāja-ratha epigraphs and those in the Gaṇeśa temple (*S I I*, Vol I, p 4, No 18 and *Ep Ind.*, Vol X, p 8, No 20), the Dharmarāja mandapa (*ibid.*, No 21) and Rāmānuja-mandapa (*ibid.*, No 22) The reason why he concluded thus is the mention of Paramēśvara It seems to me to be, however, a mere pun and not a real name. The palaeography of the epigraph in which it occurs, moreover, is the same as that of Rājasimha in the Kailāsanātha temple On these grounds I seriously doubt the correctness of identifying *Atyantakāma* with Paramēśvaravarman I and am disposed to think that all the *virūdas* attributed by Hultzsch to this king must be attributed to Narasimhavarman II

¹³ See *S I I*, Vol I, No 25, niche 2

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, niche 37

¹⁵ Compare शिवचूडामणि in verse 3 and महेश्वरशिखामणिविहीनमालि in the Vāyalūr epigraph

¹⁶ Compare niches 10 and 28 in *S I I* Vol I, No 25.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, niche 10 which gives the expression अमिवाशनि.

The glorious rising moon ¹

(V 3) [For the translation of this see *S I I*, Vol I, p 14]

(V 4) The blessed archer,² the death to Death³ the beautiful,⁴ the terrible in war,⁵ the abode of virtues,⁶—is victorious

(V 5) (O king,⁷) how (to him) who is the beloved of Śrī⁸ (Lakshmi), who is highly proud,⁹ the hero in battle,⁹ the mighty,¹⁰ the exalted and lovely,¹¹ like Ajuna¹² in war

(V 6) . The lion¹³ among kings all kings obeyed. .

B—THE PANAMALAI INSCRIPTION.

The subjoined inscription and the temple on which it has been engraved are mentioned in Mr Sewell's *Lists of Antiquities*, Vol I, p 209, and the *Gazetteer* of the district of South Arcot, p 385. It was brought to the notice of the Assistant Archaeological Superintendent for Epigraphy, Madras, by Prof J Dubreuil of Pondicherry in 1915. The village of Panamalai is situated sixteen miles north of Villupuram. An inscription¹⁴ from this place consisting of one Sanskrit verse which is identical with the last verse of the Kailāsanātha inscription¹⁵ of Rājasiṃha and the third verse of the Shore Temple inscription¹⁶ of the same king at Mahābalipuram, has been published in *S I I*, Vol I, p 24. Rao Sahib H Krishna Sastri had the present inscription copied and registered as No 616 of 1915 in his *Report* for 1916. A facsimile of the inscription is published, together with a summary of its contents, (p 114, para 5 and plate III opp p 114) in the same *Report*. Prof Dubreuil also has published a photo of the epigraph in his *Pallava Antiquities* (Vol I, Plate I), together with a tentative translation of it by Prof S Krishnaswami Aiyangar.

It is stated in the *Epigraphical Report* for 1916 that the beginning and the end of the inscription are covered by the paved floor of a *mandapa* in front of the temple. The visible portion of the record consists of a single line in the Pallava-Grantha script cut over a

¹ *Ibid*, niche 11

² Compare चित्रकर्तृक in verse 3 and niche 13 in *S I I*, No 25 and भीमकर्तृक in *Ibid*, No 26, niche 16

³ This title is proved by the Mahāndravarmanśvara temple inscription of queen Rangapatākā (*S I I*, Vol I, No 29) to be the title of Narasiṃhavarmā and so the latter should be Rājasiṃha-Narasiṃhavarmā II. It follows logically that the Mahāndravarman of that epigraph is the third king of that name. As Kālakāla was also the title of Ataranachandā (see *Lp Ind*, Vol X, p 12) we have to conclude that the latter was identical with Narasiṃhavarmā II.

⁴ See *S I I*, Vol I, No 25, niche I

⁵ Compare बाह्वर्भीय in niche 16, *Ibid*,

⁶ *Ibid*, niche 32

⁷ *Ibid*, niche 15

⁸ See *S I I*, Vol I, p 3, No 9

⁹ *Ibid*, No 25, niche 24

¹⁰ *Ibid*, niche 2 and *Ibid*, No 26, niche 4

¹¹ This *virūḍa* is seen in both the inscriptions referred to in the previous note. See the 6th and 9th niche respectively.

¹² See *S I I*, Vol I, niche 14 of No 25

¹³ This is only the variation of Rājasiṃha and gives a clue to the name of the king, Narasiṃhavarmā II. It occurs also in the Vāyalūr inscription.

¹⁴ This is No 31 in *S I I*, Vol I. Prof Dubreuil points out that the inscription is not, as it is generally described, in a temple cut in the rock, but "simply on an anfractuosity of the rock within which an image of Kālī (Mahāśūryamardini) has been placed." See his *Pallava Antiquities*, Vol I, p 11.

¹⁵ *S I I*, Vol I, No 24

¹⁶ See above, p 107

belt of granite running round the temple as in the case of the Kailāsanātha inscription of Rājasimha at Kāñchīpuram. It is a *praśasti* of king Rājasimha II and, like the one in the Shore Temple at Mahābalipuram, has no reference to his building of the shrine. The close resemblance, however, which the Panamalai temple bears to the Kailāsanātha temple in its style shows that the builder of the one must also have been the builder of the other.¹ The similarity of the contents of the two inscriptions, moreover, proves the identity of their subjects of praise. The Panamalai inscription consists of six verses in the *Sragdharā* and *Vasantatilakā* metres. It begins with the names of Aśvatthāman (Drauni) and his eponymous son Pallava, the founder of the dynasty (verses 1 and 2). It then gives a eulogy of the Pallavas and mentions the birth of Rājasimha to king Ēkamalla Paramēśvara,² which it compares with the birth of Guha (Subrahmanya) to Paramēśvara (Śiva). The next two verses describe the virtues of Rājasimha, his valour and his devotion to Śiva. The last verse is in the form of an assertion and mentions the revival, in his *régime*, of the tree of *dharma*, in spite of the cruel and scorching sun of the Kali age. The Conjeeveram epigraph gives the same details, often the same expressions. In its description of Rājasimha, for example, the latter uses the phrases गुह इव परमादीश्वरादात्तजन्मा (verse 5) and उदृत्तशत्रुपकुञ्जरराजसिंहः (verse 11), which are practically the same as those occurring in the present inscription in verses 3 and 4. The Kailāsanātha record, however, is more elaborate and adds the titles of *Atyantakāma*, *Śrībhara* and *Ranaṇaya* to Rājasimha. It may be noted here that two other inscriptions in the same temple³ which give more than 200 titles to Rājasimha must be attributed to the same king.

This identification of the builders of the Kailāsanātha and Panamalai temples may be objected to on the ground of palæography, for a comparison of the Panamalai script with that of the Kāñchīpuram temple shows that the former is much simpler and therefore later in date. In fact it bears a very close resemblance to the Atranachanda group of Mahābalipuram and the Śālvankuppam epigraphs and not the Atyantakāma group (which is similar to the Kailāsanātha epigraph). Compare the letters, for example, क, ग, ज, ञ, न, ष and the signs for the secondary vowels आ, इ, and औ and the correctness of the contention will be immediately obvious. It can be incidentally inferred from this that the Mahābalipuram Shore Temple inscription of Rājasimha which I have proved to be later than the Atyantakāma and Kailāsanātha group, and earlier than the Atranachanda group, was slightly earlier than the present inscription. Dr Hultsch,⁴ who believed that palæography alone could give a clue to the identity of the kings, was of opinion that the earlier Kailāsanātha script belonged to the age of Rājasimha or Narasimhavarman II and the Atranachanda group to the time of Nandivarman Pallavamalla of the Kāśākudī plates. Regarding the last, he has said - "It resembles, though it is not identical with, the alphabet of the Kāśākudī plates of Nandivarman. The name or surname *Atranachanda* is unknown from other sources. As the alphabet of stone inscriptions sometimes differs slightly from that of the contemporaneous records on copper, there would be no objection to assigning these records to the time of Nandivarman, the contemporary of the Western Chālukya king Vikramāditya II."

¹ In his *Pallava Antiquities* (Vol I, pp 19-20) Prof. Dubreuil, with characteristic insight, enumerates the various points of agreement, e.g., the possession of collateral niches always opening towards the east or west, the dedication to the prismatic (eight or sixteen faced and not the cylindrical) type of the *linga*, the adornment of the sanctuary wall with the images of Sōmāśhanda, Brahmā and Viṣṇu, the rearing lion type of pillar-supports and 'the single arched *śrīrāchis*'.

² The Vēlūrpāṇiyam plates (*Madras Ep. Rep.*, 1911, p. 61) say that Narasimhavarman was the son's son (पुत्रपुत्र) of Paramēśvara but it is alone in this version and is not so authoritative as the contemporary record at Kāñchīpuram, Mahābalipuram and Panamalai.

³ S. I. I., Vol I, Nos 25 and 26.

⁴ See *Ep. Ind.*, Vol X, p. 3.

But I have endeavoured to show in my edition of the Shore Temple inscription of Mahābalipuram that the Kailāsanātha, the Atyantakāma¹ and the Aṭṭirachanda groups should all be attributed to the same king, viz., Narasimhavarman II. The identification of Atyantakāma with him is proved by the Kāñchīpuram,² Vāyalūr,³ Tiruppōrūr⁴ and Shore Temple⁵ inscriptions and that of Aṭṭirachanda with him by the Kāñchīpuram⁶ and Tiruppōrūr⁷ epigraphs (which were apparently not known to Dr. Hultzsch), while the epigraphs at Śāluvankuppam show that Atyantakāma and Aṭṭirachanda were the titles of the same king (see *S I I*, No 21, verses 1 and 5). The attribution of the Aṭṭirachanda group to the age of Nandivarman II cannot thus stand. The palaeographical comparison of it with Kāśākudī plates, moreover, shows that the inference of contemporaneity which Dr. Hultzsch makes, cannot be maintained. In regard to letters ए, च, ञ, व, ष and secondary vowel ऋ, we find that the Kāśākudī plates are distinctly later and more modern than the corresponding letters in the Aṭṭirachanda style. The same remarks apply to the present inscription which, as has been already mentioned, is exactly like that of Aṭṭirachanda. This conclusion will naturally give rise to the question how an archaic style like that of the Kailāsanātha-Atyantakāma group could have co-existed with the more advanced styles of Śāluvankuppam and Panamalai (as well as the style of the Mahābalipuram Shore Temple which comes midway between the two). This has been, in my opinion, satisfactorily answered by Prof. Dubreuil. He believes that the more archaic and florid alphabet was "perhaps devised by the predecessor of Rājasiṃha, fifty years earlier. As it was much embellished and little employed, it was handed down without any change, and the sculptors of the time of Rājasiṃha who wished to employ this alphabet were satisfied with copying the old models instead of embellishing the writing of their days."⁸ Amongst the peculiarities of the present epigraph may be noted the combination of the conjunct *ra* and medial *ṣ* with a double curve (*c g*, वृ in verse 4 and ऋ in verse 6), and the characterisation of the final *ṣ* with a slanting stroke (as well as smaller size), like *ś*.

A few words may be mentioned here about Narasimhavarman II. He seems to have been a man of peace, devoted more to religious pursuits than war and conquest. His father Paramēśvaravarman I had gained the victory of Peruvalanallūr⁹ over the Chālukya Vikramāditya I (655-680 A.D.) and saved the integrity of the Empire, though he had not apparently been equal to the task of dispossessing the Chālukyas of the district of Kurnool¹⁰ and possibly of Nellore¹¹ which they had seized. A clue to the date and site of the battle

¹ It may be mentioned that Prof. Dubreuil agrees with Dr. Hultzsch in identifying Atyantakāma with Paramēśvara I, but while I agree with him in regard to the style of the script of Paramēśvara's time, I am not able to see eye to eye with him in regard to his identity with Atyantakāma.

² See *S I I*, Vol. I, No. 25, niche 1 and No. 19, verses 7 and 8.

³ Bottom block, which reads लोकनरेन्द्र सिद्ध शम्भो पादारविन्द . चरणे निवसत्यन्तकाम

⁴ Piece No. 7

⁵ See ante, p. 106

⁶ See *S I I*, Vol. I, No. 25, niche 3

⁷ Piece No. 4

⁸ See his *Pallava Antiquities*, Vol. I, p. 23

⁹ See the Udayandirām plates of Nandivarman, lines 16-17, which say: तस्य परवत्तनक्षय्युद्धे विजितवत्सलस्य परमेश्वरवर्मा. The Kūram plates of Paramēśvara I describe how he made Vikramāditya take to flight, covered only by a rag (see *S I I*, Vol. I, p. 149, lines 40-41). The latter is evidently a reference to the engagement at Peruvalanallūr. The Kāñchīpuram inscriptions also refer to the destruction of Rājasiṃha's city (i.e., the city of Vikramāditya). See *S I I*, Vol. I, p. 12, verse 5.

¹⁰ See K1 1 and 4-6 in my *Topographical List*

¹¹ *Ibid.*, N1 483. See also *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. IX, pp. 98-102

of Peruvalanallūr is given in the Gadvāl Plates¹ of Vikramāditya I. These plates record a grant by him in A.D. 674, while he was encamped at Urugapura on the southern bank of the Kāvērī in the Chōla kingdom. Urugapura has been identified by Venkayya² with Uraiyūr and the correctness of this has been confirmed by Prof. Dubreuil³ who has identified Peruvalanallūr with a village of the same name, about ten miles north-west of Trichinopoly. The latter scholar further points out how the Pallava Paramēśvara was probably helped by the contemporary Pāndya Kōchchadayan and the Ceylonese king Mānavamma⁴. He further surmises that Kōchchadayan married the daughter of the Pallava prince Rājasimha (later on Narasimhavarman II) and hence had a son named Rājasimha, so named naturally after his maternal grandfather. However this might have been, Rājasimha must have succeeded Paramēśvaravarman I sometime after A.D. 675. He evidently did not distinguish his reign by any war. All his inscriptions, while describing his martial valour in vague and general terms, agree in calling him an ardent devotee of Śiva, a saviour of Dharma and Truth. He seems to have furthered the arts and blessings of peace, if we are to attach any importance to his epithets इतिहासप्रियः, काव्यप्रबोधः, वीणानारदः, आतोद्यतुम्बुरः, वाद्यविद्याधरः, etc. It was he that built the central shrine in the Kailāsanātha temple at Kāñchīpuram, the Shore temple at Mahābalipuram, the Panamalai temple, and, as Prof. Dubreuil observes, the Airāvātēśvara temple at Kāñchīpuram. To these must be added some other structures from which the pillars containing Rājasimha's *birudas* were transferred to the later Kandasāmī and Vyāghrapurīśvara shrines at Tiruppōrūr⁵ and Vāyalūr respectively⁶.

It only remains to be mentioned that the date of the present epigraph is not incapable of being ascertained. It has been already mentioned that Paramēśvaravarman I won a victory at Peruvalanallūr over Vikramāditya I in A.D. 674. Supposing that Paramēśvara lived for a few years after it, we may suppose that he ceased to rule, about A.D. 680. The struggle between him and Vikramāditya I was inherited and continued by their successors,—the Pallava Narasimhavarman II, Mahēndravarman III, Paramēśvaravarman II and Nandivarman Pallavamalla on the one hand, and the Chālukyan kings Vīmayāditya Satyāśraya (A.D. 680-96), his son Vijayāditya (A.D. 696-733) and his son and successor Vīramāditya II (A.D. 733-746) on the other. Of these the last Pallava king was defeated by the last mentioned Chālukya king about A.D. 740. Now, as Narasimhavarman II lived two generations before Nandivarman, we may reasonably suppose that he lived in the years which immediately preceded and followed A.D. 700. And this is in keeping with the date we have assigned for the termination of the reign of Paramēśvaravarman I. These facts enable us to fix the Panamalai epigraph at about

¹ Vide *Madras Epigraphs*, 1910, p. 10, para. 10. The record is dated in Vaiśākha, full moon, S. 596 (the 20th year of his reign), i.e., Tuesday, April 25, A.D. 674, according to Dr. Fleet, or the next day. See also *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. X, pp. 100 ff.

² See *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. X, No. 22, pp. 101-2.

³ See his *Pallavas*, 1917, p. 43.

⁴ The 5th king in the Vijayakūṭi grant, the father of Tīmāra Rājasimha I (Arikēśari Parāṇḍuvāsi), and the victor at Marudūr and Maṅgalapuram over Mahāratha. Prof. Dubreuil believes that Mahāratha was the Chālukya Vikramāditya I. Mānavamma was king of Ceylon from about 660 to 695, according to Dubreuil, but 691 to 726 according to the *Mahāvaṃśa*.

⁵ See Cg. 194 in the *Topographical List*. The chief epithets found are Aviratadānah, Śārasaṅgah, Jñānasāṅgah, Guṇavāṃśah, Duṣaraṇṭilakah, Atiranachandah, Arikarikkasari, Prithivimārah, Atvantakāmah and Abhavanārāh.

⁶ See Cg. 1234. Besides giving a full genealogy of the Pallavas, the record gives the titles of Nandivarman, Atvantakāma, Ranajaya, Śiṃdhī and Kshatrasimha to Rājasimha. This inscription has been edited by Rao Bahadur H. Krishna Sastri, *ibid.* Vol. XVIII, pp. 145 ff.

A D 700 Prof Dubreuil ascribes it to between 700 and 710 The Shore Temple inscription at Mahābalipuram should be slightly earlier, while the scripts of the Kailāsanātha-Atyantakāma group might be based on a script about 50 years earlier (i e, A D 650), but engraved a few years before 700

TEXT ¹

- 1²नोदपादि प्रथितभुजवलो द्रोणि³रंशः⁴ पुरारिः [1*] अश्वत्था-
- 2 श्चोय तस्मान्निचितगुरुतपोनिर्म-
- 3 लादाविरासीदाम्नायादगविद्याविसर इव महीवल्गु[भः पक्ष*]⁵ वाख्यः [1*]
- 4 यस्मादेष्टः[*]⁶ . . . पथि विहितपदात्पावने⁷ माननीयो मन्दाकिन्या[*] प्रवा-
- 5 हः शशिन इव महानन्वयः पक्षवानाम् [2*] सम्राजामश्वमेधावभृ-
- 6 थविरजसा भूभुजां पक्षवानामसृ-
- 7 टापक्षवाना विमलतरभरद्वाजवंशोद्भवानाम् [1*] केतो-
- 8 रत्नो⁸ एवाहुद्रविणहृतमहीचक्रविख्यातकीर्त्तय्यो देवा-
- 9 देकमल्लाहुइ इव पर[मादीश्वरादात्तजन्मा⁹] [3*]
- 10¹⁰ . भुजङ्ग¹¹विणावभासी सत्वो-¹²
- 11 र्जितः समरदृष्ट¹³महाप्रभावः [1*] यो राजसिंह इति विश्व-

¹ From the plate published in *Ep. Rep.* for 1916, opp p 114

² This is the 4th quarter of a stanza in the *Sragdharā* metre The first three syllables (which should be three *gurus*) are wanting

³ Read द्रोणि

⁴ Prof Krishnaswami Aiyangar wrongly reads it as द्रोणीन.

⁵ There is an unwritten space of one foot here, capable of holding these three letters, which are found in the Kāñchīpuram inscription See *S I I*, Vol I, No 24, line 11 (verse 3)

⁶ The space (about a foot) is unwritten. The three syllables which are necessary for the metre may be प्रसूतः or प्रजने, which will be the predicate of अन्वय.

⁷ Prof Krishnaswami Aiyangar corrects पावने into पावनी (see *Pallava Antiquities*, p 13), but this is absolutely unnecessary as पावने is plainly the adjective of पथि

⁸ Read क्षी

⁹ The stone on which the inscription is engraved is broken here and the passage inserted has been taken from *S I I*, Vol I, No 24, verse 5

¹⁰ As the metre of this verse is *Vasantatilālā*, the first six syllables (a *la-gaya* and a *blā-gaya* — — — —) are wanting An expression like सद्रूपोर्जित will do

¹¹ Read द्र.

¹² Read सत्वी

¹³ Prof. Krishnaswami Aiyangar wrongly reads it as दृष्ट. He also confounds द्र with सु and suggests the wrong reading सुभाव in place of प्रभा See *Pallava Antiquities*, I, p 13

- 12 तपुखकीर्त्ति¹रुद्र²तमनुष्टुपकुञ्जरराजसिंहः [M 8*] ³हर्ता हि-
 13 षड⁴र्ग्यसमुच्छ्रयाणा [क]र्त्ता च कल्याणपरम्पराणां [1*]
 14 चित्ते सदा ⁵सम-
 15 तभक्तिपूते धत्ते पदं⁶ यस्य मृगा⁷कर्मो⁸लि[:*] [M 15*] संरुढाम्नाय-
 16 ⁹मयानेकशाखासमग्रः [त्रो]-
 17 ¹⁰तेः फलकुसुमकृताकान्तिमालम्ब-
 18 माना[:]¹¹ [1*] सदृत्ता¹²भोनिषेकैर्द्रुम इव सततन्तस्य ¹³श्रयासमुद्गम . .
 जय¹⁴ति कलियुगग्रोष्मतप्तेपि¹⁵ धर्मः [M 16*].

TRANSLATION.

Verse 1 (To him) was born Drauṇi, the part-incarnation¹⁰ of Purāṇi, who was famous for the strength of his shoulders

V 2 From that Aśvatthāman who was spotless with the great penance performed by him, there arose, like the extension of the Angavidyā¹⁷ (science of Vyākarna, etc contributing to knowledge) from the Vēda, the beloved king of the earth called Pallava, and from him who trod the path of purity, came, like the floods of the Mandākinī from the moon,¹³ this great family of the Pallavas

¹ Read ति

² Prof Krishnaswami Aiyangar mistakes it for दृ (dri)

³ This verse is in the *Indratājrā* metre

⁴ Read र्ग

⁵ Read स Prof Krishnaswami Aiyangar has the wrong reading स्रुत (*Pallava Antiquities*, p 14, note 1)

⁶ This word is also wrongly read as सदा by Prof Krishnaswami Aiyangar

⁷ Read र्ग

⁸ Read लो

⁹ As the verse is in *Sragdharā* metre, seven syllables are missing here two *gurus* and five *laghus* like — —

¹⁰ Five syllables — — — — are wanting

¹¹ Read न

¹² Read °तामो°.

¹³ Four letters, viz. — — — —, are probably missing to make up this *pāda*

¹⁴ The late Mr H K. Sastri thought that न was the more probable reading

¹⁵ Read °होपि If the reading जगति is taken instead of जयति, then it is unnecessary to correct ते.

¹⁶ Notice the singular account which the Pallava inscription at Amarāvati (*S I I*, Vol I, No 32) gives of Aśvatthāma's origin It says that Drōṇa propitiated Śiva for obtaining a son who would found a race

¹⁷ Apte defines it not only as the चक्ररूपा व्याकरणादिशास्त्ररूपा विद्या ज्ञानसाधन but, according to the *Bṛihat-samhita*, as 'the science of foretelling good or evil from the movements of the limbs.'

¹⁸ The Ganges flows from the matted locks of Śiva amidst which the moon also shines The Kailāsanātha inscription compares 'Pallava' to the first-born Manu in regard to his being the founder of a race of kings See *S I I*, Vol I, p 12, verse 3 The composers of the Pallava eulogies seem to have been very fond of calling them the *vallabha* or the beloved (of the world) Cf Kūram plates, Sanskrit portion, line 11.

Vv 3 & 4 From the lord *Ēkamalla*¹ whose fame spread over the globe, conquered by his inexhaustible might and wealth and who was the ornament (*lit* flag) of the Pallavas who were emperors, who shone by the baths which concluded the performance of the *Aśvamēdha*, who were the enjoyers of earth, who were not touched (*even*) by a bit (*lava*) of danger² and who had their origin in the highly pure family of *Bhāradvāja*—from him was born, like *Gūha*³ (*i e*, *Kumāra*) from the great *Īśvara*, he who shone by his ...might and wealth, whose greatness was seen in the field of battle, who was valiant and powerful, who was well known as *Rājasimha* of holy reputation and who was a royal⁴ lion to the elephants of daring, hostile kings

V 5. The conqueror of crowds of hostile kings, the doer of a series of auspicious acts, in whose mind, purified by the feeling of incessant devotion,⁵ *Mrigānkamauli* (*Śiva*) rests his foot

V 6 The tree of Dharma⁶ which has got many *śākhās* (*i e*, Vedic divisions in the one case, and branches in the other) in the form of . . . the Vēdas . . ., which is sprinkled incessantly by the waters of his virtuous acts, and which bears the splendour of the fruits and flowers—flourishes, though scorched by the cruel sun of the Kali age⁷

NO 19—TWO LOST PLATES OF THE NIDHANPUR COPPER-PLATES OF BHASKARAVARMAN

BY MAHAMAHOPIADHYAYA PANDIT PADMANATHA BHATTACHARYA, VIDYAVINODA, M A

The three copper-plates which were discovered in 1912 at Nidhanpur in Pañchakhaṇḍa, Sylhet, containing an inscription of Bhāskaravarman were published by me in this Journal (*vide* Vol XII, No 13, pp 65 *et seq*) There I stated that one plate was missing It now turns up that the number of copper-plates missing was more than one, as I have got two plates, one of which is undoubtedly the 3rd plate, and the other the penultimate plate, and the rumour goes that a third missing plate is in the possession of a Musalmān and efforts are being made to get it from him I have not, however, thought it advisable to defer any longer the publication of the two plates that have since been discovered, and if any missing plate be forthcoming at all, it will contain only a list of donees supplementary to what is found in the two plates under discussion

The discovery of these two lost plates has rendered some of my statements in the previous article, made, of course, on mere conjecture, liable to revision In fact the grant had

¹ It is plain that *Ēkamalla* is the title of Paramēśvaravarman I The Kāñchīpuram inscription (*S. I. I*, Vol I, No 24) calls him Ugradanda, the adversary of Raṇarasika (the W Chālukya Vikramāditya I, A D. 655 80) Another inscription in the same place (*ibid*, No 27) gives Paramēśvara, the title of Lōkāditya

² Compare *मिराकृतकुलापल्लव पल्लव* in line 11 of Kūram grant

³ *Vide S. I. I*, Vol. I, No 24, verse 5

⁴ Cf *उद्भयशत्रुहिरदवनचटाराजसिंह* in the Kāñchīpuram inscrip (*S. I. I*, Vol. I, No 24, verse 11)

⁵ Compare the epithets *Śankarabhakta*, and *Īśvarabhakta*, in the Kāñchīpuram inscriptions Also expressions like *गुर्वीनीशानमक्ति यो विभर्ति भक्तिप्रद्वेप मनसा, विदितयद्गुणयः शैवसिद्धान्तमार्गः, शिवचूडामणि* etc

⁶ The epithets *धर्मकवच*, *धर्मगिर्व*, *धर्मविजयी* found elsewhere show that the king had a great reputation for virtue

⁷ The simile of the Kali age is commonly met with in the Pallava inscriptions In the *Rājasimhēśvara* inscription the king is said to have heard the divine voice even in this Kali age, and elsewhere in the same inscription he is said to have saved the people from the jaws of the horrid monster, the Kalhage Similarly the Pallavas are given the title of *उदीणप्रदक्षकजिह्मदक्षसि* (*See S. I. I*, Vol. I, No 24)

been made by Bhūti-varman (named Mahābhūta-varman in the second plate of these inscriptions) who was the great-great-grandfather of Bhāskaravarman, and it was only renewed¹ by the latter in favour of the descendants of the original donees. The locality of the grant—Mayūrasālmal=āgrahāra in the district of Chandrapurī—I am unable to identify. While in my former article nothing was known of the donees² we find now that actually there was a host of them of different Vēdas and gōtras—apparently the successors on the sons' and probably also on the daughters' side of those Brāhmanas who had got the original grant from King Bhūti-varman. A tabular statement of these, shewing the Vēdas and the gōtras and shares, is given at the end of this article. The total of these shares comes to $97\frac{7}{8}$, which, with the addition of seven shares more for *bali-charu-satra*³ (worship, oblation and hospitality) comes to $104\frac{7}{8}$. Certainly the land could not have been divided into $104\frac{7}{8}$ shares, involving the fractional part of an *amsa*. It is not impossible that the rumour about another missing plate may be true, or that there may be something wrong in my interpretation of the terms like *gōtra=āmsa*.

These two plates, namely, the third and the penultimate plates, have great importance as they contain information about a good number of Brāhmanas of many a different gōtra, and it is expected that this will throw a flood of light on the history of the Brāhmanas in this part of India.

Bhāskaravarman is known to have ruled over Kāmarūpa during the first half of the seventh century A D, and if we calculate four rulers in a century, his great-great-grandfather Bhūti-varman must have flourished by the end of the fifth or the beginning of the sixth century. It is remarkable that while in the neighbouring province of Gauda (Bengal) the alleged import by Ādi-Śūra of five Brāhmanas from Kanauj or the mythical creation of the *Saptasatī* (700) Brāhmanas is not attributed to a period earlier than the eighth century A D,⁴ there should be so many Brāhmanas found in a single village in Kāmarūpa two centuries earlier.

It will not be difficult to understand why the grant was made to such a large number of Brāhmanas at a time. We learn from the accounts of Yuan Chwang that while the neighbouring kingdoms were full of Buddhist monasteries, the country of Kāmarūpa was altogether free from them. "They (i.e., the people of Kāmarūpa) worshipped the *Dēvas* and did not believe in Buddhism. So there had never been any Buddhist monastery in the land. The *Dēva* temples were some hundreds in number and the various systems had some myriads of professed adherents * * * His Majesty (Bhāskaravarman) was a lover of learning and his subjects followed his example, men of abilities came from far lands to study here"⁵. If such was the state of things in the Kāmarūpa of Bhāskaravarman's time, we might safely surmise that the condition of Kāmarūpa was the same also in Bhūti-varman's time. Bhāskaravarman was only maintaining the tradition of his illustrious predecessors whose excellent qualities are recorded in these inscriptions. A party of Brāhmanas probably

¹ That this grant was a renewal after the burning of the original plates is known from the last verse on the last plate (above, Vol. XII, p. 76).

² In fact in the opening verse of the inscriptions plurality of the Brāhmanas was indicated by "*bhūti-matām diṣṇanmanām*" which was then looked upon as a case of honorific plurality.

³ *Bali* means offerings to gods as flour, fruits, rice, etc. (uncooked), *charu* signifies 'cooked offerings', and *satra* indicates 'distribution of food to the guests and the poor'. This would show that there was a shrine or common place of worship in the locality for which a provision was made by allotment of these 7 shares.

⁴ Above, Vol. XIII, pp. 287 and 228.

⁵ Watters *Yuan Chwang*, Vol. II. p. 186.

annoyed at the Buddhist predominance in their own place (which was most likely in Mithilā) came to settle in Kāmarūpa that was free from Buddhism and the rulers whereof were reputed to be the patrons of Brāhmanas, the custodians of the old faith ¹ hence this grant was made to these Brāhmanas and the name *agrahāra* added to Mayūrasālmali supports what has been stated above

The locality of the grant, though it cannot be positively ascertained, must have been very near the precincts of Karna-Suvarna, as the term *Gānginī* occurring in the description of the boundary of the grant indicates that the locality must be in some region where the word in its modern form of *Gānginā* exists even now. In modern Kāmṛūp the term is unknown—whereas in the locality near about Karatōyā (which was the western boundary of the ancient Kāmarūpa), 'Gānginā' is still in use—so the grant must have been located there² and hence near Karna Suvarna³

How the plates containing the record could be found in Sylhet has yet to be answered. It is stated in the third plate (l 12) that Manōrathasvāmin of the Kātyāyana-*gōtra* was a '*pattakapati*,' i.e., the holder of the copper plates, evidently, as he was one of the leading men of the locality. There was still another person Sādhāranasvāmin, apparently, the foremost of them all, as his name mentioned in the first place would show, who was also termed '*pattakapati*' and though probably the plates were originally kept in the joint or alternate charge of both, yet they must have fallen eventually into the hands of the heirs of Manōrathasvāmin of the Kātyāyana-*gōtra* who were among the Brāhmanas who migrated to Sylhet—as is inferred from the mention of 'Kātyāyana' amongst the 10 *gōtras* of the Sāmpradāyika Brāhmanas⁴ of Sylhet. The Sāmpradāyika Brāhmanas designate themselves as "Maithilas" (i.e. belonging to Mithilā) and so do most of the Brāhmanas even of the modern Kāmṛūp, who, as well as the Sāmpradāyikas, follow the *smṛiti* (law) of the Mithilā school. It is quite possible that in course of time these settlers in Sylhet lost the memory of the place from which they had come, and the oblivion was helped by the eventual loss of the copper-plates which they had taken with them to Sylhet and which have lately been discovered about ten feet below the surface of the earth. Or, it may be that the migrators having belonged originally to Mithilā gave themselves out as 'Maithila' when they settled in Sylhet.

One thing worth remarking in these two plates is the abbreviations used. '*Svā*' is written for *Svāmī*,⁵ '*amśa*' for '*ek-āmśa*' and '*gōtra-āmśa*' for '*gōtra-sahit-ādhy-arādh-āmśa*'. A remark made in my previous article regarding the defective nature of the *Āryā* metre which has been copiously used in these inscriptions, should be amended here. The remark was based on the

¹ It may be also that the settlers might have been students who had come to Kāmarūpa for study (*vide* extracts from Watters' *Yuan Chwang*, above)

² In the copper plate inscriptions of Vanamāladēva (*vide Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, 1840, pp 786 *et seq*) we find 'Chandrapari' south east of the grant, a village named Abh suravalaka, west of Trisrōtā. This 'Trisrōtā' is the modern 'Teesta', a river in Rangpur, Bengal, and is a little east of the river Karatōyā. If this Chandrapari be the Chandrapuri (*puri* in Vanamāla's inscriptions may be an error of the reader for *puri*, and the reading is full of errors) of Bhāskaravarman's inscriptions, within which district the grant was situated, then what has been stated here would become substantiated.

³ In fact in my former article 'Gānginikā' was deemed as one of the factors in coming to the decision that the grant belonged to Karna Suvarna (*vide* footnote No 3, p 66, *Ep Ind*, Vol XII)

⁴ These ten *gōtras* are Vatsa, Vātsya, Bharadvāja, Kṛishnātrēya, Parāśara, Kātyāyana, Kāśyapa, Maudgalya, Svārna Kausika and Gautama. Of these, seven *gōtras* are found mentioned in the plates, exactly as stated above. 'Vatsa' and 'Parasara' are mentioned in the plate as 'Vātsa' and 'Pāśārya' (patronymic forms) while the remaining *gōtra*, viz., 'Svārna-Kausika', is evidently represented by 'Kausika' in the plates, as the razzification of the *gōtra* into 'svārna', 'rajata', 'ghṛita', etc, did not probably take place then.

⁵ The form *Svā* has in every case been taken as an abbreviation of *Svāmī* (in the nominative case singular) as is clear from l 11 where Sādhāranasvāmī occurs as the attribute of *amśa avaya bhōkta*

prosodical test of verse No 8 in which there was something wrong in the 2nd foot—that could not be improved by any tentative reading The other verses seem to be all right and conform to the rules of prosody

TEXT ¹*Third Plate, First Side*

- 1 [li]ngana²-prakatit-ābhikā(gā)m[i]ka³-gun-ānurāga-vṛittih Kal[i]yuga-parākram-ākālita-vigra-
- 2 hasya samuchchhā(chchhvā)sa iva Bhagavatō Dharmasya nayasy-ādhishtānam-āspadam gunānām nidhih
- 3 pranayinām=upagñah santrastānām śrī-sampadām=āyatanam Vasumatī-suta-kram-ādhi-
- 4 gata-pada samutkarsh=a(rsh=ā)darshi(rśi)ta-prabhāva śaktir=mMahārājādhirājah śrī-Bhāskaravarmma-
- 5 dēvah kuśali || Chandrapuri-vishayē varttamāna-bhāvinō vishaya-patīn=adhikara-
- 6 nāni cha samājñāpayati [i*] Vīditam=astu bhavatām=ētaḍ-vishay-āntahpātī-Mayu(ū)-ra-
- 7 śālmal-āgrahāra-kshētram(tram) rājñā śrī-Bhūti-varmmanā tāmrapattikṛitam yata[t] tat-tāmra patt ābhā-
- 8 vāt=karadam=itī Mahārāja(jēra) Jyēsthābhadrā(drān) vijñāpya punar=asy=ābhīnamra (va)-pattakaranāya śāsam(sa)-
- 9 nam datvā(ttvā) chandr-ārka-kshiti-samakālam=akūñchit-pragrāhyatayā bhūmi chchh-dra-nyāyēna pūrva-bhō-
- 10 ktu(ktri)-Brāhmanēbhyah⁴ pratipāditam yatra(tra) Brāhmanā(na) nāmāni Prāchītasō Vājasanēyī pattakapa-
- 11 tih anśa(amśa)⁵-dvaṣa-bhōktā Sādhāranasvā[mī]⁶ || Śrīvasu(sur)=bhrātrī ttra(tra)yēna⁷ ēkō-mśa(h) || Sōmavasū(sur)=bhartrisahitō-rddh-ānśa[h] ||
- 12 Kātyāyana-Chchha(ś=Chlā)n'ōgō Mapōratha-svā chaturth ānśa-hīnō-dvir-anśa[h] pattaka-patī[h*] || Arddh-ānśa(śō) Vishnughōsha-[svā] [i*]
- 13 Vēdaghōsha svā ēk-ānśa[h*] || Yāskō Bāhvricha(chyō) Dāmadēva-svā anśa[h*] || Ghōshadēva-svā arddh-ānśa[h*] || Nandadē-
- 14 [va-svā] arddh-ānśa[h*] || Bhāradvāja Chchhāndōg Ōrkadatta(ttō) gōttra(tra)-sahit-ādhyarddh-ānśa[h*] || Tushtidatta-svā arddh-ā-

Third Plate, Second Side

- 15 nśa[h] || Kāśyapa sagōtra-Vājasanīyī-Rishidāma-svā anśa[h*] || Śubhadāma-svā anśa[h*] || Kautsō Vājasanē-
- 16 yī-Śam(nai)ścharabhūti[r*]-gōttr ānśa[h*] || Bāhvrichō(chyō) Gaurātr[ē]ya-Sankarshana-svā dvir anśa[h*] || Nara-svā anśa[h*] || Nārāyana-

¹ From ink impressions

² The portion of the compound in the preceding plate is =*achalita nirantara pranaya rasa-bhar=āl rishita-Kāmarūpa-Lakshmi=samā*, where the last two words must be *Lakshmi samā*, see above, Vol XII, p 75.

³ For the qualities called *ābhigāmiya-guṇaḥ* see the *Nītisāra* of Kāmandaka, iv v. 6 8 and Fleet, *Cor Ins Ind*, Vol III, p 169 n

⁴ It should be noted here that both *ba* and *va* are written exactly alike in these inscriptions so the same letter has been transliterated as '*ba*' or '*va*' as the case requires.

⁵ *amśa* is often spelt '*anśa*', as the correction is apparent it has been left uncorrected after this.

⁶ *Svā*, as already stated, is apparently an abbreviation of *Svāmī* and has been left as such (i.e. unamended) after this

⁷ Here *sahitah* seems to be understood - Ed]

THIRD PLATE.

16
18
20
22
24
26
28

16
18
20
22
24
26
28

(From photographs)

a

[illegible]

b

42 42
 44 44
 46 46
 48 48
 50 50
 52 52
 54 54

(From impressions)

- 17 svā arddh-ānsa[h*] || Viṣṇu-svā ānsa[h*] || Sudarśana-svā ānsa[h*] || Gōpēndra svā ānsa[h*] || Arkka-svā ānsā[ch*]-chaturthō bhāgah
 18 Bhānu-svā [a*]rdh-ānsa[h*] || Bhūyaskarī svā arddh-ānsa[h*] || Kṛṣṇātrēyō Vāja-
 sanēyī-Yaśa(śō)bhūti-svā ||¹ gōtrā(trā) nā[h*] || Bhāradvāja-
 19 ś=Chhāndōgō Varuṇa svā ānsa[h*] || Kauṇḍinyō Vājasanēyī-Madhusūna-svā ānsa[h*] ||
 Gautamaś=Chhāndōgō
 20 Dhruvasōma svā ānsa[h*] || Viṣṇusōma-svā ānsa[h*] || Bhāradvājō Vājasanēyī-
 Viṣṇupālita-svā
 21 [a*]dhy-arddh-ānsa[h*] || Śuchipālita-svā ānsa[h*] || Mittrapālita-Ārthapālita[h*]
 arddh ānsa[h*] ||
 22 Prajāpatipālita-svā ānsāch=chaturtha-bhāga[h*] || Gautamō Vājasanēyī-Madhu-svā
 ānsa[h*] ||
 23 Chakradēva-svā ardh-ānsa[h*] || Vātsaś=Chārakyō(ah) Kūshmāndapattrā(tra) svā
 chaturth-ānsa hīna-pa(pā)da[h*] || I(Ī)śvara-
 24 datta-svā dvir-ānsa[h*] || Maudgalyō(a)-Vājasanēyī(yī)-Sudarśana-Dinakara-svāmibhyāma
 ānsa[h*] || Śaubha(na²)kō
 25 Vājasanēyī-Yajñakunda-svā [a*]dhy-arddh-ānsa[h*] || Yaśa[h*]kunda-svā pād-ādhikō-
 nā[h*] || Śrāddhakunda-svā ānsa[h*] ||
 26 Nārāyanakunda-svā ānsa[h*] || I(Ī)śvarakunda-svā arddhapād ābhyadhika(ō)-nā[h*] ||
 Śaktikunḍa-svā
 27 ānsāch=chaturtha bhāga[h*] || Tōshakunḍa svā arddhapād-ābhyadhika(ō)-nā[h*] ||
 Pārāśaryya Chārakah
 28 Sādhu svā ānsa[h*] || A(Ā)ś(śva)lāyana(na)ś=Chhāndōgō Ganga-svā ānsa[h*] || Vārāh
 Bā[h*]vrichyō Nara(?)-svā ānsa[h*] ||

Penultimate Plate, First Side.

- 29 Śa(ā)lankāyanō Vājasanēyī-Sūrya-svā ānsa[h*] | Bhāradvājō Vājasanēyī Bhavadēva-svā
 ānsa[h*] |
 30 Śarvadēva svā ānsa[h*] [|*] Gōmidēva-svā arddh-[ā]nsa[h*] | Śa(ā)vittra(tra)dēva-svā
 dvir-ānsa[h*] | Arkadēva-svā arddh-ānsa[h*] |
 31 Sādhārana-svā ānsāch=chatur³-bhāga[h*] | Gā[r*]gyō Vājasanēyī-Dāmarāta-svā ānsa[h*]
 [|*] Bhūradva(dvā)jō
 32 Vājasanēyī-Vasudattā-svā dvir-ānsa[h*] || Ālambāyanō Va(Vā)jasanēyī-Jā(Yā)gēśvara-
 svā dvir-ānsa[h*] |
 33 Viśvēśvara-svā ānsa[h*] | Divyēśvara svā ānsa[h*] | Gaṇēśvara svā ānsa[h*] |
 Buddhēśvara-svā ānsa[h*] |
 34 Jatēśvar-Āngēśvarābhyām(m) ānsa[h*] | Dhō(Dhan)tēśvara-svā ānsāch=chatur⁴-bhāga[h*] ||
 Māghēśvara-svā a[m*]śāch=chatur⁵-bha(ā)ga[h*] ||
 35 Jāhnē(hnavī)śvara-svā arddh-a(ā)nsa[h*] || Nandēśvara svā ānsa[h*] | Āngīrasō
 Vājasanēyī-Dāmaabhūti-

¹ [Dandas are unnecessary —Ed]

² The 'm' at the end of a word should not be changed into ś (anusvāra) when followed by a word begin-
 ning with a vowel yet such a change is seen here and also in some other places (eg 1 39 °bhyām
 arddhāmśah) [But the plate reads bhyah —Ed]

³ The letter 'bha' seems to be scratched and probably 'na' was attempted to be incised in its stead

⁴ The name is illegible, but it seems to be of two syllables whereof the first is like na. The name
 Nara occurs at another place also (vide 1 16 above)

⁵ [Chaturthō is expected —Ed]

- 36 svā anśa[h*] | Kāśyapō Bāhvrīchcha(chya)[h*] Prakāśavara-sva(ā) bhrātri-sahītō=
nśa[h*] | Yāskō Vājasanēyi-
37 Gāyatrī(i)pāla-svā anśa[h*] Pārāśaryō Bā¹hvrīchya[h*] Śāntaśarma-svā anśa[h*] ||
Kauśikō
38 Bāhvrīchya[h*] ||² Padmadāsa-svā gōtr-anśa[h*] || Gōvarddhana-Yajñapāla-Paṇu-
Sudarśanasvāmī-
39 bhyām(m)³ arddh-anśah Pāṅkalyaś=Chhāndōgō Gōpāla-svā anśah || Kāśyapas=
Taitta(tti)riya Ugradatta-svā
40 anśah || Bārhaspatyō Bāhvrīchyō Bhattinanta(nda)-svā amśah [[*] Sādhu-svā
amśah || [[*] Dēvakula-svā amśah ||
41 Janārdana-svā [a*]rddh-anśah | Sunayana-Nārāyana-Vrddhi-svāmibhyō-rddh-anśah ||
Gautamō Bāhvri-

Penultimate Plate, Second Side.

- 12 chya I[ī]śvarabhatta-svā amśah || Bhrigu-svā arddh-amśah || Bhāradvājō Bāhvrīchyō
Rudraghōsha-svā amśah | Kātyāyanas=Chārakah Kauśisō-
13 ma-svā amśah || Gautamō Vājasanēyi-Prabhākarakīrti-svā anśah || Śāndilyō Vājasanēyi-
Ananda(anta)-svā amśa[h*]],|
44 Śaunakō Bāhvrīchyō Gatibhatti-svā amśah || Tēja-bhatti-svā amśah || Mana(ntra)ghōsha-
Tējabhatti-Nandabhū-
45 ti-svāmibhyām (bhyā)[m=a*]rddh-amśah || Dāmabhatti-svā amśah || Mēdhabhatti-svā
amśah || Sumatibhatti-svā amśah ||
46 Suyōgabhatti-svā amśah || Vātsya Bahvrīchyō(aś)=Śāśvatadāma-svā amśa[h*] || Gauta-
maś=Chhāndōgō Tōsha-svā
47 anśah || Vārāhō Bāhvrīchyō Bhattihara-svā anśah || Bhāradvājō Vājasanēyi-
Nāgadatta-svā [a*]rddh-anśah ||
48 Ālambāyanō Dūrvēśvara-svā bhrātrā sah=ārdh-anśah || Bhāradvājō Rūpādhyā-svā
[a*]rddh-anśah || Kō(Kau)śika-
49 Bāhvrīchyō(chya)-Chandradāsa-Vimaradanadāsa-svāmīnōr=ēkō=nśah || Kās[y*]apō Vāja-
sanēyi-
50 Supratishthita-svā anśah || Gautama(ō) Nandana-svā anśah || Śākatāyanō(aś)=Tōsha-svā
51 arddh-anśah || Gautama-Kāśyapaya(yō)[s*]=Sārasa-Vakula-svāmīnōr=ēkō=nśah || Bhā-
radvājō(ja)-Vidūsha-
52 svāmīnō(r a)arddh-anśaś=ch=ēti || Bah charu-satr-ōpayōgāya sapt=ānśā[h*] || Yad=
ētat=Ko(Kau)śik=ōpachitaka-kshētram
53 tat=pra(pha)la[m*] pratigrahaka-chrā(Brā)hmanānām=ēva yat=tu Ganginy=upachitaka-
kshētram tad=yathā-likhita-
54 la-Brāhmanai[s*]=samam vibhajyatām=iti || Sīmānō yatra pūrvēna Śushka-Kauśikā ||
Pūrva-dakshi-
55 nēna s=aiva Śushka-Kauśikā Dumbarichehhēda-samva(mvē)dyā Dakshinēn=āpī Dumvarī
chchha(chchhē)da[h*] || Dakshina-⁴

ABRIDGED TRANSLATION.

To whom was exhibited, with a fast embrace, the course of love for the *ābhigāmaka-*
*gunas*⁵ [by the Lakshmī of Kāmarūpa drawn by an excessive sentiment of constant

¹ The letter ca (or ba) has also the ri sign added to it at the bottom.

² [Dandās are superfluous —Ed.]

³ [But the reading seems to be °bhyah, not °bhyām —Ed.]

⁴ For *paśchimēna*, etc., see the last plate (above, Vol. XII, p. 75)

⁵ Fleet translated it as 'the virtuous qualities of an inviting kind' See references in foot-note 3 on p. 118 above

affection]¹ who is, as it were, the breath of the holy Dharma whose person has been seized by the powerful Kali (Iron age), the abode of Politics and good qualities, the receptacle of friends, the shelter of the terrified, the abode of good luck, whose dignified power was shown by the elevated rank obtained in order of succession from (Naraka) the son of Vasumatī (Earth)—the king of kings, the illustrious **Bhāskaravarman**, in sound health, commands the present and the future district officers, as well as the courts of justice in the district of **Chandrapuri** (*thus*) let this be known to you (*all*)—that the land of the **Mayūrasālmāl-āgrahāra** (grant to Brāhmanas) lying within this district granted by issuing a copper-plate charter by king **Bhūtivarman** has become liable to revenue on account of the loss of the copper-plates, so by the Mahārāja having informed the senior respectable persons² (*and*) having issued orders for making a fresh copper plate grant, the land has been awarded to the Brāhmanas who had been enjoying the grant already in the manner of *bhūmi-chhīdra*,³ so that no tax is levied on it as long as the sun, the moon and the earth will endure These are the names of the Brāhmanas (donees).⁴ For *bali* (worship), *charu* (oblation) and *satra* (hospitality) seven shares are allotted The produce of the land that is increased by the Kauśikā (river) will go to the Brāhmanas, the donees of the grant, but the land which is enlarged by the Gaṅgī shall be equally divided by the Brāhmanas as recorded.⁵ These are the boundaries—to the east, lies the dried Kauśikā, to the south-east, that very Kauśikā marked by a (piece of) hewn fig tree, to the south even, a (piece of) hewn fig tree, to the south-west, etc, *vide* the last plate

Serial No ⁶	Vēda etc	Gōtra	Name	Share
1	Vājasanīyan (i.e., Yajurvedin)	Prāchētasā	Sādhārana svāmin (<i>paṭṭalapati</i> , i.e., holder of the copper-plates)	2
2, 3, 4, 5	Do	Do	Śrivasu with his three brothers	1
6, 7	Do	Do	Sōmavasu with his master ⁸	$\frac{1}{2}$

¹ Contains translation of the preceding portion of the compound (*vide* foot-note 2 on page 118 above)

² The reading in the text may be—*Mahārāja Jyēsthābhadrā vijñaptiā* in which case the meaning will be 'at the request of Mahārāja-Jyēsthābhadrā'

³ 'Chhīdra' means 'land not fit for cultivation' (*vide* Yādavaprakāśa's *Vaijayanī*, Bhūmikānda-Vaiśyā-dhyāya—Verse 18) 'bhūmi' or 'bhū' prefixed to 'chhīdra', is merely expletive In the copper-plate grant of Vaidyadeva (*Ep Ind*, Vol. II, p. 353, l. 51) we find '*bhūchchīdrañcha akūchitkaragrāhyam*' which indicates the meaning of '*bhūmi* (or *bhū*)-*chchīdra nyāyēna*' in copper-plate inscriptions 'like a (worthless) plot of land unfit for cultivation' Such land when granted would naturally be exempted from assessment of revenue [See Mr K M Gupta's interesting note on the words *bhūmichchīdra* and *bhūmichchīdra nyāya* in *Ind Ant*, Vol. LI (1922), pp. 77-79—Ed.]

⁴ See the list at the end

⁵ This special treatment of the accretions to the Kauśikā and the Gaṅgī most probably shows that in the time of King Bhūtivarman these boundary rivers had been streams with current and in the course of a century and quarter they became (in Bhāskaravarman's time) so much denuded of current that one got the qualifying term *kushka* (dried) prefixed to it and the other had the name Gaṅgīnikā (meaning the bed of the dried river) given to it. In such circumstances, it is impossible now, after a lapse of more than fourteen centuries from Bhūtivarman's time, to identify the locality of the grant with the help of the description of the boundary

⁶ The serial number, of course, is not to be found in the plates

⁷ Where there is no mention of the Vēda or the gōtra, it has been supposed that the immediately preceding one holds good for the case

⁸ When the number is not stated, only one individual has been presumed and the serial number also put accordingly

Serial No	Vēda etc.	Gōtra	Name.	Share
8	Chhândōga (i.e., Sāmavedin),	Kātyāyana . .	Manōrathasvāmin (<i>patlakapata</i>) . .	1½
9	Do	Do . .	Vishnughōsha-svāmin	½
10	Do .	Do, . .	Vēdaghōsha-svāmin	1
11	Bāhvrīchya (i.e. Rīgvēdm)	Yāska . .	Dāmadēva-svāmin	1 ¹
12	Do .	Do . .	Ghōshadēva-svāmin	½
13	Do	Do . .	Nandadēva svāmin	½
14	Chhândōga . .	Bhāradvāja . .	Arkadatta svāmin with his clan share .	1½
15	Do .	Do . .	Tushṭadatta-svāmin	½
16	Vājasanēyin .	Kāśyapa	Rishidāma-svāmin	1
17	Do .	Do . .	Subhadāma-svāmin	1
18	Do . .	Kautsa . .	Śanaīścharabhūti	1½ ² (clan share)
19	Bāhvrīchya .	Gaurātrēya .	San̄karsapa-svāmin	2
20	Do	Do . .	Nara-svāmin	1
21	Do .	Do . .	Nārāyana-svāmin	½
22	Do	Do	Vishṇu-svāmin	1
23	Do .	Do . .	Sudarsana-svāmin	1
24	Do	Do .	Gōpēndra-svāmin	1
25	Do .	Do	Arka-svāmin	½
26	Do . .	Do, .	Bhānu svāmin	½
27	Do . .	Do	Bhūyaskara-svāmin	½
28	Vājasanēyin .	Krishnātrēya	Yasōbhūti-svāmin	1½ (clan share)
29	Chhândōga .	Bhāradvāja .	Varuṇa-svāmin	1
30	Vājasanēyin	Kaupḍinya	Madhusēna-svāmin	1
31	Chhândōga . .	Gautama	Dhruvasōma-svāmin	1
32	Do	Do	Vishṇusōma svāmin	1
33	Vājasanēyin	Bhāradvāja	Vishṇupālita svāmin	1½
34	Do	Do .	Suchipālita-svāmin	1
35, 36	Do	Do	Mitrāpālita and Arthapālita	½
37	Do	Do	Prajāpatipālita svāmin .	½

¹ When only 'amśah' (share) is stated, 'one share' has been presumed in the preceding case (serial 10), *ekāmśah* (one share) is clearly mentioned, but for brevity's sake *ēka* (one) has been omitted in subsequent cases.

² 'Gōtrāmśah' (clan share) seems to be an abbreviation of 'gōtra-sahit-ādhy-arāh-āmśah' (one and half shares with clan share), as in serial No. 14 above, so here, as also in other places, 'gōtrāmśah' is taken to mean 1½ shares. It is not, however, clear what 'gōtrāmśah' indicates: it is given only in a few cases either to the sole representative of a gōtra or to the head of the gōtra.

Serial No	Vēda etc	Gōtra.	Name	Share
38	Vājasanēyin .	Gautama .	Madhu-svāmin . .	1
39	Do . .	Do .	Chakradēva svāmin . .	$\frac{1}{2}$
40	Chāraka (i.e., Yaj- urvēdin) ¹	Vātsa .	Kūshmāndapatra-svāmin	$\frac{2}{16}$
41	Do .	Do .	Isvaradatta-svāmin . .	2
42, 43	Vājasanēyin .	Maudgalya . .	Sudarśana and Dinakara svāmins	1
44	Do .	Saubhaka (? Saunaka)	Yajñakunda svāmin .	$1\frac{1}{2}$
45	Do .	Do .	Yasōkunda-svāmin .	$1\frac{1}{4}$
46	Do .	Do .	Śrāddhakunda svāmin	1
47	Do .	Do .	Nārāyaṇakunda-svāmin	1
48	Do .	Do .	Īśvarakunda-svāmin	$1\frac{1}{4}$
49	Do . .	Do .	Śaktikunda-svāmin	$\frac{1}{2}$
50	Do .	Do .	Tōshakunda-svāmin	$1\frac{1}{4}$
51	Chāraka .	Pārāsarya . .	Sādhu svāmin .	1
52	Chhāndōga	Āśvalāyana .	Ganga-svāmin .	1
53	Bāhvichya	Vārāha .	Nara svāmin . . .	1
54	Vājasanēyin .	Śālanakāyana .	Sūryya svāmin . .	1
55	Do . .	Bhāradvāja .	Bhavadvāja-svāmin .	1
56	Do .	Do .	Śarvadēva-svāmin . . .	1
57	Do .	Do .	Gōmidvāja svāmin .	$\frac{1}{2}$
58	Do .	Do .	Sāvitradēva-svāmin . . .	2
59	Do .	Do .	Arkadvāja svāmin .	$\frac{1}{2}$
60	Do .	Do .	Sādhārana svāmin .	$\frac{1}{2}$
61	Do .	Gārgya .	Dāmarāta svāmin	1
62	Do .	Bhāradvāja .	Vasudatta-svāmin . .	2
63	Do .	Ālambāyana .	Yāgēśvara svāmin .	2
64	Do .	Do .	Viśvāśvara-svāmin .	1
65	Do .	Do .	Divyēśvara-svāmin .	1
66	Do .	Do .	Ganēśvara svāmin .	1
67	Do .	Do .	Buddhēśvara-svāmin .	1
68, 69	Do .	Do .	Jatēśvara and Angēśvara-svāmins	1
70	Do .	Do .	Dhātēśvara-svāmin . . .	$\frac{1}{2}$

¹ It is stated in the *Bhāgavata-Purāna* that Chāraka was a disciple of Vaisampāyana who was a Yajurvēdin (vide verses 52 and 61 of Chap VI, Sk XII).

Serial No	Vēda etc.	Gōitra	Name	Share.
71	Vāsanēyin . .	Ālambāyana . .	Māghēsvara-svāmin . . .	$\frac{1}{2}$
72	Do. . .	Do . . .	Jāhnavīśvara-svāmin . . .	$\frac{1}{2}$
73	Do. . .	Do . . .	Nandēsvara-svāmin . . .	1
74	Do . . .	Āngīrasa . . .	Dāmabhūti-svāmin . . .	1
75, 76	Bāhvīchya . .	Kāśyapa . . .	Prakāśvara-svāmin with brother . .	1
77	Vājanāyēyin . .	Yāska . . .	Gāyatripāla-svāmin . . .	1
78	Bāhvīchya . .	Pārāsarya . . .	Śāntaśarma-svāmin . . .	1
79	Do . . .	Kauśika . . .	Padmadēsa-svāmin . . .	$1\frac{1}{2}$
80, 81	Do . . .	Do . . .	Gōvardhana Yajñapāla and Paṇu Sudar- śana-svāmīns ¹	$\frac{1}{2}$ (olan share)
82	Chhāndōga . .	Pānkalya . . .	Gōpāla-svāmin . . .	1
83	Taittirīya (Yajur vēdin)	Kāśyapa . . .	Ugradatta-svāmin . . .	1
84	Bāhvīchya . .	Vārhaspatya . .	Bhāttananda svāmin . . .	1
85	Do . . .	Do. . .	Sādhu-svāmin . . .	1
86	Do . . .	Do . . .	Dēvakula svāmin . . .	1
87	Do . . .	Do . . .	Janārdana-svāmin . . .	$\frac{1}{2}$
88, 89, 90	Do . . .	Do . . .	Sunayana, Nārāyaṇa and Vṛddhu- svāmīns	$\frac{1}{2}$
91	Do . . .	Gautama . . .	Īśvarabhāṭṭa svāmin . . .	1
92	Do . . .	Do . . .	Bhṛigu svāmin . . .	$\frac{1}{2}$
93	Do . . .	Bhāradvāja . .	Rudraghōsha svāmin . . .	1
94	Chāraka . . .	Kātyāyana . .	Kauśīsōma svāmin . . .	1
95	Vājanāyēyin . .	Gautama . . .	Prabhākarakīrtti svāmin . . .	1
96	Do . . .	Śāndilya . . .	Ananta svāmin . . .	1
97	Bāhvīchya . .	Saunaka . . .	Gatibhāṭṭi svāmin . . .	1
98	Do . . .	Do . . .	Tējabhāṭṭi svāmin . . .	1
99 & 100	Do . . .	Do . . .	Mantraghōsha, Tējabhāṭṭi and Nandi- bhūti svāmīns. ²	$\frac{1}{2}$
101	Do . . .	Do . . .	Dāmabhāṭṭi svāmin . . .	1
102	Do . . .	Do . . .	Mēdhabhāṭṭi svāmin . . .	1
103	Do . . .	Do . . .	Sumatibhāṭṭi svāmin . . .	1
104	Do . . .	Do . . .	Suyōgabhāṭṭi svāmin . . .	1

¹ If it were not for the dual sign 'bhāṣm' after these names, these would be considered as three persons or not four. This 'bhāṣm', however, may be an error for 'bhāṣā', as 'am' and 'ā' marks are easily interchangeable (vide inscription, penultimate plate, ll 33 and 34) [See f n 3 on p 120 above—Ed.]

² Mantraghōsha (or Mandraghōsha)—the word in the plate is Managhōsha [or Mañju—Ed]—seems to be an adjective to Tējabhāṭṭi, probably to distinguish him from the preceding Tējabhāṭṭi (serial No 98),

Serial No	Vēda etc	Gōtra	Name.	Share
105	Bāhvr̥chya .	Vātsya .	Śāśvatadāma svāmin	1
106	Chhāndōga	Gautama .	Tōsha-svāmin	1
107	Bāhvr̥chya	Vārāha .	Bhattabara svāmin	1
108	Vājasanēyin . .	Bhāradvāja . .	Nāgadatta-svāmin	$\frac{1}{2}$
109, 110	Do .	Ālambāyana .	Dūrvēsvara-svāmin with brother	$\frac{1}{2}$
111	Do	Bhāradvāja .	Rūpādhyā svāmin	$\frac{1}{2}$
112, 113	Bāhvr̥chya .	Kauśika . .	Chandradāsa and Vimardanadāsa svāmins	1
114	Vājasanēyin .	Kāśyapa . .	Supratishthita svāmin	1
115	Do . .	Gautama . .	Nandana-svāmin	1
116	Do .	Śākatāyana . .	Tōsha svāmin	$\frac{1}{2}$
117, 118	Do	Gautama and Kāśyapa	Sarasa and Vakula-svāmins	1
119	Do .	Bhāradvāja .	Vidūsha svāmin	$\frac{1}{2}$

No 20 —THE SECOND HALF OF A VALABHI GRANT OF SAMVAT 210.

BY D B DISKALKAR, M.A., RAJKOT

The plate published below was discovered in 1894 in [the small town of *Iyāveja* which lies 10 miles to the south-west of *Pālitāna* in the *Gohelwār prānt* of *Kāthiawār* It was found by Mr. Tudor Owen, I C S, the Administrator of the *Pālitāna* State some years ago, and is now preserved in the Watson Museum at Rajkot. As is clearly shown by the measurements, the distance between the holes of the ring, the characters and the opening words, it must be the second half of the grant the first half of which has already appeared in Vol XVII, pp 108 ff., of this journal,

The present plate, containing 15 lines of writing in clear and bold characters, is like the first one in an excellent state of preservation There are comparatively few grammatical mistakes found in the inscription The *sandhi* rules are many times not observed. The sign for *upadh-mānīya* is found in lines 2, 5 and 6

The grant issued by Dhruvasēna I, as may be seen from the first plate¹ and from the year 210 in this plate, when as many as four other grants² were issued by him, makes a gift in the follow

¹ *Ep Ind*, Vol. XVII, p 108

² (1) *Ep Ind*, XV, p. 255.

(2) *Ind Ant*, XXXIX, p 130 and *Ep Ind*, XI, p 109

(3) *Ind Ant*, XXXIX, p 130 and *Ep Ind*, XI, p 112,

(4) *J B B. R. A S (N. S*, Vol I), p 65.

ing way : (a) a hundred *pādārttas* in the south-east quarter of the village Bhadrēmkā in the Surāśhtrā to a Brāhmana named Śāntīśarman, resident of Nagaraka and of the Ātrīya-gōtra¹ and the Vājasanēya-śākhā, (b) a hundred *pādārttas* as well as a *vāpībhōllara* with an area of twelve *pādārttas* in the same quarter, to Dēvaśarman, brother of the same (Brāhmana)

The meaning of *vāpībhōllara* cannot be definitely given, but it seems to denote 'an unused well filled with earth'

The *Dūtaka* who executed the present grant was Rudradhara. It may be mentioned that in the grants of Dhruvasēna I, preceding the present one, the *Dūtaka* is found to be Mammaka, while in this and in the subsequent grants he is Rudradhara. The writer, as in the preceding and the subsequent grants of the king, is Kikkaka

TEXT :

- 1 सनेयसन्नह्यचारिणे तथा अस्यैव भ्रात्रे देवशर्मणे अस्यामेव सोमि
- 2 पादावर्त्तशत वापीभोन्नरं च द्वादशपादावर्त्तपरिसरं मया मातापित्रो
⊕ पुण्याप्याय-
- 3 ना[या*]त्मनश्चैहिकामुष्मिकयथाभिलषितफलावासिनिमित्तमाचन्द्राकर्णवच्चित्तिस्थि-
तिसरि-
- 4 त्पर्वतसमकालीनं पुत्रपौत्रान्वयभोग्यं बलिचरुवैश्यु(श्च)देवाद्यानां क्रियाणा[*]
समुत्स-
- 5 र्पणात्तर्ह्यमुदकातिसर्गेण निवृष्ट यतो नयो⊕ पूर्ववत्तद्वदेयस्थित्या भुञ्जतोः कृपतोः[*]
- 6 कर्षापयतो⊕ प्रदिशतोर्षा न कैश्चित्स्वल्पाप्यावाधा विचारणा वा कार्या-
स्मद्वशजैश्चा-
- 7 गामिन्टपतिभिरपि अनित्यान्यैश्वर्याणि अस्मिन् मानुष्यं स[र्व*]सामान्य भूमि-
दानम् ।³
- 8 ल(ल)मवगच्छद्भिरयमस्मद्दायोनुमन्तव्यः यथाच्छिद्यादाच्छिद्यमान वानुमोदे[त*]
- 9 स पचभिः महाप[ि*]तकैः सोपपातकैः सयुक्तस्यादिति— अपि चात्र-
व्यासगीत-
- 10 श्लोका भवन्ति— षष्ठि(ष्टि) ॥⁴षेसहस्राणि स्वर्गे मोदति भूमिदः [1*]
अच्छेत्ता वानुमन्ता च
- 11 तान्येव नरकं वसेत्—[॥ १*] स्वदत्ता परदत्ता वा यो हरेत वसुधरा [1*]
स⁵ गवा शतसहस्र-
- 12 स्य हन्तुः प्राप्नोति किल्बिष(त्वि)षम् [॥ २*] बहुभिर्वसुधा भुक्ता राजभिः
सगरादिभिः [1*] यस्य यस्य

¹ So much account of the first grantee is known from the first plate. This must be read in continuation of text l 15 on p 109 of this journal, Vol XVII

² From the original plate

³ Read व in place of ि

⁴ *Danda* is superfluous

⁵ [Superfluous — Ed.]

Handwritten text in Devanagari script, likely a manuscript page. The text is written in a cursive style and is arranged in approximately 14 horizontal lines. The script is dark and appears to be on aged paper or parchment. The text is a form of Sanskrit or a related language, written in a historical style.

2
4
6
8
10
12
14

2
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14

- 13 यदा भूमिस्तस्य तदा फलमिति(म् ॥ ३ इति) = सं २०० १०
 भ(१*)द्रपद वदि ८ . . [१*]
 14 स्वहस्तो मम महासामन्तमहाराजध्रुवसेनस्य— दूतको रुद्रधरः [१*] लिखित
 किक(क)-
 15 केन [१*]

No 21 —THE SOHAWAL COPPER-PLATE INSCRIPTION OF MAHARAJA
 SARVANATHA—THE YEAR 191

By R. R. HALDER, RAJPUTANA MUSEUM, AJMER

This inscription, which is published here for the first time, was discovered at **Sohāwal** in the Baghelkhand tract of the Central India Agency. It records a grant engraved on two copper-plates, which were brought to the Rājputāna Museum, Ajmer, by Thākur Sāheb Gopal Singh of Kharwā (in Ajmer-Merwāra) for decipherment. An abstract of the contents of the inscription was published by Rai Bahadur Gourishankar Hirachand Ojha, Curator of the Museum, in the *Annual Report* of the Museum for the year ending 31st March 1924.

The copper-plates are bored at the top, and their thick as well as somewhat raised edges have largely contributed towards the excellent preservation of the writing on them. The ring, which must have passed through the hole, and the seal, if there was any, are missing. The first plate bears inscription on one side only, while the other on both the sides, though it contains only five lines of writing on the back. The plates measure $7\frac{1}{2} \times 5\frac{1}{8}$ " each and weigh about 2½ lbs or 95 tolas. The average size of the letters is $\frac{1}{4}$ ".

The characters belong to the northern class of alphabets (*Gupta-lipi*), being almost similar to those of the Allahābād pillar inscription of Samudragupta. Excepting the usual benedictory and imprecatory verses which occur in ll 21-27, the document is written in **Sanskrit prose**.

As regards orthography, some of the points may be noted here —

- (1) Corsorants are mostly doubled when combined (i) with a superscript *r*, as for instance, in °श्रव्वेनायः (l 7), °चन्द्राक्क° (l 9), °वर्जितः (l 10), गर्त्ता (l 32), कर्दमिला° or °आवर्त्त° (l 33), etc., and (ii) with a subscript *r*, as in पुत्त° (ll 1, 2, 4, etc.), °विग्राहिक° (l 29), यत्त (l 32), etc. (2) The conjunct consonant **ड** is employed with the subscript *y* in °अनुडयातो (ll 3, 4, 5 and 6), (3) the occasional use of *ba* for *va*, as in °परदत्ताम्बा (l 21), सखत्सर° (l 27), and *vice versa*, as in बलि° (l 15) and °वलाधिकृत° (l 30), (4) the use of *n* instead of *anusāra* before *ś*, as in कारुन्श्च (l 8), °असहन्शो° (l 17), and before *l* in °दत्तिन्लोप° (l 19), (5) the use of *n* instead of *ण* in प्रायेन (l 22), and (6) the use of *upadhmaniya* in °सपञ्चभि° (l 19).

The genealogy given in the record is identical with the one usually found in the grants¹ of Śarvanātha, and the text is also similar

This inscription is also a charter of Mahārāja Śarvanātha which was issued from Uchchakalpa. Its object is to record that Mahārāja Śarvanātha granted the village of Vaiśyavātaka, as an *agrahāra* on certain conditions herein laid down, for the maintenance of the temple of Kīrtikēya, to two individuals named Viśākhadatta and Śakti. The date is given in words and reads as the year one hundred and ninety-one, and the tenth day of the intercalary month of Āshādha (June-July). Assuming that the era used is of the Gupta reckoning, the year of the issue of the grant would correspond to 510-511 A.D. The document was written by Mahāsāndhivigrahika Manōratha, the son of the Bhōgika Varāhadinna (=Skt Varāhadatta) and the grandson of the Bhōgika, the Amātya Phālgudatta, the Dūkata being the Mahābalādhrīta, the Kshatriya Śivagupta. These persons are identical with those mentioned in the Khoh copper-plate inscription of Śarvanātha.²

The Mahārājas of Uchchakalpa ruled over the territories lying to the east and south-east of Bundelkhand (i.e., in Baghelkhand³) at the time when the Parivrājaka Mahārājas ruled over modern Bundelkhand⁴ and its vicinity. Uchchakalpa was probably the name of their capital. The inscriptions of these rulers do not help us much to know the history of their family. These chiefs seem to have been the tributaries of the Vākātaka rulers of the Central Provinces⁵ and Northern Deccan.⁷

Till now, four copper-plate inscriptions of Mahārāja Śarvanātha have been discovered. Of these, three are dated in the years 193, 197 and 214, or A.D. 512-13, 516-17 and 533-34 respectively. No document of the successor of Śarvanātha has yet been found. The present grant is the earliest known record for this king.

Antiquarians seem to differ in regard to the era to which the dates of these inscriptions belong. Prof. Kielhorn was inclined to refer them to the Kalachuri era.⁸ R. B. Gourishankar, H. Ojha is of opinion that they should be referred to the Gupta and not to the Kalachuri⁹ era, and I quite agree with him. My reason for holding this view is that the stone pillar inscription at Bhumarū¹⁰ makes it certain that Mahārāja Hastin of the Parivrājaka family and Śarvanātha were contemporaries, and the date of Hastin's inscription refers to the Gupta era.¹¹

I am unable to identify Vaiśyavātaka, Dandapālī, Gavāyanagartikā and the river Kardamulā mentioned in the document.

¹ *Corp. Ins. Ind.*, Vol. III, Nos. 28 and 29.

² *Ibid.*, No. 30.

³ Fleet's *Gup. Ins.*, p. 125.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 114.

⁵ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. IV, p. 103. Dr. Barnett supposes them to be the feudatories of the Guptas, [*Antiquities of India*, p. 47], while Dr. Fleet, of the Kalachuri kings, [*Gup. Ins.*, p. 8 (preface)].

⁶ Fleet's *Gup. Ins.*, Nos. 55 and 56. Barnett, *Ant. of India*, p. 51.

⁷ बाकाटके राजति देवसेने गु[र्वा]षिकीशो भुवि उल्लिख्य [॥]

Inscriptions from the cave temples of Western India, by Dr. J. Burgess and Pt. B. Indrajit, p. 89.

⁸ *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. V, Appendix, p. 55, C. 337 and 392.

⁹ *Rajputana Museum Report*, 1923-24, p. 2.

¹⁰ *O. I. I.*, Vol. III, p. 110.

¹¹ For Dr. Fleet's views on the question see *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XIX, p. 225. See Prof. G. J. Dubrow's remarks on the dates of inscriptions of the Uchchakalpas in the *Ind. Ant.*, 1926, p. 103—Ed.]

TEXT.¹

First Plate

- 1 [श्री]² स्वस्त्युक्तकल्या³महाराजौघदेवस्तस्य पुत्रस्तत्पादानुद्धा[तो] महादे[व्या]
 2 कुमारदेव्यामुत्पन्नो महाराजकुमारदेवस्तस्य पुत्रस्तत्पादा-
 3 नुद्धातो महादेव्या जयस्वामिन्यामुत्पन्नो महाराजजयस्वामी [1*] त[स्य]
 4 पुत्रस्तत्पादानुद्धातो महादेव्या रामदेव्यामुत्पन्नो महाराजव्याघ्र[ः] [1*]
 5 तस्य पुत्रस्तत्पादानुद्धातो महादेव्यामज्जितदेव्यामुत्पन्नो महाराज-
 6 जयनाथस्तस्य पुत्रस्तत्पादानुद्धातो महादेव्या⁴ सुरण्डदेव्यामुत्प-
 7 न्नो महाराजशर्वनाथः कुशली वैश्यवाटके ब्राह्मणादीन्कुटुम्बि-
 8 नस्सर्व्वकारू⁵न्व समाज्ञापयति [1*] विदित(त) वोस्तु यथैष ग्रामो
 9 मयाचन्द्रार्कममकालिक[ः सो]द्रङ्गः सोपरिकरः अचाटभट-
 10 प्रावेश्यः हलिकाकरममेतः चौरदण्डवर्जितः उत्तरापथेय⁶खाथाना-
 11 पुत्रविशाखदत्तशक्तिभ्या एतत्पुत्र[पौत्र*]प्रपौत्रतत्पुत्राद्यनुक्रमेण⁷ तास-
 12 शासनेनाग्रहारत्वेनातिस्थष्टः⁸ [1*] आभ्यामपि मया[नु]मोदितकं यथो-
 13 [प]रिलिखितकक्रमेणैव स्वपुण्याभिवृद्धये स्वप्रतिष्ठापितकभगव⁹त-
 14 स्वामिकार्त्तिकेयस्वामिपादाना खण्डफु¹⁰ट्टप्रतिस(स)स्कारकरणाय
 15 व¹¹लिचरुमत्तगन्धधूपदीपतैलप्रवर्त्तनाय चातिष्ठष्टः [1*]

Second Plate, First Sule

- 16 ते¹² यूयमेषा समुचितभागभोगकगहिरण्यादिप्रत्यायो[प]न[य] करि-
 17 यथाज्ञाश्रवणविधेयाश्च भविष्यथ [1*] ये चास्मद¹³न्शोत्पद्यमानकराजान[ः]
 18 तैरियन्दत्तिर्न विलोप्यानुमोदनीया [1*] यथाकालञ्च प्रतिपालनीया [1*]
 19 समुचितराजाभाव्यकरप्रत्यायाश्च न ग्राह्या [1*] य र(इ)मान्द¹⁴त्तिन्लोपयेत्सप-
 20 च्चभिर्महापातकैरुपपातकैश्च सयुक्तस्यादुक्तञ्च महाभारते

¹ From the original plate² Read °कल्यामहाराजौ°³ °उत्तरापथेय is not a correct Sanskrit word but it might have been formed on the analogy of रामेय⁴ Add उपभोग्य after क्रमेण⁵ Read °भगवत्°⁶ Read °हलि°⁷ Read °वृष्टो°⁸ Read दत्त कोपयेत्स पञ्चभि°⁹ This is expressed by a symbol¹⁰ Read °देव्या¹¹ Read °कार्य¹² Read °सृष्ट¹³ Read °सृष्टित°¹⁴ Read तेन

- 21 भगवता वेदव्यासेन व्यासेन [1*] ¹स्वदत्ताम्परदत्ताम्बा² यत्राद्रक्ष युधिष्ठि-
 22 र [1*] महोम्महीम³ताञ्जोष्ठ दानाच्छ्रेयोतुपालनं [॥ 1*] प्रायेन⁴ हि नरेन्द्राणा विद्य-
 23 ते न शुभा गतिः [1*] पूयन्ते ते तु सततं प्रयच्छन्तो वसुन्धरां [॥ 2*] बहुभि-
 24 र्वसुधा भुक्ता राजभिः सगरादिभिः [1*] यस्य यस्य यदा भूमिस्तस्य तस्य
 25 तदा फल [॥ 3*] षष्ठि⁵ वर्षसहस्राणि स्वर्गे मोदति भूमिदः [1*] आच्छेत्ता चानु-
 26 मन्ता च तान्येव नर[के] व⁶सत्सर्वस्यसमृद्धान्तु यो हरेत वसुन्धरां [1*]
 27 श्वविष्टाया कृमिर्भूत्वा⁷ पितृभिस्सह मज्जते [॥ 5*] लिखितं सम्ब⁸भर-
 28 शते एकनवत्युत्तरे द्विराषाढमासदिवसे दशमे भोगिकफाल्गु-
 29 दत्तामात्यनम्रा भोगिकवराहदिनपुत्रेण महासाम्भिविग्रहिक-
 30 मनोरथेन [1*] दूतक⁹र्महावलाधिकृतचक्षियशिवगुप्तः [1*]

Second Plate; Second Side.

- 31 हलिकाकरप्रतिमोचनाभिलेखायानेपि दूतकः उपरिक-
 32 मातृशिव. [1*] आघाटा, यच्च उत्तरस्यां दिशि गर्ता यावत्सन्मुखः[:]¹
 33 पूर्व्वेण कर्दमिलानदी दक्षिणेन गर्ता पुनः पुनरावर्त्तकेन यावत्सन्मुखः.²
 34 गवायनगर्तिकाग्रामसमीपे कच्छको मध्य[मे]¹⁰ गर्तायाः दक्षिणामुखी
 35 दण्डपाली ग्रामस्य पश्चिमे[न] यावदपरा गर्तेति ॥

TRANSLATION.

Lines 1-8 Ōm ' Hail ' From *Uchchakalpa*—(There was) the Mahārāja Ōghadēva. His son, who meditated on his feet, (was) the Mahārāja Kumāradēva, born of the Mahādēvi Kumāradēvi. His son, who meditated on his feet, (was) the Mahārāja Jayasvāmin, born of the Mahādēvi Jayasvāminī. His son, who meditated on his feet, (was) the Mahārāja Vyāghra, born of the Mahādēvi Rāmadēvi. His son, who meditated on his feet, (was) the Mahārāja Jayanātha, born of the Mahādēvi Ajjitadēvi. His son, who meditated on his feet, the Mahārāja Śarvanātha, born of Mahādēvi Murundadēvi, being in good health, issues a command to Brahmans and others, householders, and all the artisans at (the village of) *Vaśyavātaka*—

Ll 8-12 " Be it known to you that this village is granted by me in a copper edict as an *agrahāra* to *Vśākṣhadatta* and *Śakti*, sons of *Khāthānā* of *Uttarāpatha*, (to be enjoyed by) their sons, (grandsons), great-grandsons and their sons, (and) to last as long as the moon and the sun will endure (i.e., in perpetuity), with the *udranga* and the *uparikara*, (and with the privilege that it is) not to be entered by the irregular or the regular troops, with (the right to) taxes on ploughs, (but) with the exception of (the right to) fines imposed on thieves

¹ The metre of this and the following four verses is *Anushtubh*

² Read परदत्ता वा

⁴ Read प्रायेण

⁵ Read वसेत् [॥ 4*] सर्व°

⁶ Read दूतकी महावलाधिकृत°

¹⁰ [Why not मध्य°]

³ Read महोम्मतां येष्ठ.

⁴ Read षष्ठि

⁷ Read सवत्सर°

⁸ Read सम्बल,

SOHAWAL COPPER-PLATE INSCRIPTION OF SARVANATHA, THE YEAR 191.

2

2 4 6 8 10 12 14

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20 21 22 23 24 25 26 27 28 29 30

31 32 33 34 35 36 37 38 39 40 41 42 43 44 45 46 47 48 49 50 51 52 53 54 55 56 57 58 59 60 61 62 63 64 65 66 67 68 69 70 71 72 73 74 75 76 77 78 79 80 81 82 83 84 85 86 87 88 89 90 91 92 93 94 95 96 97 98 99 100

na

16 18 20 22 24 26 28 30

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20 21 22 23 24 25 26 27 28 29 30 31 32 33 34 35 36 37 38 39 40 41 42 43 44 45 46 47 48 49 50 51 52 53 54 55 56 57 58 59 60 61 62 63 64 65 66 67 68 69 70 71 72 73 74 75 76 77 78 79 80 81 82 83 84 85 86 87 88 89 90 91 92 93 94 95 96 97 98 99 100

Ll 12-20 "Moreover, it is also given to them according to the same terms as mentioned above (and) confirmed by me, for the increase of my own merits, for repairs to whatever may be worn out or broken (in the temple) of Lord Kūrtikēya established by me, as also for the maintenance of *bali*, *charu*, *sattra*, perfumes, incense, lamps, and oil

"Therefore, you yourselves shall offer to these persons (donees) shares, the tribute of the customary royalties, taxes, gold, etc., and shall be obedient to (their) commands

"And this grant shall not be confiscated by those kings who will be born in our family, (but) should be assented to, and preserved, as in the (previous) time (And) the tribute of the taxes which by custom should not belong to the king, should not be taken¹

"Whosoever confiscates this grant—he shall be contaminated with (the guilt of) the five great sins and the minor sins"

[Ll 20 27 The usual benedictory and imprecatory verses]

Ll 27 ff (This charter) has been written, in a century of years, increased by ninety-one, on the tenth day of the second month of Āshādhā, by the *Mahāśāndhivagrahika* Manōratha, the grandson of the *Bhōgila*, the *Amālya Phālgudatta*, (and) the son of the *Bhōgika Varāhadinna*. The *Dūtala* (is) the *Mahābalādhikṛita*, the Kshatriya Śivagupta. Moreover the *Dūtala*, in the matter of conveying the letter (ordering) the remission of taxes on ploughs, (is) the *Upārika Mātrāsiva*.

The boundaries (are) —in the north, a boundary-trench as far as (its) mouth. On the east, the river Kardamillā. On the south, again (there is) a trench with a winding course up to (its) mouth. Near the village Gavāyanagartikā (there is) a low hill (*lachehhalā*)² in the middle of the trench facing Dandapālī³ towards the south. On the west of the village, there is a western trench

No 22.—PEYALABANDA GRANT OF KRISHNARAYA

By Y. R. Gurte, B.A., M.R.A.S.

These copper-plates, which belong to Mr Archaka Venkatachar, were obtained on loan by the Tahsildar of Rāyadrug for the Assistant Archaeological Superintendent for Epigraphy, Southern Circle, Madras, who noticed the record incised on them in his *Annual Report on Epigraphy* for 1913⁴. The following is an extract from the description of the plates he has given there —“The plates which are well preserved are held together by a ring with a seal which bears on its counter-sunk surface the figure of a boar facing the proper right. The plates measure on an average about 7½" from side to side and about 11½" from the highest point in the curved top to the bottom.”

The language of the record is Sanskrit verse throughout, with the exception of lines 88 to 98 which are written in Kanarese prose. The alphabet is Nandināgarī of the period to which the inscription belongs, i.e., about the 16th century A.D. As regards orthography, the record contains most of the peculiarities and defects common to the Vijayanagara grants of the period, which need not be mentioned here.

¹ [Apparently from Fleet's *O. I. I.*, Vol. III, p. 129 —Fd.]

² *Dongar* in Central Hindi and Marāṭhī

³ Probably 'a row of bars', or 'a bridge'

⁴ See p. 13, Appendix A, No. 7

Omitting that portion of the grant which is common to the Hampi¹ and the Conjeevaram² records, which have already been published, we find that the inscription, incised on these plates, refers to the reign of king **Kṛṣṇanārāya** of the second Vijayanagara dynasty and records the grant of the village **Pēyalabanda**, also named **Kṛṣṇanārāyapuram**, which was situated within the limits of the principality of **Nadugalla**, to **Nṛsiṃhādhvārīśarman**, son of **Pañchāṅga-Vishna(śnu)yajvārya** of the *Agastya-gōtra* and the *Bōdhāyana-sūtra*. It describes the donee as having commented on all the *sūtras* and performed the *Sarvakratu* sacrifice.

The date given in the charter is **pūrṇimā** of the month of **Vaiśākha** in the **Śaka** year **1446** corresponding to the cyclic year **Tārana**. It is regular and, according to the late Mr. L. D. Swamikannu Pillai's *Ephemers*, equivalent to **18th April 1524 A.D.**, Monday.

Of the places mentioned in the grant, **Pēyalabanda** is evidently **Pulbanda** in the **Madakshira Taluk** of the **Anantapur District** and **Kurrubasivara** is apparently **Palāśivaram**. The latter might have been called **Kurrubasivara** because of its being inhabited by shepherds (**Kurrubas**).

TEXT

[For the first 28 stanzas, which are here omitted, see above, Vol. I, pp. 363 ff., and also Vol. XIII, pp. 126 ff.]

Second Plate, Second Side.

- * * * * *
64. * * * * * [२८*] शालिवाहननिर्णी-
65. ते शकाद्वे सचतुःशतैः । षट्त्वारिंशदधिकैः सख्याते द-
66. शभि शते ।। २९*] तारणे वत्सरे मामि वैशाखे पौर्णमासि-
67. थौ [*] तुगभद्रा[नदी*]तीरे श्रीविरूपाक्षमनिधौ ।। ३०*] अगस्ता(स्त्य)गो-
68. त्रजाताय श्रीबोधायनस्त्रिणे । याजुषाध्यायिने
69. वेदवेदातागमवेदिने ।। ३१*] पंचाग्निविष्णु(ष्णु)यज्वार्यसूत्रवे
70. जितमन्यवे । सर्वकृत(तु)महायागयाजिने जितवादिने ।। ३२*]
71. क्वा(व्या)ख्यातो(ता)खिलशास्त्राय विख्याताय महात्मने । द्विज-
72. श्रेष्ठा(ष्ठा)य शाताय नृसिंहाध्वरिश्मणे ।। ३३*] नडुगल्लाख्यदु-
73. र्गस्य राज्ये प्राज्ये प्रतिष्ठि(ष्ठि)ता [*] कूर्बशिवरसीमायां
74. रम्याया विहितस्थिति ।। ३४*] कंकरेनामकाङ्गामादि(दि)शि
75. प्राच्यां प्रतिष्ठि(ष्ठि)त । हलूरुनामकाङ्गामाद(द) दक्षिणस्या
76. दिशि स्थित ।। ३५*] महतो दंडमार्गात्तु(त्तु) प्रतीचीं दिशमाश्रित [*] क(कु)
77. र्बशिवरसन्नान्तु ग्रामादुत्तरतः स्थित ।। ३६*] ग्रामं पेयलवं-
78. डाख्य प्रथितं शुभमुत्तम । कृष्णरायपुरं चेति प्रतिनामो-

¹ Above, Vol. I, pp. 363 ff.

² Above, Vol. XIII, pp. 126 ff.

- 79 पशोभितं ।[। ३७*] सर्वमान्यं चतुःसीमासंयुतं च समततः ।
 80 सर्वदा सर्वसस्याद्य गृह्यारामादिसंयुतं । [। ३८*] निधिनि-
 81 क्षेपपाषाणायष्टभोगैः समा(म)न्वितं । विविधैश्च फलेयुं-
 82 क्तमेकभोग्यं सभूरुहं ।[। ३९*] वापीकूपतटाकैश्च कच्छेनापि स-
 83 मं(म)न्वितं । पुत्रपौत्रादिभिर्भोग्यं क्रमादाचद्रा(द्र)तारकं ।[। ४०*] दा-
 84 नस्याधमनस्यापि विक्रयस्यापि चोचितं । परीत[*] प्रय-
 85 तै[*] स्त्रिधै.(धैः) पुरोहितपुरोगमैः ।[। ४१*] वीरश्रीलक्षणदेवेंद्रमहारा-
 86 यी महामना[.] । दक्षिणासहितं धारापूर्वकं दत्तवान्मुदा ।[। ४२*] तै-
 87 स्ते समंततः(तो)श्चिह्नैर्दिक्षु(दिक्षु) प्राच्यादिषु क्रमातु(त्) । सीमैतस्या-
 88 ग्रहारस्य लिख्यते देशभाषया ।[। ४३*] ईपेयलवंडेय अग्रहा-
 89 रद चतु[*]सीमेवलयशासनद विवर । ग्रामद ईशान्यद ।
 90 क्ष [ट]डिनदारिय पडुवलु दोड्डकरियगुंडिलि वरद
 91 वामनमुद्रे । अक्षिंद तेंकलु करियकल्लवेलिगो-

Third Plate, First Side

- 92 पु(डे) वरद वामनमुद्रे । कुरुक्षिन् हुट्टगल्लु । नेट्ट कल्लिन मे-
 93 रये मूडनमेरे । वेविनमरत्ते तेंकलु नेट्ट वामनमुद्रे ।
 94 आग्नेयट मेरे [॥*] अक्षिद पडुवलु नेरुत्यमूले पर्यंत वामन-
 95 मुद्रे नेट्ट कल्लु । तेंकणमेरे नेरुत्यद मूले कल्लिद वडगल्लु
 96 नड(नेट्टा)द वामनमुद्रेकल्लु । पडुवण मेरे वाया(य)व्यद मूले कल्लि-
 97 द ईशान्यद कल्लु परियतरा मूडलागि नडदु(नेट्टु) वरद वा-
 98 मनमुद्रे कल्लुगले वडगण मेरे ॥

[1.] 99 to 105 contain four admonitory verses.]

106 श्रीविष्णुपाक्ष¹

ABRIDGED TRANSLATION

Ll 64-87 In the year, computed by ten hundreds and four hundreds plus forty-six determined according to the Śālivāhana era and named Tārana, in the month of Vaiśākha and on the pūrṇimā tithi, on the bank of the river Tungabhadra in the presence of Śrī-Virūpākṣa, to the best Brāhman, named Nṛsiṃhādhvārī, who is calm, a great soul, well-known, expounder of all the śāstras, who has achieved success in discussions, is a sacrificer, who has performed all the great yāgas (sacrifices), who has controlled anger, is

¹ Written in Telugu-Kannada characters.

the son of Pañchāgni-Vishna(u)yajvārya, knows the Vēdas, the Vēdānta and the traditional lore, *i e*, who is studying the Yajus, is of the *sūtra* of Bōdhāyana and of the family of Agastya, the well-known beautiful village of Pāyalabandha which is adorned with the other name of Krishnarāyapuram, is included in the great principality of Nadugalladurga on the pleasant boundary of Kurrubaśivara, whose boundaries have been defined (as follows), which lies to the east of the village called Kamkērrē, to the south of the village called Halūru, lying to the west of the great military road situated to the north of the village named Kurrubaśivara, free of all taxes, on all sides well defined by the four boundaries, always rich in having all the plants, full of houses and gardens, accompanied by the eight kinds of enjoyments (beginning with treasures, deposit and stones), having different fruits, to be enjoyed by one, with what is grown on the land having ponds, wells, tanks, even with mounds or marshy grounds, to be enjoyed by sons, grandsons and others in succession till the moon and the stars last, with the due right of sale, mortgage and gift, the brave Krishnarāya, king of kings, high-souled, and surrounded by the pious and devoted head priests with delight granted the village with *dakshinā* and libations of water.

Ll 88-98 The boundaries of this *agrahāra* are given in the language of the country To the north-east of the village, to the west of the military road (*the boundary stone having*) the *Vāmana-mudrā* cut on it (*planted*) in the pit called Doḍḍakariyagundi, from that place to the south the natural stone which is the boundary mark having the *Vāmana-mudrā* written on it posted near the pit called Kariyakallu, the boundary of the stone planted (*is*) the eastern limit to the north of the margosa tree, the planted stone having *Vāmana-mudrā* (*is*) the south-east limit, from that place (*to the*) west upto the south-west the planted stone bearing the *Vāmana-mudrā*, southern boundary from the stone (*planted*) in the south-western corner (*to the*) north the stone planted, the western boundary from the stone planted in the north-western corner upto the stone (*planted*) in the north-east stone (*planted*) in the direction of the east, the planted stones bearing *Vāmana-mudrā* (*form the*) northern boundary

* * * * *

L 106 Śrī-Virūpāksha.

No 23 — VISHAMAGIRI PLATES OF INDRAVARMADĒVA.

BY THE LATE TARINI CHARAN RATH, B A

These copper-plates are three in number and were discovered from a piece of barren dry land, near the village of Vishamagiri, situated within the Sanakhimedi Zamindari, Aska Taluk of the Ganjam District, when it was reclaimed for cultivation. They were found suspended by a ring on a small stick in an earthenware pot, filled up with sand, the two ends of the stick resting on the edges of the pot.

The plates measure 7 inches by 3½ inches each, their thickness being ¼ of an inch. They are held together by a copper ring measuring 4 inches in diameter and passing through a circular hole on their proper right side. The ends of the ring are secured by a circular seal about 1 inch in diameter, bearing marks which are not quite distinct. The figures on the seal appear to be a couchant bull and a crescent. The plates together with the ring and the seal, weigh 156 tolas.

The first and third plates are inscribed on one side only while the second plate has inscription on both the sides. The edges of the plates are raised into well-formed rims to protect the writing. The letters of the inscription are big enough and quite clear, their size being a little more than $\frac{1}{4}$ of an inch. There are in all 35 lines, each side having 9 lines on it, excepting the second side of the second plate which contains only 8 lines.

The language of the inscription is Sanskrit and the script used is later in form than that of the Dhanantara plates of Śāmantavarman which I have already published in this journal.¹ The record is not dated.

The object of the inscription is to record that Mahārāja Indravarmadēva of Kalinga, a devotee of Śrī-Gōkarnnēśvarasvīmin seated on the summit of the Mahēndra mountain (near Mandira in the Ganjam district), granted some land whose boundaries are specified in it and which lay in the Amōrasinga village of the Jalamvōra vishaya (district) of the ancient Kalinga country, to Jaksbasvāmi-śarman, a Brahman of the Vājasaneyā-charana, Kānva-śākhā and Jātukarna-gotra, for the increase of his and his parents' merit (punya). The Dūtaka or messenger of the grant was Mahāsāmanta Śrī-Nāgakhēddi. The inscription on the plates was written by Mahāpratihāra Ādityavarman and the king's seal was affixed to it by the minister of peace and war (Mahāsāndhavinigrahika) Chandapāka. It was engraved by the brazier (Kamsāraka) Dēvapīla. The grant was issued from Śvētaka.

The record does not state the ancestry or lineage of the king, but there can be little doubt that he belonged to the Eastern Ganga family of Kalinga. A grant of king Indravarman I of Kalinga, otherwise known as Rājasimha, has been published in this journal,² under the name of the Achyutapuram plates. The characters of these plates appear to be somewhat older than those used in this inscription. The king Indravarmadēva of the present plates is not the same as that of the Achyutapuram plates. He cannot I think, be identified with even Indravarman II whose grants have also been published with specific years of the Eastern Ganga era. On palaeographical grounds, the characters of the present plates, which are an admixture of the northern and southern types, may be assigned to the eighth or ninth century A.D. These plates are noted as No 9 in Appendix A of the Annual Report of the Assistant Archaeological Superintendent for Epigraphy, Southern Circle, Madras, for 1917-18, to whom they had been sent by me for examination.

TEXT.

First Plate

- 1 Ōm³ Svasti [j*] [Svō]tak-āddhi(dhi)sthānāt | bhagavatta(ta)ś=char-āchara-[gurōh*] śūka-
- 2 la-sha(śa)sānka-sēkhara-dharasya sthity-utpa[t*]ti-pralaya kāra-
- 3 ṇa-hētōr=mMahēndrācha[la*]-bhikṣhara-nivāsi(sī)-śrīmān⁴ Gōkarnnēśvara-bha-
- 4 ṭṭirakasva charana-kamal-ūrādhan-āvā(ā)pta-punya(nya) nichaya[h*] śakti tra-
- 5 ya-pra[bbh-ā]nurañjit-īśśha-śā(sā)manta-ohakra[h*] śva(sva)-bhūja-va(ba)la-
- 6 parīkrānta] śa(sa)kala-Kaling-ādhirāyē parama-māhēśvarō mātā-
- 7 pitṛ pūḍ-ānuddhyātō mahārāja-śrī-Indravarmmadēva[h*] kuśali ||
- 8 Jalamvōra-vishayā | yathākāl-āddhyāsi(sī)-mahāśā(sā)manta-śrī-
- 9 śā(sā)manta rājānaka-rājaputrā(tra)-kumārāmāty-ōparika-danda-

¹ See above, Vol. XV, pp. 275-278.

² Expressed by a symbol.

³ [pra[kā*]rahō³ might be the reading —Ed.]

² See above, Vol. III, p. 128.

⁴ Read śrīmātō.

Second Plate ; First Side

- 10 nāyaka-vishayapati-grāmapati-vrā(brā)hma-purōgamān=a-
 11 tyā(nyām)ś=cha chāta-bhata dandapāsika¹-vallabha-jāti(tī)yām(n) | yathāharha[m*]² mā-
 12 nayati vō(bō)dhayati cha śa(sa)mādisati | viditām(ta)m=astu bhavatām | ē-
 13 tad-viśa(sha)ya-śa(sa)mva(mba)ndha(ddha) | Amērasīnga-grāmē bhūm[h*] |
 pu(pū)rva-diśē(śi) | pō(pu)-
 14 shkarinyā[h*] paśchima-pālī-parichchhēda[h*] | nadī(dim) yāvat-paśchima-
 15 pradēśē Vrid[dha*]bhōgikasya bhōgapātaka-parichchhēdō(dah) | u-
 16 [t*]ta[ra*] pradēśēbhishtha-parichchhēda[h*] | dakshina-diśūyām nna(na)dī
 parichchhē-
 17 da[h*] | nadilōmpāni(nya-)ardha-bhōga[h*] | Vv(V)ājasēna³ cha[ra*]nāya Kanma(Kānva)-
 śā-
 18 khāya | Jāta(tu)karnna-gōtrāya | Vasi(sī)sthātta[vat?]-Jātukarnn=ēti-prava-

Second Plate , Second Side

- 19 rāya | Jātukarnnavva(va)tta(t) Jiva[dvi]jē[shtha]va[d*] | (-) anupravarāya
 20 Bhattaputra-Ja[ksh]aśvā(svā)mi-sarmanā(nē) | mātā(tā)-pitrōr=ātmanaś=cha
 21 punyā(ny-ā)bhivridhdhayē | śa(sa)hila-dhārā-purasa(ssa)arēn=āchandr-ārka kshī-
 22 ti-śa(sa)makālam=aḥkarikṛitya pratipādī[tō*]=smābhi[h*] yatah | śāśa(sa)-
 23 na-darśanād=dharmma-gauravā[d=a*]smad-gauravā[ch*]=cha na kēnachi-
 24 t=paripanthina⁴(nā) bhavitavyam | tathā cha pathyatē dharmmaśāstrē | Va(Ba)hubhih⁵-
 25 r=vasudhā dattā rājāna⁶ Śa(Sa)gar-ādibhih [i*] yasya asya yadā bhūm[s=*]
 26 tasya tasya tadā phalam [||*] Śva(Sva)-dattām para-dattāmvā(m vā) yō ha-

Third Plate.

- 27 r[ē]ti(ta) vasundharām [*] śvavishthāyām kṛimīr=bhūtvā pitribhi[s*]=
 28 śa(sa)ha pachyatē [i*] Mābhuya(bhūd)=aphala-śaukā va[h*] paradatt=ēti pā-
 29 rthiva(vāh) | śva(sva)-dānāt=phalam=ānantyam |⁷ paradatt-ānupālānē [||*] I-
 30 ti kamala-dal-āmvu(mbu)-bindu-lōlām śrī[ya*]m=anuchi-
 31 ntya manuśya(shya)-jī(jī)vitañ=cha śa(sa)kalāna=idam=udāhri-
 32 tañ=cha vu(bu)dhā(dhvā) nahī purushai[h*] para-kī(kī)rtayō vilōpyā[h||*] Dūttagō(takō)-
 33 ttra Mahāsāmanta-śrī-Nāgakhēda [i*] Mahāpratihāra-Ādi-
 34 tyavarmmanā |⁷ lkhita[m*] | lāñchhitañ=cha Mahāsa(sā)ndhivigrahī(hī)kah(ka)-
 35 Chandapālākēnah(na) [i*] utkī(tkī)runnam Ka[nśā](msā)rakā(ka)-Dēvapilēn=ēti(h(t)) |

ABRIDGED TRANSLATION.

Li 1 to 12 Hail ! the glorious *Mahārāja* Indravarman who has acquired a store of virtue by the worship of the lotus feet of the divine lord Gōkarnnēśvara, the almighty master of the animate and the inanimate, who wears the crest ornament of the half-moon, is the cause of existence, genesis and destruction, and who resides on the summit of the Mahēndra mountain ; —he, possessing the overlordship of the entire Kalinga country, won by the strength of his own arms, endeared to all his vassals by the pre-eminence of his threefold powers, a great devotee of Śiva and meditator upon the feet of his father and mother, advises and commands, from the

¹ °La is written below the line between pā and śi

² Read *yathāharā*

³ The letter na is cut below the line between pa and nkh

⁴ The visarga is superfluous.

⁵ Danda is superfluous.

⁶ Read *Vājasanēya*

⁷ Read *rājāhīn=Sa°*.

ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ १ ॥
 ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ २ ॥
 ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ ३ ॥
 ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ ४ ॥
 ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ ५ ॥
 ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ ६ ॥
 ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ ७ ॥
 ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ ८ ॥
 ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ ९ ॥
 ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ १० ॥

[illegible]

residence of Śvātaka, the *Mahāsāmanta*, *Śīsāmanta*, *Rājānaka*, *Rājaputra*, *Kumāramātya*, *Uparika*, *Dandanūyaka*, *Vishayapati*, *Grāmapati* and other officers in the *Jalamvōra-vishaya*, thus —

Ll 12 to 24 Be it well known to you that the land in the village of *Amēraśinga* belonging to this province, bounded on the east by the western face of the tank as far as the river, on the west by the *Bhōgapātaka* land of *Vriddhabhōgika*, on the north by such limit as you like and on the south by the river as far as the middle of its bed, is granted to *Bhattaputra Jāksha* *svāmī-sarman* of the *Vājasanēya-charana*, *Kānva-sūkhā*, *Jātukarna-gōtra*, *Vasiṣṭhītta(vat)-Jātukarna-pratara* and *Jātukarnavat-Jīvadviṣṭhāvāt-anupravara*, for the increase of the merit of my father, mother and self, accompanied with the handful of water, to be enjoyed by him as long as the moon, sun and earth last Nobody, whoever he may be, should interfere with this, out of regard for virtue and myself

Ll 24 to 32 It is stated thus in the *Dharma śāstra* (Then follow four of the customary benedictive and admonitory verses)

Ll 32 to 35 The *śūtaka* here is *Mahāsāmanta śrī-Nāgakhēddi* (The document was) written by *Mahāpratihāra Ādityavarman*, the king's seal was affixed (to it) by *Mahāsāndhivigrahaka Chandapāka*; and it was engraved by *Kamsāraka* (brazier) *Dēvapila*

NO 24 — TWO COPPER PLATE INSCRIPTIONS OF EASTERN CHALUKYA PRINCES

By THE LATE K. V. LAKSHMANA RAO, M.A., MADRAS

The two copper-plate inscriptions which are now for the first time published, with plates deserve special study by the students of South-Indian history. They are issued by the two brothers *Bādapa*¹ and *Tāla II*, sons of *Yuddhamalla II*, not hitherto known to us. The first of the plates viz. the *Ārumbāka* Plates of *Bādapa* will be referred to as A and the second viz. the *Śīpūndi* Plates of *Tāla II* as B.

A — THE ĀRUMBĀKA PLATES OF BĀDAPA

These plates were found in 1921, buried underground in a pot, at a village called *Polamūru* in the *Tannuku tālukā* of the *Krishna District*, *Madras Presidency*. I received them from a gentleman of that place and forwarded them for examination to the Assistant Archaeological Superintendent for Epigraphy, Madras. The ring was not cut when they were first sent to me. They are noticed in the *Annual Report on Epigraphy* for 1920-21 and are numbered as No 16 of Appendix A, in that report. I edit the inscription from the original plates and from one set of ink-impressions kindly supplied by Mr. G. Venkoba Rao, the Assistant Archaeological Superintendent for Epigraphy, Madras.

The plates are five in number and measure $4\frac{1}{2}$ " high and $9\frac{3}{4}$ " broad and are hung together on a ring 5" in diameter. A massive seal with a diameter of $3\frac{1}{4}$ " is fixed on to the ring. On its surface are cut in relief at the top the figures of the crescent and an *ankusa* in horizontal position placed below it, with the legend *Śrī-Tribhuvanā[m]kuśa* cut below the latter.² Below the

¹ This proper name has been read as *Bādapa* in the *Epigraphical Reports*, Southern Circle, for 1909, p. 108 and for 1920, pp. 86-7. But examining carefully all *da's* and *da's* in these two inscriptions and comparing them with each other I have come to the conclusion that the second letter in this word is a dental and not a lingual.

² The last syllable of the legend is put in the second line, to the proper right of the boar.

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independent symbol. The first method of representing \bar{v} is still found in Telugu only in the case of a few consonants such as m and y . The secondary form of au in A differs from that used in B. In A it appears twice in *Kausiki* (l 1), and *śaucha* (l 38). This form is common to the other inscriptions of that period. But B uses a form which is the same as that of \bar{v} (*Kausiki*, l 2). Perhaps this again is due to the error committed by the engraver. The vowel ri is usually confounded with the consonant ri and *vice versa*, e.g. on the seal of A we have *Tribhuvanāmkusa* instead of *Tribhuvanāmkūśa*, *bhrisam* for *bhrīsam* (l 33).

Coming to the consonants, we must note the existence of la , marked in this inscription by the symbol ॢ (A l 26, B l 19). This sound is represented in Tamil by ॢ. Dravidian philologists were not aware of the existence of this sound in Telugu. The Bezvada pillar inscription¹ of Yuddhamalla II prominently brought it into light². This is of course a purely Dravidian sound. In B it appears in the proper name *Tāla* (ll 17, 19). The word *Tāla* is found in many inscriptions of the Eastern Chālukyas and is spelt in various ways, such as *Tāda*, *Tāla*, *Tāla*, *Tāla*. This variation in spelling is a sure indication that the second consonant of this word, which was originally la , gradually gave way to da in the Telugu country and to la in the Kanarese country.

In both the plates the *anusvāras* followed by a letter of the *ta-varga* or *ta-varga* are invariably changed into the nasal of that *varga*, e.g. A *manyantē* (l 31), *Gandanārāyana* (l 48), B *Velanāndu* (l 24). A special symbol is used for the compound letter *ñcha*, e.g. A l 65, B l 37. This symbol is almost similar in both these plates. In cases where letters of other *vargas* follow, the *anusvāra* is shown as such invariably and the nasal of the *varga* is never used in its place. So the southern system of representing the nasals of the *vargas* by *anusvāras*³ was already in vogue in the tenth century as far as the first, second and the fifth *vargas* (k , ch , p) were concerned.

The inscription begins with the usual eulogy of the Chālukya race found in numerous other Chālukya inscriptions, and then enumerates in order the names, the mutual relations and the periods of the reigns of the Eastern Chālukya kings from Kubja-Vishnuvardhana to Bhimarāja or Chālukya-Bhīma II. All the details here given agree with those generally found in the other inscriptions of this family. The last king mentioned in the plates as the immediate predecessor of Bādapa, the donor, is Amma II, son of Chālukya-Bhīma II. The length of his reign, which we know from other sources to be twenty-five years, is not given in this inscription. Amma II is praised (ll 16-17) as a virtuous king who ruled the country of Vēngī together with Trikalīnga, properly and justly, according to the injunctions of *dharma*. However, Bādapa, the donor, who was the son of Yuddhamalla II of a collateral branch, defeated and sent into exile Amma II with the help of one Karnarāja-Vallabha (ll 17-18). Bādapa further claims to have defeated other *dāyās* (i e, *dāyādas*), to have held the titles of 'Samastabhuvanāśraya, Vijayāditya Mahārāja, Paramēśvara, Paramamāhēśvara and Paramabhattachāraka' (ll 22-23). He had also the title 'Adhirāja' (v 2).

Tracing next, the genealogy of the donee, the plates refer first to a certain [Bā]lāditya who had a son called Nripakāma. His wife was Nāyamambā. To them was born Gandanārāyana who was a famous archer (l 55). To this Gandanārāyana was given by Bādapa the village of Ārumbāka situated in the Velanāndu-*vrshaya*. Gandanārāyana in his turn gave

¹ *Ep Ind*, Vol. XV, p 150. Mr. Ramayya Pantulu, however, thinks that the first portion of the inscription may refer to Yuddhamalla I.

² See my note on this inscription, above, Vol. XV.

³ The system is now found among the Marāṭhā, the Telugu and the Kanarese people. The Tamilians, however, follow the north Indian system, [apparently, because there is no *anusvāra* in that alphabet.—Ed.]

the village to one Chandena who was the son of his mother's younger sister (II 59-61) The boundaries of the granted village are —to the east Cherakumballi, to the south Śrīpūndī, to the west Kāvūru, to the north Gōmaduvu The executor of the grant was Katakannipa, the poet, Ayyana-bhatta, and the engraver, Bhattadēva

Karnarāja-Vallabha, as the epithet Vallabha clearly indicates, was a Rāshtrakūṭa king and evidently the same as Kanna (or Krishna) III who was a contemporary of Amma II and ruled from A D 939 to 968 The poet of our plates, of course, mistook the word Kanna for the *tadbhāsa* of Karna, while in reality it is the *Prākṛita-tadbhāsa* of the word Krishna

Though no date is given in the inscription itself, it is not difficult to fix it Bādapa claims to have conquered Amma II and to have reigned immediately after him¹ We know from several inscriptions that Amma II ruled for twenty-five years (A D 945-970) We can, therefore, safely infer that Bādapa issued this inscription after he established himself as the king of the Vēngī country after A D 970 Following the statement made in the inscriptions of the later Chālukya kings commencing with Śaktivarman, a period of 27 years, viz A D 973-999, is generally considered by historians as an interregnum in the history of the Eastern Chālukyas But these plates of Bādapa and Tāla reveal to us for the first time that there was no real interregnum during that period but that the collateral or junior line then ruled the country sending the senior line into exile The interregnum was only from the point of view of the senior line, whose members, driven away from the Telugu country, had to spend their time for 27 or 30 years in the Tamil or the Kanarese countries The so-called interregnum (*asāmīka*) does not connote absence of rulers or anarchy in the Telugu country, as has been represented by the Chālukyan kings of the post-restoration period or has hitherto been believed by some scholars, but only suggests the complete exclusion of the members of the senior branch from the Vēngī and Kalinga countries I shall discuss in detail the history of this period (the so-called interregnum) in the light of these and other plates, in a separate article²

The villages mentioned in the inscription can easily be identified Ārumbāka, the village granted, is found by the same name in the tālukā of Repalle in the Guntur District The other villages mentioned in the plates are also found now in the vicinity of Ārumbāka They are all around it within a radius of four miles Śrīpūndī is now known as Śrīpūdi, Cherakumballi is now called Cherukumilli; Kāvūru has not changed its name even now³ I am told Gōmaduvu is the same as Gōvāda which is three miles to the north of Ārumbāka, in the Tenali tālukā I must here add that the village Śrīpūndī, which is described as the southern boundary of Ārumbāka in these plates, is the subject of a gift by Bādapa's younger brother Tāla II as found in Plate B below All these villages were situated in the Velanāndu-rishaya⁴ at the time of the gift

The donee of the grant is one Gandanārāyana and the sub-donee is his aunt's son Chandena The donee and his ancestors are described in the plates at great length and with a flourish of rhetoric, in more than thirty lines (II 25-55) The grandfather of the donee was an expert archer like Paraśurāma and Arjuna (I 26) His son Nripakāma was also an archer and was

¹ [It is very doubtful if this is so The participle विजित्वा cannot indicate that Bādapa had once for all ousted Amma II from the Eastern Chālukya throne He might have temporarily displaced him for a time The Māngallu plates (*A E on Epigraphy* for 1917, Part II, paragraph 24) clearly state that Amma II in the 11th year of his reign had to go to fight with Krishna, i.e. the Vallabha Rāshtrakūṭa king Krishna III, who befriended Bādapa according to the Ārumbāka plates—H K S]

² [It is very much to be regretted that this promised article is never to come, for Mr K V Lakshmana Rao is now dead. Had he been spared to us, he would have made his mark in the field of Epigraphy, as he actually did in his wide researches in Telugu literature and philology.—Ed.]

³ Vide Taluk map of Repalle, published by the Survey Office, Madras

⁴ See above, Vol. IV, p 33

entitled 'Kārmuk-ārjuna' (ll 30-33) and the 'Lord of the Lake' (Sarō-nātha) (l 35). He was also called Satya-Ballāta (l 49) Nripakāma seems to have been a petty chieftain perhaps of the Lake region, i.e. Kollēru, well known for his valour, benevolence and patronage to learning. He was a worshipper of god Śiva (l 41) and is said to have killed five warriors at a time with his sword (l 43). By his wife Nāyamambā, he had a son, the donee Bhāskara surnamed Gandanārāyana (v 23). We can identify the father and the mother of our donee with the father-in-law and the mother-in-law of Amma II, as stated in his Gundugolann plates.¹ These clearly tell us that Nripakāma alias Sarō-nātha (Lord of the Lake), also a worshipper of god Śiva, was the father-in-law of the king, and that Nāyamambā was his mother-in-law.² Thus Gandanārāyana was the brother-in-law of Amma II. It is therefore very strange that Bādapa who drove away Amma II should patronise his brother-in-law Gandanārāyana. But we know that in times of revolt and revolution, political adventurers change their allegiance very often. Gandanārāyana was, perhaps, also related to Bādapa and was instrumental in overthrowing Amma II and the senior line.

The sub-donee to whom Gandanārāyana gifted away the village was the son of his mother's younger sister Sā[ma]kām̐bā. As the plates were issued by and under the seal of Bādapa and not by Gandanārāyana, it is clear that the sub donation was also recognised by the king.

TEXT³

First Plate

- 1 स्तुति⁴ [*॥] श्रीमतां सकलभुवनसंस्तूयमानमानव्यसगोत्राणां हारोतिपुत्राणां
कौशिकी-
- 2 वरप्रसादलब्धराज्याणां⁵ मातृगणपरिपालितानां स्वामिमहासेनपादानुध्यातानां
भगवन्नारा-
- 3 यणप्रसादसमासादितवर[व]राहलाकणे⁶ क्षणक्षणवशीकृतारातिमण्डलानां⁷ मश्वमेधा-
- 4 वभृयस्नानपवित्रीकृतवपुषा चालुक्यानां [कु]लमलां⁸ कार्पण्योः सत्याश्रयवक्त्रमेन्द्रस्य
भ्राता कु-
- 5 वज्रविष्णुवर्द्धनोष्टादश वर्षाणि [वे]गी[दे]शमपालयत् । तदात्मजो जयसिंहस्त्रयस्त्रिं-
- 6 श[तं] । तदनुजेन्द्रराज[नन्दनो] विष्णुवर्द्धनो नव । तत्तनूभर्मंगियुवराजः
पंचविंशति⁹ [॥*]
- 7 तत्पुत्रो जयसिंहस्त्र[योदश] । त[द्व]रजः¹⁰ कौक्लिः षणमासान् [॥*] तस्य
ज्येष्ठो भ्राता विष्णु-
- 8 वर्द्धनस्तमुच्चाव्य सप्तत्रिंश[तं] । तत्पुत्रो विजयादित्यभट्टारकोष्टादश । तत्त¹¹तो
विष्णुवर्द्ध-

¹ *Ind Ant*, Vol XIII, p 248² A floral device precedes this word³ Read^o मण्डलानामव^o⁴ Read कौक्लि⁵ *Ibid*, ll 23-25⁶ Read °ज्यानां⁷ Read °मलक°⁸ Read °रसु°⁹ From the original plates,¹⁰ Read °नेक्ष°¹¹ Read विंशति,

- 9 नः षट्त्रिंशत । तत्सुतो विजयादित्यनरेन्द्रसगराजश्चाष्टचत्वारिंशतं ।
तत्सुतः कलिविष्णुव-
- 10 ईनो[द्वाद्वर्ष] [1*] तत्सुतो गुणगाकविजयादित्यश्चतुश्चत्वारिंशत । तदमुन-
युवराजवि-

Second Plate, First Side

- 11 क्रमाद्रित्यभूप[तेस्तनयश्चाकुक्वभीम]भूपालस्त्रिंशतं¹ । तत्पुत्र कोल्लविगण्डविजयादि-
- 12 त्यः षण्मासान् [1*] तत्सुतोवरा[जस्सप्तवर्षाणि] .[I] तत्सुत विजयादित्यवा-
लमुच्चाय्य तालपो मा-
- 13 समेक² । त जित्वा चालुक्य[भीमसूनु]र्विक्रमादित्य एकादश मासान् [1*]
ततस्तालपराजस्य
- 14 सुतो युद्धमल्लः सप्त वर्षाणि । तं जित्वा कोल्लविगण्ड[वि]जयादित्यसुतो
भीमराजो द्वादश वर्षा-
- 15 णि । तस्य मल्लेश्वर[सू]र्ते भीमभूपतेः उमासमानाकृते लोकमहादेव्याः कु-
- 16 माराभः खलु यस्समभवदम्भराजाख्य' असौ सम्यग्धर्मन्यायेन वेगोदेश त्रि-
- 17 कलिगसहित रक्षति स्म [II] आश्रित्य क[र्ण]राजाख्यवल्लभ वादपाधिप [1*]
विनिर्गमय्य तन्दे-⁴
- 18 [शा]दम्भराजाख्यमुज्जित⁵ [II] [1*] जित्वा⁶ [दा]यान्मदित्वा रिपुनिकरमया-
भ्यर्तिर्णा⁷ वस्तुराशिं दत्वा [सपू]ज्य व-
- 19 न्धून्सकलगुणगणालकतो[त्तंग]जीर्त्ति[] [1*] मानी धीर. प्रतापी मनुमतचरितः
पालयन्भाति भू-
- 20 सिं ।⁸ वेगेशो युद्धमल्लक्षितिपतितनयो वादपाख्याधिराजः ॥[2*] यस्मिन्
शासति नृपतौ ।⁹ परिपक्वा-

Second Plate, Second Side

- 21 नेकसस्यसंपत्सहितः । भमति¹⁰ धर्मानुरक्तो निरीतिरपरुद्धिरस्तचोरो देशः ॥
[3*] मनुखिव सकलजनाना जन[क]
- 22 इवाशेषमृत्यवर्गाणा [1*] काम इव [क]ामिनोनामर्त्यजनाना च
कल्पतरु ॥[8*] स्म¹¹ समस्तभुवनाय्यश्चोविजया-

¹ Read °त्रिंशत

² The *anusvāra* is marked on the left top corner of the letter *ka*

³ Read °विनिर्ग°.

⁴ Read त द्देषा°.

⁵ Read °मूर्त्तित

⁶ [Pe has the traces of the letter in brackets indicate a *ji* —Ed]

⁷ Read °ना.

⁸ Read °सुग°.

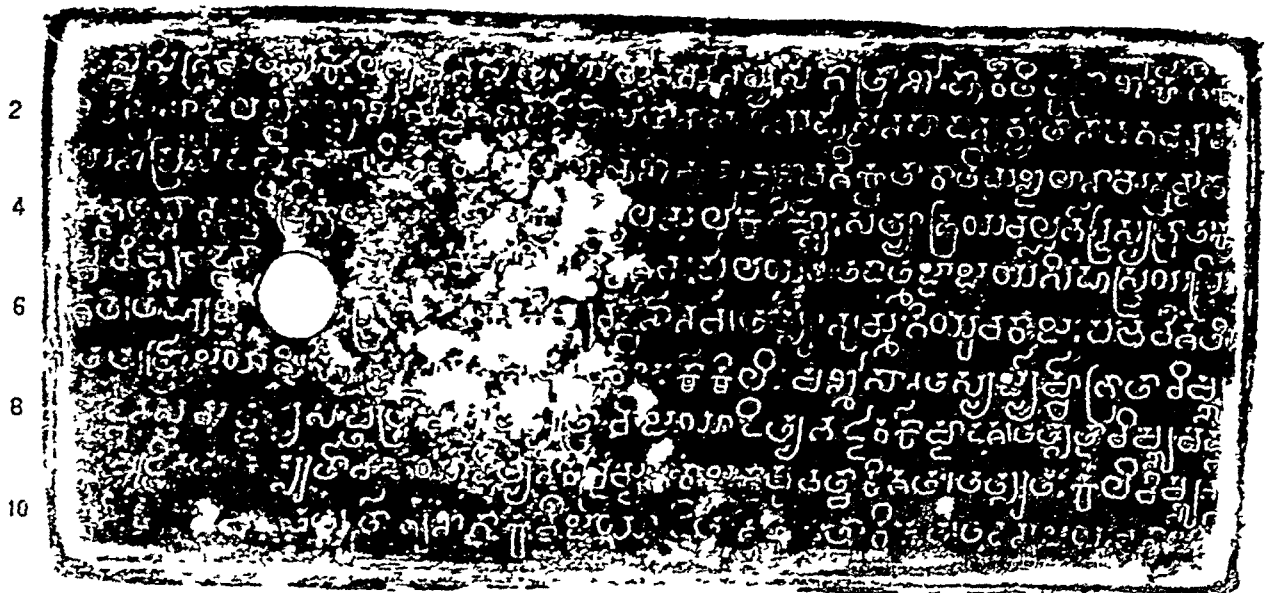
⁹ Danda is not needed

¹⁰ Read भवति.

¹¹ Read सु°.

ARUMBAKA PLATES OF BADAPA

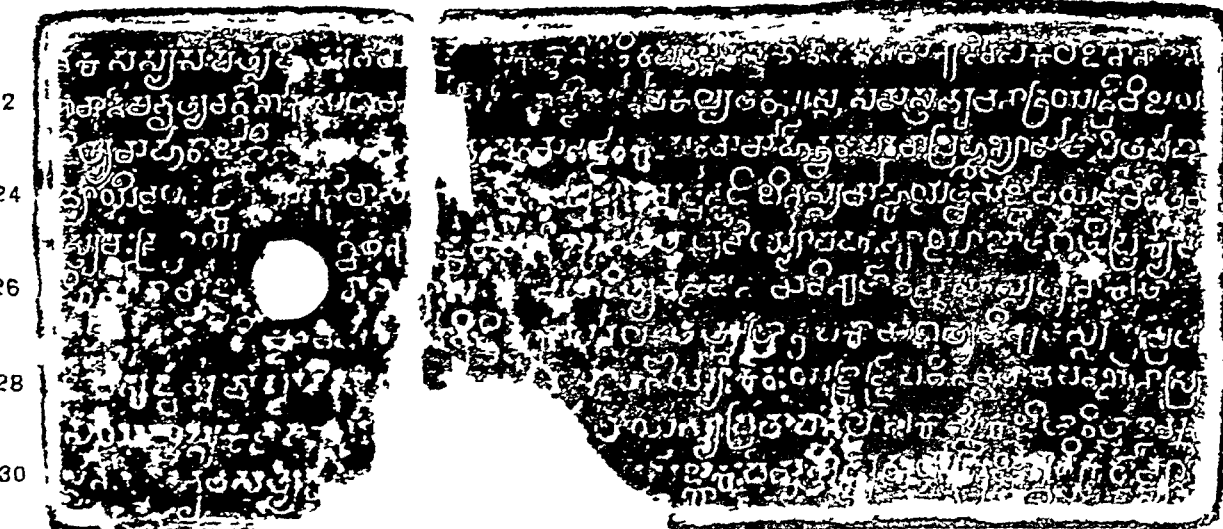
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- 23 दित्यमहाराजाधिरा[जप]रमे[खर]: परमभट्टारकः परममाह्वरः परमब्रह्मण्यो
मातापितृपादानु-
- 24 ध्यायी वेसनाण्डविषयनिवासि[नो राष्ट्रकूट]प्रमुखान्सर्व¹ कुटिबिनस्समाह्वयेत्य-
माज्ञापयति [॥*] विदितम्-
- 25 स्तु वः श्रेष्ठो यस्य धनुर्धरः[कलि]युगे तत्कार्य²वीर्यापहः भूयो जात इति
प्र³कार्यम्-
- 26 हिमो रामार्जुनाभ्यां सम्मः⁴ । ⁵[वा]८७१दित्यविशेषनामविनुतो धर्म
रतस्सत्यवाक् (i) वा[ता]
- 27 विदिष्टकालानलः । [॥५*] तत्पुत्रो नृपकाम
इत्यभिनुतस्सत्यप्रति-
- 28 [ज्ञो ध]नुर्धर्मं चाप्य विख्यातशौर्याकरः [॥*] यद्वाप्रे
पथि गच्छतां च पवणी⁶ नासं-
- 29 सय[त्य]⁷ङ्गकं चोरे ता यस्य प्रतापानलैः [॥ ६*]
स काम⁸र्मकजितारित्वात्काम⁹र्मका-
- 30 र्जुननामभृत् [॥*] सत्यै[क] [सत्यवक्ता]त¹⁰सैन्नकः [॥७*]
¹¹धीमन्तो गुरुमग्रजन्मनिकरा व्या-

Third Plate, First Side

- 31 [सं] सहायं नृपाः [प्रोत्या] स्वजनकं कल्पद्रुमं चातिथणः¹⁰ [॥*]
मन्यन्तेपि स-
- 32 दैकमूर्जितमनेक पारथ्यमुदन्विनः चित्तं श्रीवरकामुकार्जुननृपं कामा-¹¹
[स्स]कामा[*] स्त्रियः [॥] [८*]
- 33 यच्छौर्यं युधि वैरिभूपनिवह्व्याघातजातं ¹²भ्रिशं यद्दानं द्विजसन्धि-
- 34 तार्थ्यजनसन्निधि¹³क्रियापे[श*]ल । यत्कीर्त्तिस्सकलाश्च चन्द्रधव-
- 35 ला शुभीकरोति क्षि[तिं] सीयं भाति सुकाम⁸र्मकार्जुनसरोनाथोर्जितो वी-
- 36 र्यवान् ॥[८*] कनति सनृपकामसरःपति[.*] श्रितजनाननपद्मसुनन्दनः ।
इह सदो-
- 37 दितिरंशुनिधिः क्षिती¹⁴ (i) रिपुतमोनुदिनेन¹⁵ समोनघः । [॥ १०*] दानोदार-
दयाबलप्र-

¹ Read °मूर्वाङ्कुटवि°.⁶ Read सम⁶ Read पवनी.⁹ The letters धीमन्तो गु are written on an erasure¹¹ Read काम सकामा°.¹² Read क्षिती.² Read तत्कार्यवीर्यापह⁵ [The letter in brackets looks more like म than व —Ed]⁷ Read °त्यग्रक¹³ Read भृश¹⁵ Read तमोनुदिनेन.³ Read प्रकट°⁸ Read सञ्जक.¹⁰ Read चार्थन¹³ Read स्तुति°.

Third Plate, Second Side

- 38 क[टितप्रा]वीण्यशौचक्षमामानालंघ्यशिवार्चनोरुगुणमुक्ताहारसंभूषितः [1*]
 39 दीनानाथनटान्धनग्नकविवाग्मीन्द्रद्विजानन्दक्रि¹द्भाति प्रस्तुतकोर्त्तिमान्पुणजयो
 40 श्री[स]त्यवल्गातराट् [॥११*] भ्र[वल]गुणो धवलयशो धवलितदिग्म²ण्डलो-
 [व]दमितारा-
 41 ति. । भवभक्तो भवकरुणोद्भवभवभोगान्वितो विभाति सुकीर्त्तिः [॥ १२*]
 अर्कप्रता-
 42 पोरिरिडग्रधन्वी श्रीङ्गीक्षमाज्ञाकरुणाश्री(श्रि)तोभीः [1*] एनःक्षिदस्यां भुवि भाति
 नित्यं ।
 43 सत्याश्रितस्सद्गुणकाम[शो]रि[:*] ।[१३*] योवधीत्तुरिकेणैक. पचवीरान्वला-
 रस्वयः⁴ । पु⁵ -
 44 [र्णात्त]धनुषा ⁶शतसहस्रान्युधि भाति स. ।[१४*] ब्रह्मेशेन्द्रक्रि⁷षीकेश-
 कुमारार्ण

Fourth Plate, First Side

- 45 [य]थाभव⁸न्वाग्धूमाशचोलक्ष्मी ।⁹जयश्री सुभगा[:*] स्त्रिय ॥[१५*] तथा तेषां
 सम-
 46 स्याभूद्रुपकामसरःपतेः [1*] तासा⁹ समा प्रिया भार्या नायमवा¹⁰ इति
 47 [श्रु]ता ।[१६*] सर्वलक्षणसंपन्ना सर्वाभरणभूषिता । सर्वस्त्रीधर्मातत्वज्ञा शो-
 48 ल[वृत्तव]ती सती ॥[१७*] तस्या पतिव्रतायां च गण्डनारायणाद्वय[:]¹¹ [1*] स-
 49 त्यवल्गातनामाकः पात्र पुत्रमजीजनत् ॥[१८*] उमावृषांकयोर्य-
 50 [था] गुह[श]चि¹²न्द्रयोरिव [1*] जयन्त इत्यभूत्सुत. तयोश्च तत्समानयो. [॥] [१९*]
 51 [व्यू]ढोरस्को वृषस्कन्दः¹³ स्कन्दप्रतिमविक्रमः [1*] महोत्साही महोद्योगी महा-

Fourth Plate, Second Side

- 52 बाहुर्धर्मशवल. ॥[२०*] नृपकामसरोनाथपुत्रो ज्येष्ठोतिबुद्धिमान्ग¹⁴ण्डनारायण[:*]
 53 श्रीमान्गजाश्वारूढकीशलः¹⁵ ॥[२१*] पटुस्मूरशुचिर्दक्षशील¹⁶[वृत्तगु]णान्वितः [1*]
 धनुषस्त्यु-

¹ Read °क्रिद्भाति°² Read दिडम³ [Danda is unnecessary —Ed.]⁴ Read रस्वय⁵ Read °पू° The two letters at the beginning of the next line look like न स on the original plate⁶ Read शत्रुन्स°⁷ Read °हृ°⁸ Read °भवन् । वाग्ध°.⁹ Read तासां¹⁰ [The anusvāra is placed on the syllable नृ —Ed.]¹¹ Read °द्वय°¹² Read °वीन्द्र°¹³ Read स्कन्द.¹⁴ Read °क्षिमान । यण°.¹⁵ [I would read it as °रोह° —Ed.] ¹⁶ Read पटुस्मूरशुचिर्दक्षशील°.

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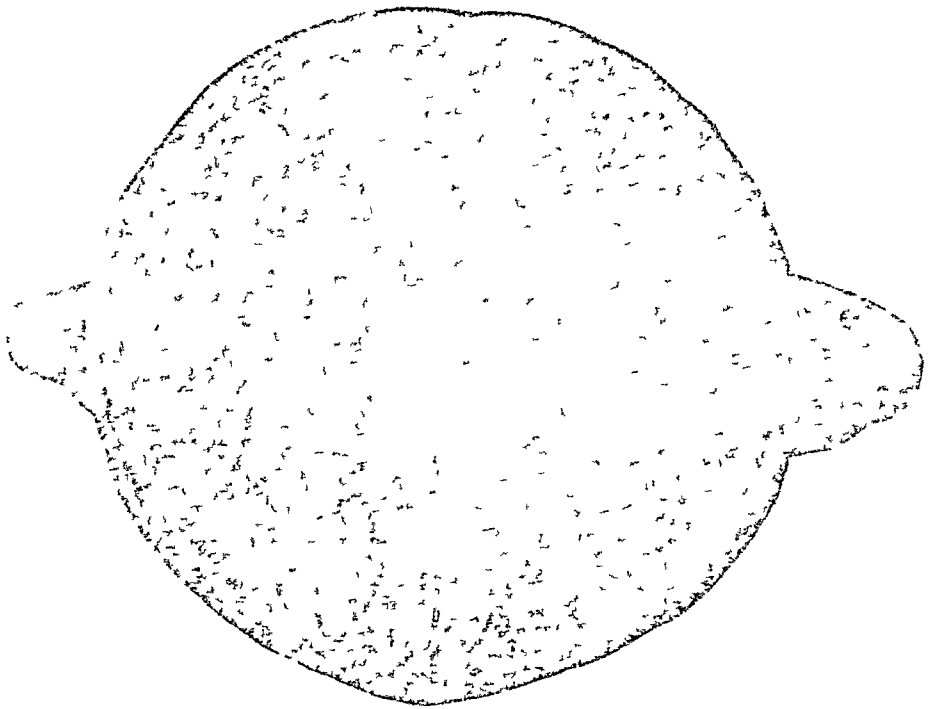
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SEAL



FROM A PHOTOGRAPH

- 54 रुपयेष्ट[*] श्रेष्ठस्त्वर्वाकलासु च ॥[२२*] मातापितृपा¹दाभोजभ्रमरो भास्व-
 55 रो नृ[णा] [1*] गण्डनारायणाद्वी यस्त्वर्वाशस्वभ्रिता² वरः ॥[२३*] तस्मै
 वादपराजाधि-
 56 [रा]जो रा[जे]न्द्रपुंगवः [1*] प्रीतः प्रादान्महाग्राममारुवाकेति विश्रुतः³ ॥[२४*]
 तस्मै ग-
 57 [गण्डनारा]यणाय वेलनाण्डुविषये आरुंवाकनामग्रामं⁴ स्त्वर्वाकरपरिहारं
 58 [ताम]शासनी[कृत्य म]या दत्त इति ॥ वादपराजेन्द्रेण दत्त (दत्त)⁵ ग्रामं⁶ स्वीकृत्वा⁷

Fifth Plate, First Side.

- 59 . . गण्डनारायण[.] [*] स्वय स्वमातुर्न्यायमवायाः कनीयसी सहोदरी सा-
 60 [म]कां⁸वां त[स्याः पु]त्रयन्देणाख्यः ॥ ⁹तस्मै चन्दे[णा]ख्याय स्वीकृतमारुंवाकनाम-
 61 [ग्रा]म¹⁰मुदक[पूर्व] प्रादात् ॥[*] तं ग्राम स्वीकृत्वा⁷ चन्देनाख्यः कलान्¹¹ स्वीकृत्वा⁷
 पूर्णचन्द्र इव भ्रा-
 62 जति स्म ॥[*] शूरः कुमारस्सुभ[टा]ग्रण्यस्सरोनराणां सकलागमज्ञ [1*]
 कारुण्यवा-
 63 न्गर्वितशत्रुहन्ता चारु[रु]दयो भाति सुचन्देनार्थः ॥[२५*] तस्य ग्रामस्या-
 वधयः पूर्व-
 64 तः चेष्टकुंजलि दक्षिणतः श्रीपूण्डि पश्चिमतः कावूरु उत्तरत गोमडुवु ॥
 अस्य ग्राम-
 65 स्तोपरि न केनचिद्वाधा कर्तव्या य. करोति स पञ्चमहापातकसंयुक्तो
 भवति । स्वद-
 66 क्षां परदत्तां वा यो हरेत वसुधरां [1*] षष्टिवर्षसहस्राणि विष्टा(ष्टा)यां
 जायते क्षमिः ।[1 २६*] व्यासेना[र्यु]-

Fifth Plate, Second Side

- 67 क्षं [1*] बहुभिर्वसुधा दत्ता बहुभिश्चानुपालिता [1*] यस्य यस्य यदा
 भूमि¹²तस्य तस्य तदा फल ।[१२७*] आज्ञप्ति-
 68 [ः] क[ट]कनृपः कविरय्यनभट्टसर्वशास्त्रज्ञः [1*] लिखितं भट्टदेवेन शासनमा-
 चन्द्रतारार्कम् ॥ [२८*]

¹ Read 'ददा'.

² Read 'भ्रता'.

³ Read perhaps विश्रुत.

⁴ Read 'ग्रामस्त्वर्वा'.

⁵ The syllables दत्त repeated for the second time have been erased in the original.

⁶ [The plate shows न. —Ed.]

⁷ Read स्वीकृत्य

⁸ Read कांवा [The anusvāra is placed on the syllable वा —Ed.]

⁹ [Danda's are unnecessary —Ed.]

¹⁰ Read ग्रामं

¹¹ Read कलाः

¹² Read सस्य

TRANSLATION.

(Lines 1-5) Hail ! The brother of *Satyāśraya-Vallabhēndra*—an ornament to the family of the blessed *Chālukyas*, who belonged to the *gōtra* of the *Mānavyas* praised by the whole world, who are the sons of *Hārīti*, who acquired (*their*) kingdom through the favour of (the goddess) *Kauśiki*, who are protected by the assemblage of (*divine*) *Mātṛis*, who meditate on the feet of god *Mahāsēna*, who have subdued the realms of (*their*) enemies in a moment by the (*mere*) sight of (*their*) superior boar-banner which was obtained by the grace of Lord *Nārāyaṇa*, and who have purified their bodies by sacred bathings (*performed*) at the end of horrid sacrifices,—was *Kubja-Vishnuvardhana*

(Ll 5-15). (He) ruled the *Vēngī* country for 18 years, his son *Jayasimha*, for 33 (*years*); *Vishnuvardhana*, the son of his younger brother *Indrarāja*, for 9 (*years*); his son *Mangiyuvarāja*, for 25 (*years*), his son *Jayasimha*, for 13 (*years*), his younger brother *Kokhili*, for 6 months, dethroning him, his elder brother *Vishnuvardhana*, for 37 (*years*), his son *Vijayāditya-Bhattāraka*, for 18 (*years*), his son *Vishnuvardhana*, for 36 (*years*), his son *Vijayāditya-Narēndra-Mrigarāja*, for 48 (*years*), his son *Kaḥ-Vishnuvardhana*, for a year and a half; his son *Gunagāmka-Vijayāditya*, for 44 (*years*), king *Chālukya-Bhima*, the son of his younger brother *Yuvarāja-Vikramāditya*, for 30 (*years*), his son *Kollabiganda-Vijayāditya*, for 6 months, his son *Ambarāja*, for 7 years, dethroning his son *Vijayāditya*, who was a boy, *Tālapa* for one month, having conquered him, *Chālukya-Bhima's* son *Vikramāditya*, for 11 months. Then *Tālaparāja's* son *Yuddhamalla* (*ruled*) for 7 years. Having conquered him, *Bhimarāja*, the son of *Kollabiganda-Vijayāditya* (*reigned*) for 12 years.

(Ll. 15-17) Thus king *Bhima*, the personification of *Mahēśvara*, begot by his wife *Lōkamahādēvī*, who resembled *Umā* in form, a son called *Ammarāja* who resembled *Kumāra*. This (*Ammarāja*) ruled well the *Vēngī* country with *Trikalinga*, according to the injunctions of *Dharma*.

(Verse 1) *Bādapa* with the help of the *Vallabha* (*king*) called *Karṇarāja* drove away from the country the prosperous (*king*) called *Ammarāja*.

(V. 2) Having defeated the *dāyas*¹ (agnates) and crushed the multitude of enemies, given a heap of things to supplicants and honoured his relations, the *Adhirāja* called *Bādapa*, son of king *Yuddhamalla*, lord of *Vēngī*, rules the earth and conducts himself according to the injunctions of *Manu*, adorned with all virtues. He is highly famous and valorous, a man of self-respect and a warrior.

(V 3) During the reign of this king the country, rich with abundance of many and full-grown crops, was mindful of its duties (*dharm-ānurahta*) and free from calamities, diseases and thieves.

(V 4). He was a *Manu* to all his subjects, a father to all his servants, Cupid to women and a desire-fulfilling tree to supplicants.

(Ll 22-25) He, *Samastabhūranāśraya*, *śrī-Vijayāditya*, *Mahārājādhirāja*, *Paramēśvara* *Paraṃabhāṣṭāraka*, the great worshipper of *Mahēśvara* (*Śiva*), most hospitable to Brahmins, one who concentrates his mind on the feet of his parents, having called together all the chiefs of families headed by the *Rāshṭrakūṭas* residing in *Velanāndu-vishaya*, orders (*them*) thus.—“Be it known to you.”

(V 5) There is one who is well-known by the famous name of [*Bā*] *hāditya*, a superior archer whose greatness is taken for that of a re-incarnation of the Destroyer of *Kārtavīrya* (*i.e.*, *Paraśurāma*) in the *Kali* age, who is equal to *Rāma* and *Arjuna* (*in archery*), is devoted to *Dharma*, speaks the truth, and is the saviour of . . . and a fire of destruction to his enemies.

¹ [See foot-note on Text I, 18 —Ed.]

(Vv. 6 and 7) His son, known as Nṛipakāma, is one who never swerves from his word in the practice of the bow and well-known as a mine of prowess Besides, in his kingdom, on the roads, the cloths of the travellers are not even loosened by the winds, the robbers . . . by the fire of his prowess He received the appellation of Kārmuk-ārjuna (an Arjuna in archery) because he conquered his enemies with a bow, and the title Satyaballāta because

(V 8). The excellent king Kārmukārjuna is taken by crowds of wise Brahmans to be the teacher (*guru*) Vyāsa, by kings, to be a helper, . . . to be their father, and by supplicants, to be the desire-fulfilling tree It is a wonder that by great archers, he is taken to be many Pārthas (Arjunas) though (*he is*) one (unequalled) and victorious (*hero*), and by passionate women to be Cupid (the god of beauty)

(V 9) His valour, indeed, is born in the heavy blows dealt in battle-fields to the multitude of enemy-kings, his charity is charming by satisfying (*fully the wishes of*) Brahmans, dependents and supplicants, his glory, white as the moon, purifies (or makes white) the whole world So shines he, the good Kārmukārjuna, Sarō nātha (lord of the lake), powerful and victorious

(V 10) The noble and good Nṛipakāma, lord of the lake (*Sarahpati*), shines on this earth like the sun, a repository of brilliance (or rays) to the delight of the lotus-like faces of his dependents, always rising and destroying the darkness, *viz* the enemies

(V 11) He is adorned with the pearl necklace of great virtues, such as charity, unstinted kindness, strength, . . . proficiency, purity, forgiveness, respectability and inestimable worship of Śiva, he is the source of pleasure to the poor, the forlorn, the actors, the blind, the naked, the poets, great orators and Brahmans So shines the illustrious and famous chief Satyaballāta, the conqueror in battle-fields

(V 12) With pure virtues and unsullied fame, he brightens the points of the compass, destroying his enemies He, the devotee of Bhava (Śiva), enjoys the pleasures of this world through the grace of Bhava and is very famous

(V 13) With prowess like that of the sun he destroys his enemies and is the foremost of archers, the abode of wealth, modesty, forgiveness, authority and mercy, and the fearless one This Śaurya (Vishnu), *viz* the good king Nṛipakāma, patronising truthfulness, shines always in this world, a destroyer of sins

(V 14) Strong and glorious, he killed single-handed with his sword five warriors (*at a time*), and with full(*-stretched*) bow, thousands of enemies in the battle-field

(V 15) Just as the gods Brahma, Īśa (Śiva), Indra, Hṛṣhikēśa (Vishnu) and Kumāra (Skanda), have for their beautiful wives the Goddess of Speech (Sarasvatī), Umā, Śachi, Lakshmi and Jayasri (the Goddess of Victory), respectively,

(V. 16) so, Nṛipakāma-Sarahpati, who resembled those gods, had a wife who was dear to him and who resembled those (*goddesses*) and was well-known as (*ie*, by the name of) Nāyamambā.

(V 17) She had (*on her body*) all auspicious signs and was adorned with all ornaments She knew the principles of all the duties of a woman, and was a house-wife (*sati*) possessed of virtuous character and conduct

(V 18) By that devoted wife he, surnamed Satyaballāta, begot a worthy son named Gandanārjuna

(V 19) Just as Guha (Skanda) was born to Umā and Śiva, (*or*) Jayanta to Śachi and Indra, a son was born to them who were equal to those two divine pairs

(V. 20) With an expanded chest and shoulders like those of a bull, he resembled Skanda in valour. With strong arms and extraordinary strength, he possessed great energy and perseverance

(Vv 21-23) The illustrious Gandanārāyana, the eldest son of Nṛipakēma-Sarōnātha, was highly intelligent and proficient in mounting elephants and horses. He was strong, brave, pure, clever and possessed virtuous character and conduct and good qualities. He was the best among the archers and the most proficient in all the arts. This sun among men named Gandanārāyana is the best of all warriors and a bee at the lotus-like feet of (his) parents.

(V 24) To him Bādapa, the king of kings, and the mightiest among great kings, being pleased, gave the big and famous village Ārumbāka saying —

(Ll 56-58) "I have given to Gandanārāyana having issued an order on plates of copper the village called Ārumbāka in Velanāndu-vishaya free of all taxes."

(Ll 58-62) Having accepted the village granted by Bādapa, the best of kings, Gandanārāyana, in his turn, gave, with an oblation of water, the thus accepted village named Ārumbāka to Chandena who was the son of Sā[ma]kāmā, the uterine younger sister of his (Gandanārāyana's) mother Nāyamambā. After accepting the village, (the said) Chandena shone like the full moon who receives the (sixteen) kalas (phases).

(V 25) Resplendent is the good Chandanārya, a brave young man, the foremost of good warriors, who, among men of the Saras (lake lords), possesses the knowledge of all the āgamas, is compassionate, is the destroyer of proud enemies and is rising fortune.¹

(Ll 63-64) The boundaries of that village (are) to the east Cherakumballī, to the south Śrīpūndī, to the west Kāvūru, (and) to the north Gōmaduvu.

(Ll 64-67) No one shall interfere with this village. If any one so interferes, he shall incur the five great sins.

[Here follow the two imprecatory verses (26 and 27), viz., रुदन्तां परदन्तां etc. and बहुभिर्बहुषु etc. (sung by Vyāsa), which are well-known.]

(V 28) The executor (ājñaptī) (of this order) is Kataka-nṛpa, the poet is Ayyanabhatta who knows all the śāstras. The edict was written by Bhattadēva, to last as long as the moon, the stars and the sun would last.

B — THE ŚRĪPŪNDI PLATES OF TĀLA II

These copper-plates, registered as No 5 of Appendix A of the *Annual Report on South-Indian Epigraphy* for 1908-09, were received from the Collector of Guntūr in 1908 by the Assistant Archaeological Superintendent for Epigraphy, Madras, and noticed by him at page 108, paragraph 61 of the same report. But it may be noted that these plates had been examined, transcribed and included, already about A.D. 1800, in the Mackenzie Collection of Manuscripts.² In one of the copies of the plates thus preserved it is remarked that 'the original copper-plates were found buried in the ground, some fifteen years before, in the village of Śrīpūndī by the *Varinams* of the place'. It is further noted that there was a tradition in the village that it was given by a king called Viṣṇuvaidhana to some *Bhatrājus*—a Telugu caste, analogous to the *Bhāts* of Rājputāna.

The inscription consists of five plates with raised rims measuring in height $8\frac{1}{4}$ " and in breadth $3\frac{1}{2}$ " to $3\frac{3}{4}$ ". The first and last plates are written only on the inner side. They are strung on a circular copper ring measuring $4\frac{1}{16}$ " in diameter and nearly $\frac{9}{16}$ " in thickness. The

¹ [and possesses a lovely appearance — Ed.]

² See Bk. No (15 5 30), pp 179 182, Bk. No (5 6-21), pp 136 138, and Bk. No (15 5 35), pp 41-43, preserved in the Oriental MSS Library, Madras. The second, the third and No 5 of 1908-09 (Appendix A of the *Madras Epigraphical Report*) have been noticed by Mr V. Rangacharya in his *Topographical List of Inscriptions of the Madras Presidency*, as Gt 589, 607 and Ms 165 and are given as separate copper-plates, while in reality they are copies of the same. In one of the copies (viz. Bk 15 5 35) *Rāshtrakūta* is read as *Sovārāshtra*, *Śrīpūndī* as *Śrīvāru*, *Velanāndu vishaya* as *Telugupṭi-gōshṭi*, and *Ratīvarma* as *Kavī-harmadharmachārya*.

ends of the ring are soldered into the bottom of a circular seal measuring $2\frac{1}{8}$ " in diameter. The bottom is fashioned into a flower of several petals which support the seal. An expanded lotus flower and above it the legend *Śrī-Tribhuvanaśīha* are cut in relief on the seal but are slightly damaged. Above the legend is a standing boar facing the proper left with the tip of its snout slightly raised. Above the boar is an *ankuśa* laid in a horizontal position and above the latter, the crescent with a dot which latter, perhaps, stands for the symbol of the sun. The ring had been cut when the plates reached the Assistant Archaeological Superintendent's office. The plates are in a perfect state of preservation, and not a single letter is illegible as the work of engraving was most carefully done. They are now deposited in the Madras Museum.¹ Remarks on the palaeography and orthography of this inscription have been included in my introduction to the grant A above.

The inscription commences with the usual titles of the Eastern Chālukyas beginning with the words "*Sevati Śrīmatām*" and ending with "*Chālukyānām*". It then enumerates the kings of the Eastern Chālukya line from Kubja-Vishnuvardhana, the brother of Satyaśraya-Vallabhendra, down to the donor Vishnuvardhana-Tāla (II). Unlike the other inscriptions of the Chālukyas, the periods of reigns of the different kings are not given in this inscription. The genealogy also differs widely from the genealogy given in A above—the Ārumbāka plates of Bādapa—and from the other published grants which supply a genealogical list of the Chālukya kings.² The relationship, for example, of the ruling kings from Jayasimha-Vallabha to Mangi-Yuvaija, is different. The interval between these two kings includes five generations instead of the usual two. From Vijayāditya-Bhattāraka to Amma I the genealogy is correctly given and in the right order of succession. Next, coming to Amma I, it is stated that he, Vikramāditya (II) and Tāla I, ruled one after another, and then came Yuddhamalla II and the latter's two sons, Bādapa and Tāla II. The omission of the short reigns of Bēta-Vijayāditya V and Bhīma III, the two sons of Amma I, and the reversing of the order in the case of Vikramāditya II and Tāla I, perhaps suggest that the author of the record intended to represent that after Vikramāditya II, from Tāla I to Tāla II, there was an unbroken succession quite contrary to what is stated elsewhere. This seems to be the reason why he took care to omit to mention the number of years each king ruled.

The donee is one Kuppanayya, grandson of Kalivarma and son of Makariyarāja. He occupied the position of a great feudatory and minister (*mahāsāmant-āmātya*) under the king, had successfully stood the test of the four kinds of honesty (*upadhā*), viz. loyalty, disinterestedness, continence and courage, and was a member of the family of Pallavamalla. His father Makariyarāja is stated to have suffered and lost his life in serving his master. Thus it is evident that both father and son were in the service of Tāla II. The Vandram plates of Amma II³ also mention a donee by name Kuppanayya or Kuppanāmātya, but there, his grandfather was one Tūkiya-Peddiya or Tūkiya-yajvan. We cannot therefore identify Kuppanayya of our plates with that Kuppanāmātya. From the appellation 'varma' applied to the name of the grandfather of the donee we may take it that he belonged to a family that claimed to be Kshatriyas. Regarding the family-name Pallavamalla, we know that the usurper Pallavamalla Nandivarman, the last great king of the Pallavas, flourished about A.D. 717 to 770.⁴ After the fall of the Pallavas, some of the later members of the family may have settled in the Telugu country, and Kuppanayya's family has evidently to be traced to one of them. The high-sounding titles of the donee indicate that the members of the family may have once enjoyed a great position.

¹ They are numbered as Eastern Chālukya plates No 12, in the "Catalogue of Copper plate Grants in the Government Museum, Madras" (1918). In the remarks on these plates there, it is stated that the grant must have been made by Tāla I who reigned for a month in 925 A.D. But we know from the plates themselves that these were issued by Tāla II, the grandson of Tāla I.

² *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XX, p. 283.

³ Above, Vol. IX, p. 131.

⁴ Professor G. J. Dabreuil's *The Pallavas*, p. 74.

The language of the plates is Sanskrit prose which is very carelessly written. Telugu words are, however, used in describing the boundaries. Some of these are out of use in the current spoken dialect and are not found in standard Telugu lexicons. They are therefore of great interest and must be carefully interpreted with the help of cognate words in other Dravidian languages —

(1) *Mandi-monka-chinta* *mandi* means 'bent' (Kittel) and *chinta* means 'a tamarind tree'; *monka* may be taken as *mōka* which means 'a sprout' or 'a young tree', *mandi-monka-chinta* will mean 'the young tamarind tree which is bent', perhaps the tree was known in the village by that name

(2) *Kodamaḍuvu* We may try to interpret this compound word thus — The top sill of a sluice is called *goḍugubāṇḍa* (lit the umbrella-slab) in Telugu, perhaps because it stands like an umbrella on the sluice. Similarly the top plank of a door-way is called a *goḍugu-balla*. In Tamil and Kanarese, the cognate word for *goḍugu* is *koda* or *kode*. *Maḍu* in Tamil means 'a sluice'. Hence *koda-maḍuva* may mean 'a sluice of a tank with a top sill', i.e., a sluice with masonry construction, as contrasted with an ordinary sluice. If we take *koda* as *konḍa* then the word would mean 'a sluice on the hill side'

(3) *Gōgurēvu* *gōgu* means 'hemp' and *rēvu* beginning with *r* and not with *ṛ* means in the current Telugu language, 'a ford, a ferry, a landing place, a fort'. Kittel's *Kannāḍa Dictionary* gives this word in both the forms *rēvu* and *ṛēvu* in the same sense. In the Nandamapūṇḍi plates of Rājārāja I, we have the terms *tāḍla-rēva* (l 82) and *golla-rēva* (l 86). We have in Telugu *Chākalī-rēvu*, the place where washermen do their washing business. I take *rēva* and *rēvu* to be the same word and interpret it as a place where a group of people or of trees is to be found. If this interpretation is correct, *gōgurēvu* would mean the plot of land in which generally *gōgu* plants are cultivated or grown in abundance.

(4) *Kadamukōpu* *Kōpu* is a conical bar or column as the small pillars of earth left in the middle of pits by earth diggers, to indicate the original depth of the pit at different places. Bars of slate pencils are also called *balapapu kōpulu*. *Kadamu* may be *kadambu*, the Dravidian form of the Sanskrit word *Kadamba*. The compound word then means 'the trunk of a *kadamba* tree which was like a cone'

(5) *Kalavelalagula-pedda-chinta* To make some sense out of it I would like to correct this compound word as *Kalvelagula-pedda-chinta*. *Kal* is 'stone' and *velagula* or (*velugula*) means a 'fence'. We can translate the whole phrase as 'the big tamarind tree adjoining the stone fencing'.

(6) *Chiruśōḍi-maddalu* *Chiruśōḍi* is perhaps the name of a village or a variety of *maddalu*, and *maddalu* means 'the *maddi* (*bricadelia retusa*) trees'

(7) *Goragapallamu* and *Kattumbōḍalu* *Goraga* is a Śaiva mendicant and *pallamu* means a low land, a wet land, a paddy-field. Therefore the first phrase means 'the paddy field belonging to the Śaiva mendicants'. *Bōḍa* means a tiny embankment constructed to irrigate a field. *Kattumbōḍalu* would mean 'artificial embankments', or, as there is no distinction made in these plates between a short and a long *o*, we may read this word as *Kaṭtumbōḍalu* and divide it as *kattu(m) + poḍalu*. *Kaṭṭuva* means 'a fence' and *poḍalu* means 'bushes'. The compound word would then mean 'the fences made of (natural) bushes'

(8) *Bāḍiya-bola-yantapēḍariyāku-jinta* The meaning of *Bāḍiya* is not clear. It may be a village. *Bola* is *pola* which means 'boundary'. This word is found in this sense in the Nandamapūṇḍi grant (ll 81, etc). *Yanta* is *anta* and means 'touching, near, by the side of'.

¹ [The Tamil word for 'a sluice' is *maḍagu* or *maḍai*. —Ed.]

² [The word may be corrected into *karala-velagala*, that is, 'of bifurcated wood-apple trees'. —Ed.]

Pēdari means 'poor', *pēdariyāku* may be translated as 'poor-leaved', (with very small leaves) The tree perhaps had peculiarly tiny leaves. The whole phrase may be translated as 'the dwarf-leaved tamarind tree which is near the boundary limits of Bādya.'

It is not clear from the text whether the village given away was Śrīpūndī or the adjoining Ādūru or both. In ll 29-30 it is stated that the small village (*grāmatikā*) of Śrīpūndī is given; while in ll 35-36 Ādūru is mentioned as the hamlet (*grāmatikā*) which is the subject of the gift. I think this contradiction is due to a mistake of the writer. I believe that in ll 29-30 he ought to have written (*Ādūru-grāmāntarvartini*) Śrīpūndī-nāma-grāmatikā mayā dattā but omitted by mistake the letters put in brackets, and he ought to have repeated the same words in ll 35-36. It may also be suggested that the mistake of the writer was rather in l 36 than in l 30. He ought to have stated *śimāntarvartinī-Ādūru-(sahita-Śrīpūndī)-nāmā grāmatikā ēta*. Thus it would be that the king gave Śrīpūndī with Ādūru (as its *upagrāma*). But it is not likely that Ādūru formed part of the gift, because it is mentioned in the plates as a boundary to the place mentioned which is the subject of the gift (l 32) and because if Ādūru was one of the villages given, the donor in all probability would have defined its boundaries also. Anyhow the limits of the village do not seem to have touched the boundaries of any of the neighbouring villages except that of Ādūru in the south. It may, therefore, be inferred that instead of gifting away the whole village of either Śrīpūndī or Ādūru, a new hamlet was carved out of the old village or villages for the purpose of this grant. This view is strengthened by the boundaries given in the plates of Bādapa. There, Śrīpūndī is given as the southern boundary of Ārumbāka (l 64). If the whole village of Śrīpūndī was given, we should have expected the name of Ārumbāka as the northern boundary of Śrīpūndī. Instead of that we have some embankments or bushes as the northern limit.

There is no doubt about the identification of Śrīpūndī, because it is given as the southern boundary of Ārumbāka in A and we find it in the same position even now in the Repalle talukā of the Guntūr District. But Ādūru is not found now. Perhaps it has merged in the parent village. In describing the position of the village Śrīpūndī it is said that it was in the middle of (or between) *vāgaru*. But what is *vāgaru*? I think it is a compound word consisting of two words *vāgu* and *aru*. *Vāgu* means 'a stream' and *aru* may be equivalent to *aru* which means 'a river' in Tamil, the cognate of *ēru* in current Telugu. The land given by the grant seems to have been situated within a delta formed by streams, one of which was known by the name of *vāgu* and the other *aru* or *ēru*.

The date of the grant, though not given in the plates, can easily be guessed. Of the kings mentioned in the plates Amma II is the last one known to us and the grant must have been therefore issued subsequent to his reign and prior to the restoration. Whether Tāla II of record B actually ruled for some time and whether this grant was issued during his *de facto* rule or whether he considered the reign of his brother Bādapa as *svarājya-samaya* cannot be definitely determined. But the probability seems to be that Tāla did not rule independently of his elder brother Bādapa. The legend on his (Tāla's) seal and the epithets used for Bādapa and Tāla in these plates support this view. The legend on the seal of Tāla is 'Tribhuvana-siha' instead of the imperial legend of 'Tribhuvānānkusā' which we find on Bādapa's seal. In mentioning the prior kings the inscription uses no royal epithets. But on coming to Bādapa he is styled as 'Bādapākhyā-Mahārājādhirāja-Paramēśarah' (ll 18-19). This clearly indicates that the previous kings were dead and Bādapa was the living supreme ruler according to the writer of the inscription. Again, in mentioning Tāla, he is styled at one place only as Tāla-bhūpāla (l 19) and at another place Mahārājādhirāja (l 24), but the epithet of Paramēś-

vara is not applied to him. We know that Pulakēsin II acquired this title as a sign of paramountcy after defeating Harsha, the paramount lord of the north, who had this title. From this we can infer that Bādapa was ruling as the supreme lord of the kingdom, and Tāla acted as a subordinate and lieutenant. It is not necessary that such charties should be conferred by the reigning prince alone, and *sarājya-samaya* need not necessarily mean the reign of the donor. It may here mean the period during which the once-excluded junior line obtained possession of the kingdom, which, in their view, really belonged to them. Tāla, of course, considered the possession of his elder brother as his own possession.¹

TEXT.

First Plate

- 1 'स्वस्ति [i] श्रीमतां सकलभुवनसंस्थयमानमानव्य-
- 2 सगोत्राणां हारीतिपुत्राणां कौशिकीवरप्रसादल[ब्ध]राज्या-
- 3 नां म[i]तृगणपरिपालितानां स्वामिमहासेनपा-
- 4 दानुध्यातानां भगवन्नारायणप्रसादसमा-
- 5 सादितवरवराहलांकनो⁵ चणक्षणवशीक्रि⁶तारातिम-

Second Plate ; First Side.

- 6 गडल⁷नां अश्वमेधावभृत(य)ज्ञानपवित्रीक्रि⁸तवपुषां
- 7 चाकुक्ष्य[i*]नां कुक्कमर्ककरिणो⁹स्तत्याश्रयवत्समेन्द्रस्य
- 8 भ्राता कुक्कविष्णुवर्द्धनः । तत्सुतो जयसिंहव-
- 9 ज्ञमः । तत्सूनुर्विष्णुराजः । तत्पुत्रः ¹⁰इन्द्रिभट्टार-
- 10 कः । तत्पुत्री विष्णुवर्द्धनः । तत्सुतः सत्याश्रयः । तत्सूनु-

Second Plate , Second Side

- 11 मगियुवरज¹¹ तत्पुत्रः कोकिक्रि¹² । तद्भ्राता विष्णुराजः । तद्भ्रा[i*]-
- 12 ता विजयादित्यः । तात्पुत्रो¹³ विष्णुवर्द्धनः । तात्पुत्रो¹³ विजयादि-
- 13 त्यभट्टारकः । तत्पुत्रः विष्णुवर्द्धनः [i*] तत्सुतो नरेन्द्र-
- 14 विजयदित्यः¹⁴ [i*] तत्पुत्रः कलिविष्णुव[र्द्ध]नः । तत्पुतो¹⁵
- 15 गुणकेनज्ञातविजयादित्यः । तदनुजसुतो भिमराजः¹⁶ ।

¹ Vide Fleet's *Dynasties of the Canarese Districts*, p. 361

² The marks of a floral design are faintly visible here

³ The letter न is cut above the line in the plate

⁴ Read 'स्वस्ति'

⁵ Read वशीकृता

⁶ Read 'वोक्त'

⁷ Read 'कुक्कमर्ककरिणी'

⁸ Read 'मगियुवरज'

⁹ Read 'कोकिक्रि'

¹⁰ Read 'विजयादित्य'

¹¹ Read 'तत्पुत्री'

¹² Read 'संस्थयमान'

¹³ Read 'मण्डलानां'

¹⁴ Read 'इन्द्र'

¹⁵ Read 'तरपुत्री'

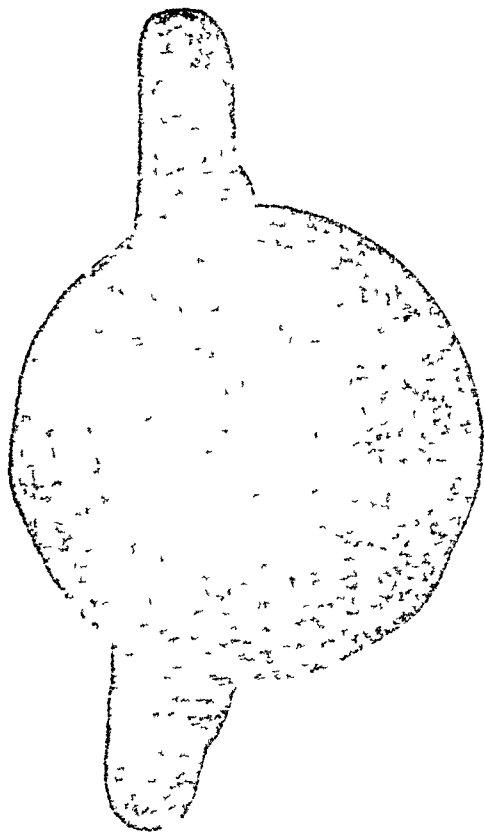
¹⁶ Read 'भिमराज'

[illegible][illegible][illegible][illegible][illegible][illegible]

32
 34

36
 38
 40

SEAL (FROM A PHOTOGRAPH)



Third Plate, First Side

- 16 तत्पुत्रः कोल्लविविजयादित्यः । तत्पुत्ररुमराजः । तदनु वि-
 17 क्रमादित्यः [1*] तदनु भीमानुजः त'७७भूपालः । तत्पुत्र[1*] श्रीयु-
 18 क्षमः [1*] तत्पुत्रो वादवा(पा)ख्यमहाराजधिराजः परमेश्व-
 19 रः । तदनुजो विष्णुवर्द्धनस्ता७७भूपालः^३ स्वराज्यस-
 20 मये परमनिर्भृत्यस्य कृतकेशा[क]रजीतस्वमङ्गिदयस्य^६

Third Plate, Second Side

- 21 पलवान्वयस्य चतुरपधाश्वस्य महामामन्तामात्य-
 22 पदनियुक्तस्य सक[ल*]गुणगणालकृतस्य^७ पती^८हितधवल-
 23 स्य नानाकिकुर्वीणतया परमकरुणापन्नङ्गि-^९
 24 दयस्सन्विष्णुवर्द्धनमहाराजाधिराजः वेलनाण्डु-
 25 विडय^{१०}निवासिनो राष्ट्रकु(कु)टप्रमुखान् कुटुंबिन आह-

Fourth Plate, First Side.

- 26 य इत्यमाज्ञापयति स्म । विदितमस्तु वीक्षाभिः अस्मै
 27 पद्मवर्मस्त्वान्वयाय कालिवर्मस्य पोताय^{११} अस्मत्प्र-
 28 स्तावमृतस्य कृति^{१२}तल्लेशस्य मकरियराजस्य
 29 पुत्र[1]य कुप्यनय्यवरना[स्त्रे^{१३}] वाग७७मच्ये^{१४}
 30 श्रीपुण्ड्रिनामत्रमटिका^{१५} मय[1*] दत्त^{१६} । तस्य[1*] [अ*]वधयः । पुर्व-

Fourth Plate, Second Side

- 31 त^{१७} मण्डिमुकचिन्द^{१८} आग्नयतः^{१९} कोडमदुवु दक्षिणतः अ-^{२०}
 32 दुरि सीमान्तो(न्ते) गोगु७७वु नैरित्यतः^{२१} कदमुकोपु पञ्चवात^{२२} क-
 33 लवेललगुलपेहचिन्त । वायव्यतः चि७७शो-
 34 दिमहलु उत्तरतः गोरगपल्लसुत्तरमुन कहुंबोदलु
 35 ईशानतः वादियवोलय[ण्ट] पेदरियाकुजिन्त^{२३} । एतत्त^{२४}मान्तर्व-

^१ Read ता७७भूपाल^२ Read राजाधिराज^३ Read भूपाल^४ Read निर्भृत्य^५ Read [कृतकेशाचारजितस्वामिन् - Ed]^६ Read पद्मवा^७ Read लक्षणस्य^८ Read पति^९ Read दय^{१०} Read विषय^{११} Read वर्मस्य पोताय^{१२} Read कृतकेशस्य^{१३} The superscription (here and in line 31 below) is written in the form of a final n, while in other cases (such as 1 6 स्नान), 1 7 विरनी, etc) it is formed as in modern Telugu^{१४} Read मध्ये^{१५} Read श्रीपुण्ड्रिनामयामटिका^{१६} Read दत्ता^{१७} Read पूर्वत^{१८} Read चिन्त^{१९} Read आग्नयतः^{२०} Read वादुरि^{२१} Read नैरित्यत^{२२} Read पञ्चमत^{२३} Read चिन्त^{२४} Read एतत्त

Fifth Plate.

- 36 त्ति[नी] चा[ट्ट]रुनाम(नी) ग्रामटिका सर्वकरपरिहारेश मान्यमया
 37 दत्ता इति [1*] अस्योपरि न केन चाद्या[भ]र¹ कर्त्तव्या यः करोति स पञ्च-²
 38 मन्हा[पा]तकसंयुक्तो भवति । तद्यः प्रीत³ व्यासेन । सद्दत्तां प्रदत्त[ि]
 39 वा यो हरत वसुधरा⁴ [1*] प्रष्टिवर्षसह[भ]रिणि वि[ष्ट]र-
 40 यां जायत्र⁵ क्रिमिः⁶ । इविषया⁷चार्येण लिखित⁸ ।

TRANSLATION.

(Lines 1-8) [The usual titles of the Chālukyas, and the mention of Satyāśraya Vallabhēndra as in ll. 1-4 of A]

(Ll 8-19) His brother was Kubja-Vishnuvardhana; his son Jayasimha-Vallabha; his son Vishnurāja, his son Indra-Bhattāraka; his son Vishnuvardhana; his son Satyāśraya; his son Mangi-Yuvarāja, his son, Kokkili; his brother, Vishnurāja; his brother Vijayāditya; his son Vishnuvardhana, his son Vijayāditya-Bhattāraka; his son Vishnuvardhana; his son Narēndra-Vijayāditya; his son Kali-Vishnuvardhana; his son Gunakkēnallāta-Vijayāditya, his younger brother's son Bhimarāja, his son Kollabi-Vijayāditya; his son Ammarāja, after him, Vikramāditya, after him, Bhima's younger brother Tālabhūpāla; his son Śīr Yuddhamalla; his son Mahārājādhirāja Paramēśvara Bādapa; his younger brother Vishnuvardhana Tālabhūpāla

(Ll 19-26) (This) Vishnuvardhana-Mahārājādhirāja, during the period of his rule (*svarājya*),—(moved) with heart full of great kindness on account of the various services rendered by one, who was very much devoted (*to him*), who won the heart of his master by hard work and good behaviour, who belonged to the family of the Pallavas, who came pure out of the four tests (loyalty, etc.), who was appointed to the position of a great *sāmanta* and *amātya*, who was adorned with all virtues and who was pure in the cause of his master—sent for the chiefs of families residing in Velanāndu-*viśaya* headed by the Rāshtrakūtas and ordered them thus —

(Ll 26-30) "Be it known to you that to this (*donee*) named Kuppanayya, of the family of Pallavamalla, grandson of Kalivarma, and son of Makariyarāja who has suffered and died in our cause, we have given the small village (*grāmatika*) named Śrīpūṇḍi (situated) in the middle of Vāgaṟu.

(Ll 30-35) "Its boundaries are to the east *mandimūḷa-chinta*, to the south-east *koḍa-maduvu*, to the south *gōḡuṟavu* which lies at the end of the boundary of *Āḍūru*, to the south-west *kadamu-lōpu*, to the west *kalarēlalagula-pēdda-chinta*, to the north west *Chiruṣōdi-maddalu*, to the north *katṭum-bōḍalu* north of *Gōraga-pallamu*, to the north-east *bāḍiyabotayanā pēdaryāku-chinta*.

(Ll 35-37) "Within this boundary I have given you as *mānya* the small village called *Āḍūru* exempted from all taxes "

(Ll 37-40) None should interfere with this (*village*). One who does so shall be deemed to have committed the five great sins. Vyāsa has also said [the usual imprecatory verse सद्दत्तां परदत्तां, etc.] Written by Ravivarmanacharya.

¹ Read °विहासा

² Read वसुधरा.

³ Read °वर्षा

⁴ Cancel the *anuvāra*.

⁵ Read जायते.

⁶ Read लिखित.

⁷ Read श्री.

⁸ [Read कृति.—Ed.]

No. 25.—PANCHADHARALA PILLAR INSCRIPTION OF THE KONA KING CHODA III.
SAKA-SAMVAT 1325¹

By J NOBEL, PH D, BERLIN UNIVERSITY.

An inked estampage of the inscription (No 210 of 1899) was supplied by the late Mr. Venkayya and made over to me by Prof Lüders. The inscription is engraved on three faces of a square pillar at the eastern entrance of the Dharmalingēśvara temple at Pañchadhārāla in the Vizagapatam district of the Madras Presidency. On the north face are five verses (*pañcharatna*) which are not connected with the inscription, but were composed, as stated in the first five lines of the west face, by a certain Chen[n*]jāpeg[g*]ada Chennakavirāja-kalahamsa in praise of the god Dharmalinga. That these verses were engraved at a later time than the inscription is shown by a Telugu inscription² on a pillar at the western entrance of the same temple dated in Śaka-Samvat 1465, which mentions a certain Chennapeggada Chennakavirāja, and by a pillar inscription³ at the entrance of the Vishnu temple in the same village dated in Śaka-Samvat 1452, which contains a verse by a poet called Chennakavirāja. There can be no doubt that the person mentioned in these two inscriptions is identical with the author of the '*pañcharatna*'

The inscription contains 93 lines of writing. The average size of the letters is 1 inch. The alphabet is Telugu. Peculiar is the subscript form of *tha* which resembles the *ta* in its full form (see *e g*, *Sthānusaīlah*, l 14, *paritrān-ārththam*, l 37). The same sign is used for expressing the second *dha* in the ligature *dhdha* (see *e g*, *Varasiddhahāra*, l 83). The language is Sanskrit, and, with the exception of the last remark in Telugu (*śloka* 20), the whole inscription is in verse. Regarding the orthography it may be stated that after *anuvāra* as well as after *r*, consonants are sometimes doubled, as in *linggas tīrtham* in l 43.

The inscription is of some interest as it makes us acquainted with one of the smaller dynasties of Southern India, of which but little was known to us hitherto.

After an invocation of god Ganēśa (v 1) the inscription begins with a mythical genealogy of the Kōṇa dynasty. From Vishnu's navel sprang Brahmā, his son was Marīchi, his son was Kaśyapa, from him sprang Bhānu (the Sun), from him Manu, and in his race was born Arjuna Kārtavīrya (v 2)⁴.

The historical genealogy begins with verse 3. In Arjuna Kārtavīrya's race there was Chōḍa I, who governed the country lying between the Vindhya mountain and the ocean (v 3). His *birudas* are enumerated in verse 4 and are 'Māhishmaty-adhipa, Saubhadra, Birudankarudra,⁵ Ātrēya-gōtra Gandavēnda, Mamniya-kshināpālī mṛga-vēmtakāra'. The title of 'the lord of Māhishmatī' seems to be founded only on the fact that he derived his descent from Arjuna Kārtavīrya. Chōḍa I was married to Mallāmbā (v 5).

Their son was Upēndra (v 5), of whom nothing is recorded except that his *biruda* was Gandavēnda (v 8), and that his wife was Bimbāmbikā (v 7).

From her he had a son, Chōḍa II (v 7). In verse 8 we are told that he ruled over the kingdom which was given to him by his father, the honoured Gandavēnda, the ruler of

¹ [I had to make a few alterations in this and the next article and am alone responsible for them.—L.L.]

² See the *Annual Report on South-Indian Epigraphy* for 1900, p 39, No 211.

³ See *ib*, p 40, No 220.

⁴ See above, Vol VII, p 120.

⁵ The same *biruda* was borne by a prince Virapārāja, who is mentioned in a Telugu inscription from the same Dharmalingēśvara temple at Pañchadhārāla, dated Śaka-Samvat 141[6], and by a king Lakkama-Chōḍa in an undated inscription from the same place. See *Annual Report* for 1900, p 39, No 212 and p 40, No 222.

Madhyadēśa *Madhyadēśa* is usually taken to be the name of the country lying between the Gangā and the Yamunā. It seems impossible, however, that this region should be meant by the *Madhyadēśa* of our inscription, because we are told in verse 5 that Chōḍa I ruled over the country between the Vindhya mountain and the ocean. For this reason *Madhyadēśa* must be taken in a sense different from the usual one. It apparently denotes the region lying between the two rivers Gōḍāvarī and Krishnā, which by its natural condition bears a certain resemblance to the country between the Gangā and the Yamunā. In the same meaning *Madhyadēśa* appears to have been used in two other passages. In the Pithāpuram pillar inscription of Prithivīśvara, dated in Śaka-Samvat 1108,¹ the chiefs of Velanāndu claim their origin from Indrasēna, whose capital is said to have been 'Kīrtipura in *Madhyadēśa*, (a city) that was the only receptacle of the bliss of the enjoyment of all pleasures (*aśēsha-sukha-sambhōga-bhāgadhēya-aiḥa-bhā[ya]nam | Madhyadēśe=bhavat tasya sthānam Kīrtipuram mahat ||*)'. Since we know that the chiefs of Velanāndu ruled over a tract of the Telugu country, it is highly probable that here also *Madhyadēśa* is to be understood as the name of the country between the Gōḍāvarī and the Krishnā. This conclusion is corroborated by verse 23 of the same inscription. There we read that the king Vēdura II won a victory over an unnamed Pāndya king under orders of Vīra-Chōḍa, who conferred upon him, as a reward, one half of his crown and the *Sindhuyugmāntara*, 'the country between the pair of rivers'. The late Prof. Hultzsch was certainly right in identifying the 'pair of rivers' with the two rivers Krishnā and Gōḍāvarī. *Sindhuyugmāntara* then, would be the same as *Madhyadēśa*.

The second passage occurs in a verse in Rudrabhatta's commentary on the *Vaidyaḥṛana*². *Yatr-āgatā Tryambakaparvatāch=cha Gōḍāvarī sindhunadēna yuktā | tatr-āstī Gōḍātata-Madhyadēśe Shatkhēṭakāḥhyam³ nagaram suramyam ||* The *Gōḍātata-Madhyadēśa* of this stanza cannot be the country between the Gangā and the Yamunā, but must be looked for in the vicinity of the Gōḍāvarī, as the region included by the Krishnā and the Gōḍāvarī.

In verse 9 we are told that Chōḍa II set about in aid of the harassed Sultān (*suratrāna*) of Panduva, vanquished the Emperor of Dillī (Delhi), and gave the goddess of victory together with twenty-two elephants to the king of Utkala (Orissa).

The 'Sultān of Panduva' is, apparently, Ilyās Khwāja Sultān, the first independent ruler of Bengal who in 1353 A. D. transferred his capital from Gaur to Pandua in the Mālda district,⁴ and the verse of our inscription refers to the war between him and Fīrōz Tughlaq, the Emperor of Delhi and successor of the well-known Muhammad Tughlaq. According to Ferishta the campaign took place in 1353 A. D. which would agree well with the statement of the present inscription, that the grandfather of Chōḍa III, whose date was 1401 A. D., took part in the campaign against

¹ Above, Vol. IV, p. 32.

² See Aufrecht, *Cat. Cod. Sanscr. Bibl. Bodl.*, p. 318a. See also above, Vol. VI, p. 132, note 5.

³ The town of Shatkhēṭaka I am unable to identify.

⁴ There are altogether three places of the name of Panduva. The first is a village in the Gōḍāvarī district, situated about 40 miles to the south-west from Dāksharāma (see v. 10), but it is quite improbable that the Panduva of our inscription should be identical with that place which apparently in early times was only a village. In his *Notes of the Antiquarian Remains in the Presidency of Madras*, Vol. I, p. 39, Mr. Sewell mentions that there is a copper-plate inscription dated in Śaka 1056 which records the grant of the village of Panduva, as an *agrahāra* to certain Brahmans, by Kolam Kōṭappa-Nāyaka, lord of Sarasipura. Another Pandua is found in Bengal in the Hūgī district. It is at present a village, but in ancient times it was fortified and the seat of a Hindu rājā, but it never was the capital of a Mahomedan ruler (see *Imperial Gazetteer of India*, New ed., Vol. XIX, p. 394). For the third place of the name of Pandua in the Mālda district, see *ibid.* p. 392.

the Emperor of Delhi Of the war Ferishta gives the following account in his *History of the Rise of the Mahomedan Power in India* ¹ —

“ In the year 754 (i.e. 1353 A.D.) the King (Feroze Tughlak, the successor of the well-known Mohamed Tughlak) having hunted at Kallanore, caused a palace to be built on the banks of the Soorsutty In the month of Shuwal, of the same year, he appointed Khan Jehan to the charge of Dehly, and himself marched towards Luknowty, to subdue Hajy Elias This chief had assumed royal honours, and the title of Sums-ood-Deen, and had also occupied with his troops the whole of Bengal and Behar, as far as Benares On the King's arrival in the neighbourhood of Gorukpoor, the zemindars of that place made the usual presents, and were admitted to pay their respects. The King then penetrated as far as Bundwa,² one of the stations of Hajy Elias, and the latter retreated to Yekdulla, whither the King pursued him, and arrived there on the 7th of Rubbee-ool-Awul. An action ensued on the same day, but Hajy Elias having entrenched his position very strongly reduced the King to the necessity of surrounding him The blockade continued for twenty days, when, on the 5th of Rubbee-ool-Akhir, Feroze, intending to change his ground, and to encamp on the banks of the Ganges, went out to reconnoitre The enemy, imagining that he meditated a retreat, left their works, and drew up in order of battle On perceiving it was the King's intention to attack them, however, they again retreated, but with such precipitation and confusion, that 44 elephants and many standards fell into the King's hand The rainy season soon after came on with great violence, peace was concluded, and the King returned to Delhy, without effecting his effects ”

The last remark leaves no doubt that Firōz Tughlaq did not succeed in subduing Ilyās Khwāja, which would be quite in harmony with the statement of the present inscription, that the Sultān of Panduva gained a victory over the Emperor of Delhi From the inscription we may further gather that the Sultān of Panduva was aided by the king of Orissa, and from the account that Chōḍa II gave ‘ the Śrī of Victory together with twenty-two elephants to the king of Utkala ’ it becomes likely that he was a vassal of the ruler of Orissa, or a general in his army

According to verse 10, the *Bhīmēśa-līṅga* in *Dākshārāma*,³ the modern Dracharam in the Godāvāri district, four miles from Rāmachandrapuram, was the idol of king Chōḍa II He was married to *Attemāmbā* (v 11)

The son of Chōḍa II was *Bhīma* (v 11), of whom nothing is recorded except that he was married to *Lakkāmbā* (v 12).

His son was *Chōḍa III* (v 12) In verse 16 he is said to have protected the princes of the great *Shatkōṇa* The name of *Mahā-Shatkōṇa* seems to be identical with *Kōṇa-śīma* and *Kōṇa-maṇḍala*, the local designation of the Godāvāri Delta ⁴ In the Naḍupūru grant of Anna-Vēma dated in Śaka-Samvat 1296, we find the name *Kōṇasthala* which, according to the late Prof Hultzsch, is the same as *Kōṇa-maṇḍala* and *Kōṇa-śīma* ⁵

From the Pithāpuram pillar inscription of Mallidēva and Manma-Satya II⁶ we know of a certain dynasty that ruled over the *Kōṇa-maṇḍala* The last of the princes here mentioned is Manma-Satya II, who ruled in Śaka-Samvat 1117 Since the dynasty of our inscription has no connection with that older dynasty, it seems that in the 13th century a change of dynasties

¹ Translated by John Briggs, Vol I, p 448 f

² Bundwa undoubtedly is the Panduva of our inscription Pandua is situated some twenty miles from Gaur

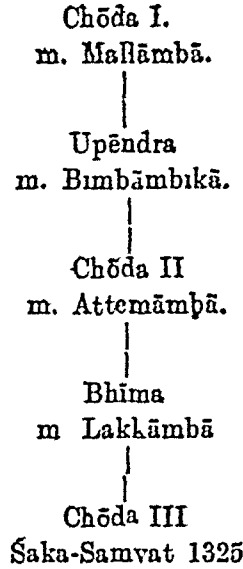
³ With regard to the name of *Dākshārāma*, see Hultzsch's remark above, Vol IV, No, 37, note 3

⁴ See above, Vol III, p 287

⁵ See above, Vol III, p 287, and Vol IV, p 84, also Vol VII, p. 75

⁶ See above, Vol IV, p 83.

took place, though the cause of it is unknown to us. Perhaps it will be best to distinguish the new dynasty from the older one by calling it the second Kōṇa dynasty. Its pedigree according to the present inscription would be as follows :—



With verse 16 we come to the real purpose of the inscription. We are told (vv. 16, 18, 20) that Chōḍa III built a *gōpura* and laid out a grove at the eastern entrance of the Dharmalingēśvara temple at Pañchadhārāla, the modern Pañchadhārāla in the Vizagapatam district.

The date of this event is given twice, both times in chronograms. According to v. 18 it took place in the Śaka year that is unfolded by the arrows (5), the arms (2), the Rāmas (3), and the moon (1), according to v. 20 in the Śaka year counted by the arrows (5), the arms (2), the Rāmas (3), and the earth (1), in the year Svabhānu, in the month of Rādha, on the 6th day of the bright fortnight, on Friday. This date corresponds to A.D. 1403, April 27, Friday.

TEXT.

West Face.

- 1 त्रियमवतु गजास्य[.] श्रेयसां¹
- 2 वो गुणानां स सुवनजमनादौ
- 3 रम्यहर्म्यं सुराणां । अजविनु-
- 4 तमहिम्नः कङ्कुको यस्य ना-
- 5 भीकुहरविहरदंभः कुम्भि-
- 6 नीशाटिकाभूत् ॥ [१*]² नाभेर्विष्णोरज-
- 7 नि स विधिस्तत्तनूजो मरौचिस्तत्तजा-

¹ The *anusvara* stands at the beginning of the next line.

² Metre *Mālinī*.

- 8 तो भुवनभवनः कस्यप¹स्तस्य सनुः ।
 9 भानुर्मूर्तित्रयमयवपुस्तत्सुतो-
 10 भून्मनू राडाद्यस्तस्यान्वयनृपमणि-
 11 चार्जुनो दुर्जनोऽग्रः ॥ [२*]² यश्चक्रं चक्रपा-
 12 णेर्दशशतभुजभृद्भूवरो लीलयाभू-
 13 द्यत्काराया चिरायावसदवसर-
 14 भागुष्टतस्याणुशैलः³ । तस्य श्रीकार्जुनीवीर्या-
 15 र्जुनधरणिपतेर्वंशजो नम्रभूभृच्चू-
 16 ङ्गोडाभिधानश्चिरविभवमशास्त्रिधुविं-
 17 ध्यांतरोर्वी ॥ [३*]⁴ माहिष्मत्त्वधिप⁵ प्रथाम-
 18 हिमभिर्माद्यद्भुजक्रोडया सीमद्वो वि-
 19 रुदंकसुद्र उदयैरात्रेयगोत्रीय-
 20 मैः । विक्रात्यापि च गंडवेंडविहदी
 21 धाटीभटैर्मनियन्मपाकीमृगवेंट-
 22 कार इति तं प्राप्सुजन् भूभुजः ॥ [४*]⁶
 23 ततश्चोडमहीपालादजीजनदयो-
 24 दयं । मन्नांवा महितोपेंद्रमु-
 25 पेंद्रमिव सादितिः ॥ [५*]⁷ तस्मिन्भरं जनक-
 26 दोरवतीर्णसुर्व्या विम्वत्यदभ्रव-
 27 लविभ्रमदंसकूटे । दिक्कुमिनः स्वक-
 28 रिणीधरमंत नित्यं शेषोपि शक्रकरे-
 29 भवदिष्टभूपा ॥ [६*]⁸ तस्मादुपेंद्राद्दुदभृदु-
 30 दारो विवाविकायां किल चोडभूपा-
 31 : । चूडामणोचुबितपादपीठः क्रोडा-
 32 जितारातिनराधिपाना ॥ [७*]⁹ महितगंडुवें¹⁰
 33 उडमध्यदेशाधीशजनकदत्तरान्यसमधिकेन
 34 । तेन किल नृपेण तप्तचातुर्वर्ण्यमसर-
 35 तस्वितीर्णमयजहाम ॥ [८*]¹¹ एकं चित्र-

¹ Read कस्यप² Mandākrāntā.³ Read °भागशुत°.⁴ Sargdharā⁵ Read °धिप°.⁶ Sārāṭīlāṣkrīdāta.⁷ Anushtuph⁸ Vasantatilakā⁹ Indrakayā¹⁰ The anusvāra stands at the beginning of the next line.¹¹ [Āṣṭavelādi, a variety of Gīti usually employed in Telugu verse.—O. R. K. Ch.]

- 36 मिदं तु पंड्डुवसुरत्राणार्त्तसेना-
 37 परित्राणार्थं प्रतिगम्य बाहुवि-
 38 भवैर्निजित्य डिक्तीपति । द्वाविश-

South Face

- 39 त्पुरुदंतिभिस्सममदाज्जैवे-¹
 10 हिरामुत्कळचोणीशाय स
 41 भूपतिः सुरवरस्त्रोभ्यस्तुरु-
 12 ष्कानपि ॥ [८*]² देवं दाक्षारामभीमे-
 13 शलिंगस्तोर्थं गोदा यूपसंवा-
 14 धरोधाः । कीर्त्तिः³ शुद्धा सप्तसंतानसि-
 45 द्वा चोडेंद्रस्य श्रीरपि श्रीविधात्री ॥ [१०*]⁴
 46 तस्मादसूतात्मजमर्त्तमाविका च⁵-
 17 द्र द्वितीयेव विपश्चिदचितं । एष
 48 त्विषा भीम इति द्विषा रणे पित्रैव
 49 भीमः क्रियते स्म नामतः ॥ [११*]⁶ भीमक्षो-
 50 णिभुजो भुजोर्जितजयादागामिभ-
 51 द्रोदयक्रीडं चोडकुमारमात्मत-
 52 नयं प्राप्नोत्युरंध्रीमणी । सा र-
 53 त्नाकरमेखला वसुमती गुर्वी यथा-
 54 श्र्यागमं लक्काव्वा ललितोदये विरचि-
 55 ते पुण्यैर्ग्रहेः पंचभिः ॥ [१२*]⁷ चोडनृपालि
 56 तस्मिन् लोकनुता भजति राजह-
 57 सविभूति । कुवलयतलमपि विकस-
 58 त्कमलाकरतामुपैति सततामोद⁸
 59 ॥ [१३*]⁹ तर्कषु धर्मेषु जनावनेषु क्ष्माकट-
 60 क्षाना परिमर्द्दनेषु । चोडेंद्रमाश्रि-
 61 त्य चिरं चतस्रः स्त्रार्थं भजते भु-
 62 वि राजविद्याः ॥ [१४*]¹⁰ दान दीनजनेप्सिता-

¹ The *anusvara* stands at the beginning of the next line.

- *Sardūlavikrīḍita*.

² Read कीर्त्ति

³ *Sālinī*

⁴ [He te for the sake of metre the vowel e is to be treated as short

Telugu recognises a short e - Ed.]

⁵ The *anusvara* stands at the beginning of the next line

⁶ *Indraujrā*

⁷ *Sardūlavikrīḍita*

⁸ *Āryāgītā*

¹⁰ *Indraujrā*

- 63 दतिशयश्रीदं गुणालंकता कीर्त्ति-
 64 र्यस्य सरस्वती सहचरो सौदर्य-
 65 मार्यादित । तेजो विक्रमविश्रुतं रिपु-
 66 मनीगर्वाधकारापह धर्मश्रीड-
 67 नृपस्य तस्य धरणावाकल्पमुज्जृभतां¹ ॥ [१५*]²
 68 श्रीमश्रीडनृपः स पालितमहापट्कोण-
 69 भूमीश्वरो लोकोदक्षितपञ्चधार-
 70 नगरीधर्मेश्वरप्रीतये । पूर्वद्वा-
 71 रि विराजितं विलसितैरास्थापय-
 72 त्रौपुरं द्रष्टुं गोपुरयोषिता-
 73 मिव नवक्रीडाद्रिमिष्टोत्सवान् ॥ [१६*]³ यन्त्रो-
 74 र्जिताः पणसजबिक्कनाक्किेररंभा-
 75 रसाळतरवो नृपचोडनाम्ना । दातु-
 76 त्वमस्य परिचेतुमिवावतीर्णाः कल्पद्रु-
 77 माः पुरवने विलसन्ति पञ्च ॥ [१७*]⁴

East Face

- 78 सगरभुजरामचंद्रप्रसरे शाके
 79 निजीजसीव विरचितं । चोडेश्व-
 80 रेण सवनं गोपुरमाचंद्रमादिने-⁵
 81 द्र जयतात् ॥ [१८*]⁶ लिङ्गैः पञ्चशतैः
 82 सदा परिहृती नागेंद्रशैलालयः
 83 संसिध्या⁷ वरसिद्धलिङ्ग इति यः
 84 पूर्वैः पुरा भाष्यते । पद्यात्पाण्डव-
 85 भक्तवत्सलतया धर्मेश इत्यागमैः
 86 सीयं रक्षतु चोडभूपमनिश
 87 श्रीराजराजेश्वरः ॥ [१९*]⁸ शाकाब्दे शर-
 88 बाहुरामवसुधासंख्ये स्वभा-
 89 न्वन्दके राधे षष्टदिने सितेष्यशनसो
 90 वारे वर गोपुरं । साराम प्रक-

¹ Read °मुञ्जृ भता

² Vasantatilaka

³ Sārdūlavikrīḍita.

⁴ गोपुरमाचंद्रमा° is corrected from गोपुर संद्रमा°.

⁵ Sārdūlavikrīḍita

⁶ The anusāra stands at the beginning of the next line.

⁷ Aryāgiri

⁸ Read रुसिद्ध

⁹ Sārdūlavikrīḍita.

91 ट प्रतिष्ठितमिद ओचोडभूमौ-

92 भुजा खेयादाशशिभास्करं गिरिसुता-

93 धर्म्मेशविद्यात्तये ॥ [२०*]¹ ओकालु २० ॥

TRANSLATION.²

(Verse 1) May the Elephant-faced (Ganēśa) increase the splendour of your excellent qualities : he whose playing ball in the beginning of the creation of the world was the pleasant dwelling-place of the gods, while his majesty was praised by Brahman, the water moving in the cavity of whose (Ganēśa's) navel became the garment of the earth

(V 2) From Vishnu's navel Brahmā was born His son was Marīchi His son was Kasyapa, the origin of beings³ His son was Bhānu (the Sun), whose body consists of the three forms⁴ His son was Manu, the first king A jewel among the princes of his race was Arjuna, terrible to evil-doers

(V 3) Born in the race of the glorious king Arjuna-Kārtavīrya,—in whose prison he (*Rāvana*) who had uplifted the mountain of Sthānu (Śiva) lived long, waiting his time, through the sport of the wielder of the disc (Vishnu) his realm had been conferred as a boon on the thousand-armed one⁵—king called Chōḍa, to whom the crests of kings bowed down, ruled with long-lasting power the country between the ocean and the Vindhya.

(V 4) On account of the greatness of (*his*) fame the kings honoured him as 'Māhishmaty-adhīpa', on account of the sport of (*his*) proud arm as 'Saubhadra', for his accomplishment is 'Birudankarudra', on account of (*his*) self-control as Ātrēya-gōtra, on account of (*his*) valour as having the *brūda* 'Gandavenda', on account of (*his*) warriors as 'Mamniya-kshmapālī-mriga-vēntakāra'

(V 5) To that king Chōḍa, Mallāmbā bore the honoured Upēndra, the origin of fame, as Aditi (*bore*) Upēndra (Vishnu)

(V 6) While he, in whose shoulder there was no small strength, bore the burden of the earth descended from his father's arms, the elephants of the quarters were unceasingly sporting with their females and Śēsha was a favourite ornament in Śiva's hand⁶

(V 7) From that Upēndra was born to Bimbāmbikā the august prince Chōḍa, whose foot-stool was kissed by the crest jewels of the hostile princes, vanquished (*by him*) in sport.

¹ *Sūrdūlavakrīḍita*

² [In some places it has become too literal —Ed.]

³ Kasyapa had numerous wives and for this reason a very large and heterogeneous progeny deities, demons, serpents, birds, reptiles, in fine all sorts of animated beings. Hence he is called sometimes Prajāpati, see *Viṣṇupurāṇa*, transl by Wilson, p 122 ff

⁴ *Trimūrti* is an epithet of the Sun, cf *Hōmādrī (Bibl Ind)* 1 611.9, 823 6, 2a. 126 11, the same sense has *trayīmaya* in Ruyyaka's *Alambārasarasa* (*Kāvyaṃlā*, No 35), p 99 See also Hopkins, *The Religion of India* p 446 f

⁵ I take the compound दशशतभुजसद्वर as दशशतभुजसद्वयसद्वर. The verse refers to the well known legends of Rāvana's lifting the Kailāsa on his march to attack Indra and his capture by Arjuna-Kārtavīrya; but the fortune alluded to in the first *pāda* does not seem to occur in other versions of the story [The first *pāda* seems to imply that this (*i.e.* Arjuna-Kārtavīrya's) realm had been conferred on him by the sport of Vishnu as a boon for his one thousand arms, though he is said to have got various boons from Dattatṛēya —Ed.]

⁶ Both the elephants and Śēsha were released from their duties, for Upēndra acted as *lōkapāla* and *Chūḍara*

(V. 8) Being satisfied by the king who was great on account of the kingdom given (to him) by his father, the honoured Gaṇḍaveṇḍa, the ruler of Madhyadēśa, the four castes laughed at the gift of the celestial tree

(V. 9) But this was an unique (and) wonderful (deed) having set out to protect the harassed army of the Sultān of Paṇḍuva, and having by the strength of (his) arm completely vanquished the ruler of Dillī, that king gave the goddess of victory together with twenty-two great elephants to the king of Utkala, and the Turks to the excellent damsels of the gods ¹

(V. 10) King Chōḍa's idol (was) the Bhīmēśa-linga at Dākshārāma, his bathing-place, (was) the Gōḍā,² the banks of which were beset with sacrificial stakes, his pure fame (was) complete through the seven *samlānas*³ and his Śrī (was) the distributor of happiness

(V. 11) From him Attemāmbikā bore a son, praised by the wise, as the second day of the bright fortnight (bears) the moon⁴, he was called Bhīma by (his) father (because he said to himself) "he will be terrible in battle by (his) wrath to (his) enemies".

(V. 12) From king Bhīma who had gained victories by (his) arm, Lakkāmbā (whose girdle was set with many gems), the jewel among women, obtained as a son prince Chōḍa who (was to exhibit) in future without effort the display of fortune, as the heavy earth, whose girdle are the oceans, (obtains) the growth of treasures, a happy conjuncture having been effected by the five auspicious planets

(V. 13) While this king Chōḍa displayed the splendour of a *rājahansa* praised by the world, the surface of the earth became an ever-blossoming lotus field (and obtained) perpetual joy

(V. 14) In reasoning, in (fulfilling) religious duties, in helping the people, in destroying the enemies of the country, the four royal sciences, after they have attached themselves to king Chōḍa, at last attain to their real purpose on the earth

(V. 15) Let the law of this king Chōḍa expand on the earth until (the end of) the *kalpa*—(of this king), whose liberality granted more wealth than the miserable ones had asked for, whose glory was adorned with virtues, whose companion was Sarasvatī, whose beauty was honoured by the noble ones, whose splendour, famous through his valour, took away the darkness of pride in the minds of (his) enemies

(V. 16) To the delight of (god) Dharmēśvara in the town of Pañchadhāra (of Dharmēśvara) renowned in the worlds, the glorious king Chōḍa, by whom the princes of the great Shatkoṇa-land are protected, had a *gōpura* (gate-way) erected at the eastern entrance (of the temple), brilliant by its charms, a new pleasure-hill, as it were, for the damsels in heaven, to behold (from there) the charming festivals (in the temple)

(V. 17) In the park of the town where the bread-fruit, the *jambīla*,⁵ the cocoa-nut, the plantain, and the mango-trees nursed by him, who bears the name of king Chōḍa, are flourishing as if the five wish giving trees had descended (from heaven) to witness his liberality.

¹ I e, he killed them

² Gōḍā is an abbreviation of Gōḍāvatī, cf e g, Hēmachandra's *Abhidhānachintāmaṇi*, 1084, *Rajhuvaṃśa* XIII, 35 (anu-Gōḍam), and the verse in Rudrabhaṭṭa's commentary on the *Vaṇḍyaṇḍana*, quoted above

³ The seven *samlānas* or *samlas* are enumerated above, Vol VI, p 119, v 15.

⁴ *Devīyā* is the second day of the bright fortnight See e g *Ratnāvali*, act II

पञ्चवृक्षानि तत्र पार्श्वे विष्णोः पितृभ्योऽपि सन्निविष्टा इत्युक्तं तत्र समुद्रहन्तो उदितो विष्णोः सोऽहदिदिपदु च दर्शनीयः
पितृवत्तु ॥

⁵ *Jambūla* is *jambū* or the 'rose-apple'.

- 91 टं प्रतिष्ठितमिदं ओचोडभूमौ-
 92 भुजा स्वेयादाशशिभास्करं गिरिसुता-
 93 धर्म्मेशविश्वान्तये ॥ [२०*]¹ श्लोकालु २० ॥

TRANSLATION.²

(Verse 1) May the Elephant-faced (Ganēśa) increase the splendour of your excellent qualities: he whose playing ball in the beginning of the creation of the world was the pleasant dwelling-place of the gods, while his majesty was praised by Brahman, the water moving in the cavity of whose (Ganēśa's) navel became the garment of the earth.

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(V 17) In the park of the town where the bread-fruit, the *jambīla*,⁵ the cocoa-nut, the plantain, and the mango-trees nursed by him, who bears the name of king Chōḍa, are flourishing as if the five wish-giving trees had descended (from heaven) to witness his liberality.

¹ I e., he killed them

² Gōḍā is an abbreviation of Gōḍāvarī, cf e.g., Hōmachandra's *Abhidhānachintāmāni* 1084, *Rajhuvaṃśa* XII, 35 (anu Gōḍām), and the verse in Rudrabhaṭṭa's commentary on the *Vaṇḍyaśrīvaṇa*, quoted above

³ The seven *samlānas* or *samlānis* are enumerated above, Vol VI, p 119, v 15.

⁴ *Dvitiyā* is the second day of the bright fortnight See e.g. *Ratnāvalī*, act II.

पञ्चोक्तं विरतसङ्ख्यपरिक्षामपि सविसेससहायणीम् तस्य समुच्चयतो उदिदो विष सोऽहिदिपदु वदरं नीदिष
पिषवचसो ॥

⁵ *Jambūla* is *jambū* or the 'rose-apple'.

(V 18) This *gōpura* erected by king Chōḍa in the Śaka year that is unfolded by the arrows (5), the arms (2), the Rāmas (3), and the Moon (1), and (for this reason), as it were, in its innate strength, (the displaying of which is like that of Rāmachandra in whose arms there are arrows), shall flourish, together with the park, as long as the moon and the sun will last ¹

(V 19) May this holy Rūjarājēśvara, who, always surrounded by five hundred *lingas*, is dwelling on Mount Nāgēndra, who by the ancients was formerly called Varasiddhalinga on account of his (granting) successes, (but) according to tradition later on Dharmēśa on account of his being gracious to the faithful Pāndavas,² always protect King Chōḍa

(V 20) Let this excellent *gōpura* publicly established together with a grove by the glorious king Chōḍa in the Śaka-year counted by the arrows (5), the arms (2), the Rāmas (3), and the earth (1) in the year Svabhānu, in (the month of) Rādhā, on the sixth bright day, on Friday, endure as long as the moon and the sun, for the repose of Pārvatī and Dharmēśa

(Line 93) Twenty verses.

NO 26 — THE PANCHADHARALA PILLAR INSCRIPTION OF THE EASTERN CHALUKYA KING VISVESVARA SAKA-SAMVAT 1329

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Two inked estampages of this inscription were supplied to me by the late Mr Venkayya through Prof Lüders. The inscription is engraved on three faces of a pillar in the *Lalyānamandapa* in the Dharmalingēśvara temple at Pañchadhārāla in the Vizagapatam district. The name of the engraver is Dēvāchārī.

The characters are Telugu not differing from those of the pillar inscription of King Chōḍa III of the Kōṇa dynasty, dated in Śaka-Samvat 1325 which has been published above.³ The following peculiarities, however, may be noted. The remark about the combinations *uṭha*, *ddha*, and *sṭha* does not hold good for the present inscription. In the former, *da* and *dha*, *i* and *ī* could clearly be distinguished, in the latter, they are constantly mixed up.

The language is Sanskrit verse throughout, only at the beginning and the end there is some prose. In the beginning we have *Śrī-Viśvēśvarāya namaḥ*, which is an invocation to Śiva, the illustrious lord of the universe. At the end comes the passage *Harī-Hara-Hiranyagarbha(ē)bhyō namaḥ* which means 'adoration to Vishnu, Śiva and Brahma', and is followed by the name of the engraver Dēvāchārī, written in Telugu as *Dēvāchārī-likhitamu*. The style is very similar to that of the foregoing inscription, from which one verse (v 25) has been borrowed almost verbally. This is not surprising if we bear in mind that the former inscription is but four years older than the present. There can be little doubt that both originated from the same author.

¹ The word *prasāra*, not found elsewhere at the end of a chronogram, seems to have been used on account of the *ślēṣha*, it means development, development of power, power.

² With regard to the term *bhaktatalsala*, cf. Bilhana's *Vikramāṅkadēvācharita*—II, 50.

अल बुलुचलितपालमखन प्रसन्न विद्यायतु कर्तुं तप ।

कमप्यपुत्रं त्वयि पार्श्वतीपति प्रसादमारीहति मन्त्रवत्सल ॥

"Away with mortification, thou ornament of the Chalukya princes, let cease the hard austerity. Pār-
vatī's husband, gracious to the faithful, will bestow an unheard of favour on you." Cf. also *Maṇḍāni* I 188, 23.

³ *Supra* pp 155 ff.

In regard to orthography, it may be stated that after *anusvāra* and *ra* the doubling of consonants, unlike the preceding record, has not often been resorted to. The *visarga*, furthermore, is sometimes to be found where it is out of place (see vv. 19, 22, 25). Taking in view that it stands at the end of a verse, and once (v 19) before a cæsure, we may take it as some sort of hyphen.

The proper object of the inscription is to record that the Eastern Chalukya king Viśvēśvara erected a *mandapa* for the *kalyāna* festivals of the god Dharmēśa of Pañchadhārāla in Śaka-Samvat 1329, and that he set up an idol of Vishnu in the Upēndravara-āgrahāra built by himself.

After an invocation of Gaṇēśa (v 1) the inscription opens with some mythical ancestors of the Chālukyas. From Vishnu's navel sprang Brahmā, he had a son Atri, from whose eyes the Moon arose. His eldest son was Budha. His son was Purūravas, and one of his descendants was Pāndu (v 2). His son was Arjuna (v. 3), his son Abhimanyu, his son Parīkshit, his son Janamējaya (v 4). From his race descended Vishnuvardhana (v 5) with whom we come to the historical ancestors of Viśvēśvara.

Vishnuvardhana is said to have practised the life of an ascetic on the Chalukya mountain which I am unable to identify. It is also mentioned in the Korumelli plates of the Eastern Chālukya Mahārājādhirāja Rājarāja I Vishnuvardhana¹ and also in a grant of Vīra-Chōḍa².

In Vishnuvardhana's race was born Chālukya-Bhīmēśvara [I]³ (v 6). We are told that the Śiva temple Kumārārāma, being largely enriched with treasures by this king, was called after him Chālukya-Bhīmēśa. This temple is to be found even at the present time at Bhīmavaram near Cocanada in the Gōdāvari district⁴. In other inscriptions this town is called Chālukyabhīmēśvara-pura, Chālukyabhīma-nagarī, or Chālukyabhīma-pura⁵. That in former times the temple was named Kumārārāma we may gather from some unedited inscriptions where the town Bhīmapuram is called Kumārārāma or Skandārāma. In the Pithāpuram pillar inscription of Mallapadēva, dated Śaka-Samvat 1124,⁶ we are told, in contradiction to the passage in the present inscription, that Chālukya-Bhīma [I] himself founded the Śiva temple, called after his own name Chālukya-Bhīmēśvara. But there is no doubt that the account of the new inscription corresponds with the real fact.

From Chālukya-Bhīma's race originated king Vimalāditya,⁷ who is said to have ruled over the land lying between the Vindhya mountain and the sea (v 7). The same is recorded of the Kōṇa king Chōḍa [I] in the Pañchadhārāla pillar inscription (v 3), noticed above. Of course, they were princes who ruled over a small part of that country.

The son of Vimalāditya was Rājamahēndra, called Rājarāja [I] in other inscriptions⁸. After him a town on the Gōdāvari is named Rājamahēndra (v 8), which is identical with the modern Rajahmundry⁹.

¹ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XIV, p. 51, l. 25.

² *South Indian Inscriptions*, Vol. I, p. 53, l. 22.

³ He is also called *Drōhāryūna* (*Ibid.*, Vol. I, pp. 32, 38, 42).

⁴ See above, Vol. IV, p. 227.

⁵ See above, Vol. IV, p. 227.

⁶ See *ibid.*

⁷ He was married to Kundavā, the younger sister of the [Chōla king] Rājēndra Chōla [I] and daughter of the [Chōla king] Rājarāja [I] of the solar race. See *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XIV, p. 50, *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. IV, p. 302, \ I, p. 350.

⁸ See *eg.*, *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XIV, p. 50.

⁹ See also above, Vol. V, p. 58, l. 23—*Rājamahēndranāmā(mnī) rājadhānī*. The town is called *Pājamahēndra-nagarī*, above, Vol. IV, p. 323, l. 33, *Rājamahēndra nagara*, Vol. IV, p. 324, l. 42, Vol. V, p. 58, l. 27 and *Rājamahēndra pattana*, Vol. V, p. 32, v. 4.

Rājamahēndra's son was Kulōttunga-Chōḍa (I). In verse 9 we are told, "that he played with his majesty on the summits of the Sandal-Mountain, and against the horrible Pāṇḍya". As may be concluded from the Tamil inscriptions¹ of this king, the name Malayāchala (= Chanda-nāchala) refers to the territory of the Chēra king, generally called Malai-nāḍu. The modern designation of Malaya (or Malakōṭṭa) is Malabar. In this country, too, dwelt the five Pāṇḍyas.² Kulōttunga-Chōḍa's victory over the Pāṇḍya princes and king Chēra is very often mentioned in the Tamil inscriptions. In the same verse the king is called Kēsarin, an abbreviated form of Kēsarivarman or Rājakēsarivarman of other inscriptions.³

So far we had to deal with princes, already known from other inscriptions. The remaining verses introduce new kings. From Kulōttunga-Chōḍa's lineage arose Vijayāditya (v. 10), who was married to Chandāmbikā (v. 11). His son was Mallapadēva (I) whose *biruda* was Sarvalōkāśraya (v. 11). His wife was Lakshmi (v. 12). From her he got a son, Upēndra (I) who, as verse 12 seems to hint, bore the two surnames Karavālabhairava and Dharanīvarāha. He was married to Gaṅgāmbā (v. 13). Upēndra's son was Mallapadēva (II) (v. 13), who was married to Chōḍāmbikā (v. 14). She bore him Upēndra (II) whose *biruda* was Rājaśekhara. He is said to have founded the town Chōḍamalle in honour of his parents (v. 14). His wife was Mallāmbikā (v. 15) and his son was Kōppa with the surname Paragaṇḍabhairava (v. 15). He was married to Gangamāmbū (v. 16). Kōppa's son was Upēndra (III) who bore the *biruda* Rājanārāyaṇa (v. 16). His wife was Bimbāmbā (v. 17). From him originated Manum-Opēndra (IV) (v. 17), to whose praise five verses (17-21) are devoted. He bore the three *birudas* Rājaśekhara, Sarvajña, and Śamkara (v. 20). His wife was Lakkāmbikā (v. 22). The son of Manum-Opēndra (IV) was Viśvēśvara, also named Viśvanātha (v. 1), Viśvabhūmiśvara (v. 26), Viśvadharaṇibhartṛi (v. 28), Viśvanṛipa (v. 29), and Viśvāśa (v. 30). The record of his deeds must be considered the chief object of the present inscription. From verse 23 we learn that his *biruda* was 'Sarvalōkāśraya', verse 29 mentions another, viz., 'Rāyagaṇḍagōpāla', and verse 30 a third one, i.e., 'Dharanīvarāha'. A historical fact is reported in verse 24. We are told that in the year which is counted after the gatis (5), the arms (2), the śaktis (3), and the earth (1), and which is called Chitrabhānu (Śaka-Samvat 1325), king Viśvēśvara overcame the Āndhra army in the sphere of Sarvasiddhi, which town lies seven miles south-west to Pañchadhārāla. We do not know, however, the near circumstances of this event. Verse 26 records the erection of a *mandapa* for the success of the *kalyāṇa*-festivals of the god Dharmēśa of Pañchadhārāla. According to Kittel's *Kannada-English Dictionary*, *kalyāṇa* is a 'festival' and especially a 'marriage'. This last meaning the word must have in the present inscription; for the god Dharmēśa is called '*pratyabdam pariṇētri*', 'he, who marries every year'. This marriage, certainly, was every year celebrated in this *mandapa*.⁴ Verse 28 furnishes us with the exact date of this *mandapa* it was erected in the year, counting after the nine (9), the arms (2), the Rāmas (3), and the moon (1), i.e. 1329 of the Śaka era in the month of Śuchi (Jyēṣṭha), on the seventh bright day, and Sunday. This corresponds to Sunday, the 12th June A D 1407.

The last verse (30) records that Viśvēśvara set up an idol of the god Viṣṇu in the Upēndravār-āgrahāra, built by himself, and probably called after his father's name.

¹ See *South-Indian Inscriptions*, Vol. II, p. 2, 236

² [This statement is incorrect.—Ed.]

³ See *ibid*, Vol. II, *passim*

⁴ [*Kalyāṇa-mandapas* are meant for such marriages of gods and goddesses.—Ed.]

The pedigree of the new princes may be represented thus —

Vijayāditya
m. Chandāmbikā.
|
Mallapadēva I.
m. Lakshmi
|
Upēndra I
m. Gangāmbā.
|
Mallapadēva II
m. Chōḍāmbikā.
|
Upēndra II.
m. Mallāmbikā.
|
Kōppa
m. Gaṅgamāmbā.
|
Upēndra III.
m. Bumbāmbā.
|
Manum-Upēndra IV.
m. Lakkāmbikā.
|
Viśvēśvara.

TEXT.¹

[Metres : vv 1 and 17, *Mandākrāntā*, vv. 2, 6, 23 and 25 to 28, *Śārdūlavikrīḍita*; vv. 3 and 30, *Indravamśā*; vv 4, 5, 8, 14 and 18, *Upajāti*; vv 7, 9, 13, 16, 20 and 21, *Anuṣṭubh*; vv. 10, 24 and 29, *Gītā*, vv. 11, 15, 19 and 22, *Indravajrā*, and v 12, *Praharṣinī*.]

South Face

- 1 श्रीविश्वेश्वराय नमः ।
- 2 श्रीसंह[र्षि] चिरमुत्त-
- 3 रां त्रेयसां स प्रतन्याशाकु-
- 4 क्मानां कुलदिनरवेर्विश्वनाथस्य² रा-
- 5 त्तः ॥ (1) मात्रादर्शं जनकशिरसश्चंद्रखंडे-
- 6 न युञ्जन् यस्तद्विन्मं विदधदिव संपू-
- 7 र्णमास्तो गजास्यः । १ । विष्णोर्नाभिसरोरु-
- 8 षादुद्भवद्भ्राता तदात्मोद्भवोप्यत्रिस्तत्र-
- 9 यमोदितः शशधरस्तस्याग्रसुतुर्बुधः³ ।
- 10 तत्पुत्रः स पुनरवा रघु'रवापन्नायसं-

¹ From ink-impressions.

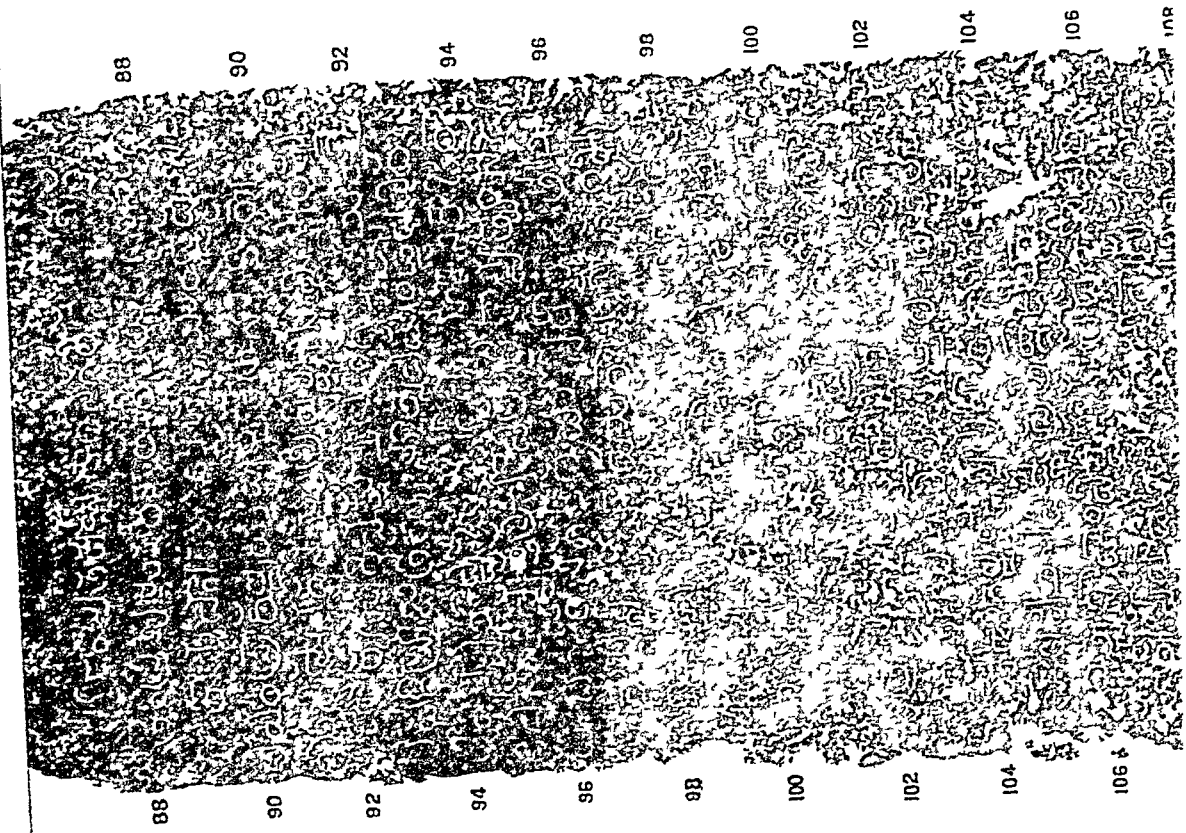
² Read 'नाथस्य.

³ Read 'बुधः.

⁴ Read 'रघुरवा'.

- 11 नाहितस्तदंशेषु गतेषु पांडुरजनि आ-
 12 पालचूडामणिः । २ । तस्यात्मजोभूदरिम-
 13 र्दनोर्जुनः कोदंडदंडादितुष्टशंकरः ।
 14 सप्राप्तवान् पाशुपतास्त्रमीश्वरात् को नाम
 15 तेनोपमितो नरेश्वरः । ३ । तस्याभिमन्युस्तन-
 16 यस्तदात्मजः परिचिदाशीदध^१ तस्य नंदनः । लो-
 17 केषु रेजे जनमेजयस्ततः कृते कळावैद्यववं^२-
 18 श्रजेः शुभेः^३ । ४ । तदन्वयेजायत विष्णुवर्द्ध-
 19 नः संवर्द्धनो^४ राजकुलस्य संततेः । चक्रुक्थयैले
 20 तपशा^५भिनंदितैर्दुर्गाश्रुताद्यैः कृतविक्रम-
 21 स्तुतैः^६ । ५ । आसीदिंदुकुलाग्रणीर्जनपतिः आकुक्थभी-^७
 22 मेश्वरस्तस्य आत्रपवित्रशैवपदवीवृत्तं विचित्रं भु-
 23 वि । तेनैवार्पितवैभवात् खलु सदा चाकुक्थभीमेश इत्याख्या-
 24 मापदपूर्व्विकामिह- कुमारारामभीमेश्वरः । ६ । तदं-
 25 श्यो विमलादित्यो दित्यपत्नारिविक्रमः । शशास यश-
 26 सा सांद्रां विद्यसिद्धंतरा^८ दरां^९ । ७ । तदात्मजो
 27 राजनरेद्रभूवरो^{१०} भूत्याभवद्राजमहेंद्र-
 28 नामकः । तदाख्यया राजमहेंद्रसंजकं^{११} रम्य^{१२}
 29 प्रर^{१३} राजति गौतमीतटे । ८ । तस्य पुत्रः कुलोत्तुंग-
 30 चीडशिक्रीड तेजसा । चंद्रनाचलशृंगेषु चंद्रपां-
 31 षो च केसरी । ९ । दरणी^{१४}शस्तस्य कुले स्वकरजपद्मानुरा-
 32 गतात्पत्न्या[त्*] । उदयादित्यसदृशा^{१५} विजयादित्याभि-
 33 दानपभुरभवत्^{१६} । १० । चंद्रां विकायां जनितः स
 34 तस्माद्राजार्चितो मल्लपदेवभूपः । यः सर्वलो-
 35 काश्रयतां प्रपदे मल्लैरमल्लैः पितृभिश्च वृत्तैः । ११ ।

^१ Read °दासीदध^२ Read शुभे^३ Read तपसाभि°^४ Read विध्यसिद्धंतरां^५ Read °रुद्रकं^६ The anuvāra stands at the beginning of the next line.^७ Read चरलो°^८ Read कळावैद्य° The anuvāra stands at the beginning of the next line^९ Read °वर्द्धन संवर्द्धनो.^{१०} Read °स्त^{११} Read चरां^{१२} Read °पतिशालुक्°^{१३} Read राजनरेद्र°.^{१४} Read पुत्रं.^{१५} Read °मिधानम°.^{१६} Read °सदृशी.



11 ना

12 प

13 दं

14 स

15 ते

16 य

17 के

18 इ

19 न

20 त

21 र

22 क

23 णि

24 म

25 इ

26 र

27 र

28 र

29 र

30 र

31 र

32 र

33 र

34 र

35

¹ Read² Read³ Read⁴ Read¹¹ Read¹² The¹⁴ Rev

- 36 लक्ष्मीमल्लपनृपयोरुपेन्द्रभूपः सन्पुत्रो¹ निखि-
 37 लमवन् द्विरेव² भेजे । शत्रूणा युधि करवालभै-
 38 रवत्वं मित्राणामपि ³दरणीवराहकल्पं । १२ ।
 39 तस्माद्गंगावया लब्धः(व्यः) स्रुतर्मल्लपदेवकः । कुं⁴-
 40 भिकूर्मकुम्भकोलभारं भूमेर्वभार सः । १३ ।
 41 चोडांबिकामल्लपदेवयोः सुतः संरा(सम्मा)दुपेन्द्रो-
 42 जनि राजशेखरः । चकार पित्रोः परितृप्तये पुरं स
 43 चोडमल्लां(ल्ला)ह्वयमग्रहारक । १४ । मल्ला⁵-
 44 चिकायामुदभूदुपेन्द्रात् कोष्पचित्तीशः प-
 45 रगडुभैरवः । विद्याश्रतस्रो धरणीपतीनां स्वा-
 46 र्त⁶ दधुस्तेन्⁷ विनीतवृत्तिना । १५ ।

East Face

- 47 उपेन्द्रो गंगमावाया
 48 कोष्पभूपादजायत । स तु वि-
 49 श्व(भ)रत्वेन्⁸ राजनारायणीभ-
 50 वत् । १६ । विष्वांवायामजनि
 51 मजनि⁹ मनुमोपेन्द्रभूपोपुपे¹⁰-
 52 द्रात् को वा तुल्यो जगति विधुषा¹¹ तेन
 53 राजाच्चितेन । छात्रे धर्मो विनयगर्[द]-
 54 तेनूपदाने¹² च दाने श्रौतस्मार्त्तसृ-
 55 शि च सरणी श्रायते शैवतं च
 56 । १७ । उपेन्द्रभूपेन शिवार्चनायां¹³
 57 प्रभूतदीपत्वसुपेत्य यावकः ।
 58 सुपात्रसुस्नेहभरेण वृत्तो ह-
 59 तं कथचिद्भजते च¹⁴ यज्वनां । १८ ।
 60 तेनाभिषिक्तस्य शिवस्य मूर्त्त¹⁵ पं-

¹ Read सन्पुत्रो² Read द्विरेव³ Read धरणीव⁴ The anusvāra stands at the beginning of the next line⁵ Read मल्ला⁶ Read ०न्⁷ This मजनि must be dropped.⁸ Read ०मोपेन्द्रभूपोपु०. The anusvāra stands at the beginning of the next line.⁹ Read विधुषा¹⁰ ०नूपदाने metri causa for ०नुपदाने ?¹¹ The anusvāra stands at the beginning of the next line.¹² Read च.¹³ Read मूर्त्त.

- 61 चासृतेर्निर्गळितैः फणासु । पूतो भ-
 62 भूवेत्यनुमीयतेसौः¹ शेषो द्विजिह्वो-
 63 पि विषाननोपिः² । १८ । इहैषोपे-
 64 द्रभूभवे सारूप्यपदभाजनं । रा-
 65 जशेखरसर्व्वज्ञशंकरत्वमदाज्ञवः
 66 । २० । शस्तोपेद्रुपो यज्ञैः ³शतेना-
 67 पि सुदुर्लभं । शंभोरवाप सायु-
 68 ज्यं शैवदीक्षाशतोत्सवैः । २१ । लक्षांस्त्रि-
 69 कोपेद्रमहोद्ययोरभूद्विश्वेश्वरो
 70 विश्वगुणोर्जितः सुतः । तेनान्वयावु-
 71 ज्व(ज्ज)लितावदीव्यतां द्यावापृथिव्यावि-
 72 व तीव्रभानुनाः⁴ । २२ । शंभोर्मौळिवि-
 73 भूषण कुलपतिः श्रीलं त्रिवर्गोचितं की-
 74 र्त्तिस्त्रंदनचर्चिका दशदिशां तेजोपि नीराज-
 75 ना । विद्यासीन्नि विहारशर्म विरुद य-
 76 त्सर्व्वलोकाश्रयो धीमंतः किमिव स्तुवं-
 77 त्ति ननु तं चाकुव्यविश्वेश्वरं । २३ । मति-
 78 बाहुशक्तिभूमितिमपि गणयत्सर्व्व-
 79 सिध्धि(द्वि)पथभग्नं । सति चित्रभानुसाक्षिणि
 80 दरणीवराहाददावदंद्रवलं⁵ । २४ ।
 81 लिंगैः पंचशतैः कुवेररचितः प्र-
 82 ग्राजराजेश्वरः संसिध्धा⁶ वरशिध्धलिंग⁷
 83 इति यः पूर्वागमज्ञैः स्मृतः । पश्चा-
 84 त्पाण्डुवभक्तवत्सलतया धर्मेण इत्य-
 85 र्जितो नागेंद्रा⁸चलमंदिरः सदवनैः शं-⁹
 86 भुः समुज्जंभतेः(ते) । २५ ।

North Face

- 87 तस्योदंक्षितपञ्चदा¹⁰रनगरीधर्मेश्वर[स्यो]-
 88 र्जितं प्रत्यब्दं परिणेतुरीशितुरिदं सं[जा]-

¹ Read वभूवेत्यनुमीयतेसौ

² [यज्ञशतेन would be a better reading —Ed.]

³ Read धरणीवराहाददावदंद्रवलं

⁴ Read नागेंद्रा⁰

⁵ Read °पञ्चदश

⁶ Read विषाननोपि

⁷ Read तीव्रभानुना

⁸ Read संसिध्धा

⁹ Read वरशिध्द⁰

¹⁰ The anusvāra stands at the beginning of the next line.

- 89 तचेतोभुवः । कल्याणोत्तवमडुप सवि-
 90 भव द्राकल्पयद्भक्तिमान्¹ आळुक्यान्व-
 91 यविष्णुवर्दनं² कुलश्रीविश्वभूमीश्वरः ।
 92 २६ । पत्याद्रेरिव क्लृप्तमंगळचतुशा-
 93 ले परिभ्राजिते कल्याणोत्तवमडुपे विरचि-
 94 ते विश्वेश्वरोर्वोभुजा । दिव्यामोदिनि राजरा-
 95 जविनुते वृद्धतश्चोविश्रुते पार्वत्या सह
 96 पंचदार्मगरीधर्मेश्वरो राजते । २७ ।
 97 शाकाव्दे नववाहुरामशशिसंख्या-
 98 ते शुची भासिते सप्तम्यामिनवारभा-
 99 जि सहितः संस्थापितो³ मंडुपः । कल्या-
 100 णोत्तवसिद्धये⁴ सविभवः⁵ श्रीपचधारापु-
 101 रोधर्मेश्वरस्य चकुव्यविश्वधरणीभर्त्ता वि-
 102 चित्रास्यद । २८ । कि च तदुत्तरदिक्क[सु]-
 103 दंक्षितमालं विशालमुत्तालं । प्राकल्प-
 104 यदाकल्पं विश्वनृपो रायगंडुगो-
 105 पालः । २९ । विष्णुप्रतिष्ठा(छा)मक-
 106 रोत्तसौदा(धां) विश्वेशभूपो धरणीवरा-
 107 हः । स्थापादितोपेन्द्रवरायहारे ष-
 108 द्वर्मभिस्तृप्तमरुद्विहारे । ३० । हरिह-
 109 रहिरण्यगर्भेभ्यो⁶ नमः । श्री श्री श्री
 110 देवाचारिलिकितमु¹⁰ [॥*]

TRANSLATION.¹¹

Line 1 Salutation to (the) Blessed (god) Viśvēśvara.

(Verse 1) May He for a long time exceedingly advance the progress of the fortune of king Viśvanātha (Viśvēśvara), the sun of the race of the Chālukyas, (he) the Elephant-faced (Ganēśa), who combining his mother's (Pārvatī's) mirror with the half-moon on his father's (Śiva's) head is making full, as it were, that disc of the moon

(V 2) From Vishnu's navel-lotus originated Brahmā whose son was Atri From Atri's eyes arose the Moon whose eldest son was Budha His son (was) Purūraṇas, whose enemies

¹ Read द्राकल्पयद्भक्तिमान्^०

² Read वृद्धं^०

³ Read °सिद्धये

⁴ Read °हिरण्यगर्भेभ्यो

⁵ Read विष्णुवर्दनं^०

⁶ Read पचधारं^०

⁷ The letter भ looks somewhat like च

⁸ Read °लिकितमु

⁹ Read क्लृप्तं^०

¹⁰ Read रुस्थापितो

¹¹ [See f n. 2 on p 162 —Ed]

were afflicted and destroyed by (*the mere hearing of*) the noise of his chariot When his descendants had passed away, Pāṇḍu the crest jewel of kings was born

(V 3) His son was Arjuna, the destroyer of his enemies, who pleased Śambhu (Śiva) by striking him with his bow-staff Which king has been compared with him who received from the Lord (Śiva) the Pāśupata missile ?

(V 4) His son was Abhimanyu, who had Parīkshit for his son His son was Janamējaya who shone in the world in the Kali age, which was purified by the descendants of the Lunar race

(V 5) In his family was born Viṣṇuvardhana who promoted the (*uninterrupted*) line of the royal family, to whom power was given by (*the deities*) Durgā, Achyuta (Viṣṇu) and others, because they rejoiced over his ascetic life on the Chalukya-mountain

(V 6) The most excellent prince of the Lunar race was Chālukya-Bhīmēśvara His following of Śiva's doctrine purified by his qualification as a Kṣatriya was famous in the world (*Śiva here worshipped as*) Kumārārāma-Bhīmēśvara got, indeed, a new name of Chālukya-Bhīmēśa (*after him*), on account of the riches he always bestowed on him

(V 7) His descendant Vimalāditya, whose valour was like that of the enemy of Diti's sons (Viṣṇu), ruled the earth (*lying*) between the Vindhya mountain and the sea, and densely filled up by his fame

(V 8) His son was king Rājanarēndra, (*who*) on account of (*his*) glory was called Rāja-mahēndra With his name glitters the lovely town of Rājamahēndra on the bank of the Gautamī (*Gōdāvarī*)

(V 9) His son Kulōttunga-Chōda, Kēsari¹ (Rājakēsari-varman), played by means of his majesty (*i e.* glory) on the summits of the Sandal-mountain (*Malaya*) and against the horrible Pāṇḍya

(V 10) In his family was born a king whose name was Vijayāditya Because of the lotus-like red colour of his finger-nails (*lakaṣa*), he resembled the rising sun who has the redness of the lotus which is caused by his rays (*lakaṣa*)

(V 11) From him Chamdāmbikā bore king Mallapadēva who was honoured by princes and was the refuge of the whole world, because he satisfied men, gods, and his ancestors

(V 12) Lakṣmī's and king Mallapa's good son, prince Upēndra, attained, when governing the universe (*these*) two² (*things*) the state of being 'Karavālabhairava' (*i e.* terrible on account of his sword) in battles with the enemies, and similarity with 'Dharaṇivarāha'³ in the case of his friends

(V 13) His son king Mallapa, begotten by him on Gaṅgāmbā, bore the burden of the earth, (*otherwise borne*) by the elephants, the Tortoise, the mountains, and the Boar

(V 14) From Chōdāmbikā and king Mallapa was born the emperor Upēndra, the crest-jewel of kings⁴ For the gratification of his parents he built as an *agrahāra* the town named Chōdamalla

(V 15) Mallāmbikā bore from Upēndra king Koppa *alias* Paragaṇḍabhairava. The four royal sciences attained their proper aim through him whose character was noble.

(V 16) Gaṅgamāmbā bore Upēndra from king Koppa Because of his sustaining the (*whole*) world, he became Rājanārāyana

¹ [as a lion — Ed.]

² *dvir* is used instead of *dvayam*

³ The *burda* Dharaṇivarāha was borne by king Viśvēśvara, as may be concluded from v. 24

⁴ Probably, Rājasēkhara was a *burda* of Upēndra

(V 17) Bimbāmbā bore from Upēndra king Manum-Ōpēndra Who in this world will equal that scholar, honoured by princes, in the *dharma* relating to the Kshatriya-tribe, known by 'discipline, in charity devoid of corruption,' in the knowledge of the Vēda and the tradition, and in the eternal Śiva-doctrine ?

(V 18) The fire which in the worship of Śiva performed by Upēndra assumed the form of many lamps, and which was satisfied by plenty of good vessels with good oil,² cared but little for the sacrificial offerings of priests

(V 19) From the fact that the five nectarian substances³ dropped on the hoods (of Śēsha) from Śiva's head, besprinkled by him (Upēndra), it is concluded, that the serpent Śēsha became pure, though he has two tongues (and) carries poison in his mouth

(V 20) Already in this life Bhava (Śiva) gave to king Upēndra the state of being Rāja śekhara, Sarvañña and Śamhara—Upēndra who was the receptacle of the condition of assimilation to the deity⁴

(V 21) The famous king Upēndra got, by feasts in which there were a hundred of Śiva-dikshās,⁵ union with Śambhu (Śiva), very difficult to get even by one hundred of Vēdic sacrifices

(V 22) The son of Lakkāmbikā and king Upēndra was Viśvēśvara endowed with all the virtues Through him shone the two excellent families⁶ (of father and mother), as do the heaven and the earth through the powerful sun

(V 23) Because his first ancestor was Śambhu's (Śiva's) crest-ornament (the moon), (because) his behaviour was in accordance with the three *vargas* (*dharma, artha, lāma*), (because) his fame was the sandal ointment of the ten regions, (because) his majestic lustre was a waving light (of the ten regions), (because) it was his pleasure to divert himself in the region of knowledge, (because) his *birūda* was Sarvalōkāśraya—can the wise ones adequately praise that Chālukya Viśvēśvara ?

(V 24) The army of the Āndhras defeated in the region (the town) of Sarvasiddhi (shattered by means of his complete success), reckoning after the *gatis* (5), the arms (2), the constituents (3), and the earth (1) (considering their resources, the strength of their arms, and the extent of the place), fled before Dharanivārāha (Viśvēśvara), the witness being (the year called) Chitrabhānu (when the sun was present as witness)

(V 25) The (god) Rājarājēśvara (in his temple) who formerly, being founded by Kubērā with five hundred (subsidiary) *lingas*, was, on account of the fulfilment of the desires (of the devotees) called Varasiddhalinga, by those who know the tradition (and who) later on, on account of His affection towards His worshippers, the Pāndavas, was famous as Dharmēśa,—(this) Śambhu (Śiva) whose abode is the Nāgēndra-mountain prospers through the aid (rendered) to the good

(V 26) The pious Viśvabhūmiśvara (Viśvēśvara) of Vishnuvardhana's family of the Chālukya race has built this magnificent and large *mandapa* for the *kalyāna*-festivals⁷ of the worshipped⁸

¹ I am not sure if this translation is correct. As for *upadana*, Apte, in the *Practical Sanskrit English Dictionary*, gives - a gift made for procuring favour or protection, such as a bribe.

² Suggested meaning - satisfied by the profusion of his great love to very venerable persons

³ Milk, curds, ghee, honey, and sugar

⁴ *Sārūpya* is one of the four states of *multa* compare *Sāyujya* in the next verse.

⁵ The exact meaning of *Śradāśhū*, which seems to signify a special ceremony, is unknown to me. Should *dīkshā* be used in the more general sense - self devotion (to Śiva) ?

⁶ In *Raghuvamśa* VI, 45 Sushena is called *āchārābuddhōbhayaramādhīpam*.

⁷ Here, it seems, we are to suppose some local cult. Kittel in his *Kannada English Dictionary* gives *kalyāna* - a festival (marriage) It is usual to celebrate the marriage of the god and his consort every year and this annual festival is called *kalyānōtsava*

⁸ As will appear from verse 16 of the pillar inscription of King Chōda III (*supra* p 161) which gives 'lōkōdamchchita-'*amchadhāranagari-Dharmēśvara-prīṭayē*', *udamchchita* here is used in the sense of 'bright worshipped',

Dharmēśvara of the town of *Pañchadhārāla* (of *Dharmēśvara*), who year by year is marrying (*Pārvatī*),—the lord whose love (to *Pārvatī*) has appeared

(V 27) In the magnificent *mandapa*, with four sacred halls constructed, as it were, by the lord of the mountain (i.e., *Himavat*), which has celestial perfumes and which is praised by the king of kings (*Kubēra*, in the other case) and famous on account of its being extolled by great men (*Indra*, in the other case)—(in this *mandapa*), erected for the *kalyāna*-feasts by king *Viśvēśvara*, shines (the god) *Dharmēśvara* of the town *Pañchadhāra* with *Pārvatī*.

(V. 28) King *Viśva* (*Viśvēśvara*) of the *Chālukya* dynasty has erected (this) magnificent *mandapa* as a beautiful abode of the glorious *Dharmēśa* of the town of *Pañchadhārāla* (*Pañchadhārāla*) for the celebration of the *kalyāna*-festival in the *Śaka* year which is counted after nine (9), the arms (2), the *Rāmas* (3), and the Moon (1), in the bright half of (the month) *Śuchi* (*Jyēsthā*), on the seventh day, on Sunday.

(V 29) And king *Viśva* (*Viśvēśvara*), the *Rāyagandagōpāla*, has erected this magnificent (and) large temple with a beautiful hall¹ to the north, (which will endure) until the end of the *kalpa*

(V 30) King *Viśvēśa* (*Viśvēśvara*), the *Dharaṇīvarāha*, installed (the image of) *Vishnu* in a shrine in the *Upēndravara-āgrahāra* laid out by himself, (which is) the pleasure-ground of the gods who are pleased by the *Brāhmanas*' six *karmas*²

(ll 108-109) Adoration to *Hari*, *Hara* and *Hiranyagarbha* Hail! Hail! Hail!

(l 110) Engraved by *Dēvāchāri*.

No 27.—A FRAGMENTARY PRATIHARA INSCRIPTION

By D. B. DISKALKAR, RAJKOT.

The following note is prepared from an impression preserved in the Barton Museum at *Bhāvnagar*. The name of the place where the inscription of which this impression is a copy was found has unfortunately not been recorded, nor did anybody come across the record again. The impression measures 1'-6" in height and the breadth varies from 1' to 1'-2". The stone from which the impression was taken must have originally been more than double the size of the estampage. About 35 to 40 letters have been completely lost with the latter part of each line, as the gaps in the verses would show. The concluding portion of the inscription is, however, preserved in the impression under notice.

The record is written in characters of about the ninth century A.D., and exhibits certain peculiarities which are found in the western variety of the *Kutla* script. Attention may be drawn in particular to the forms of the following letters: *na* is sometimes made up of two parts, each joining the top line close to the other. Its left part consists of an open hook with a bend the right part being vertical. It can thus be easily mistaken for *ma* (cf. *na* in l. 11). Sometimes the right hand vertical line is absent (cf. *na* in l. 19). Palatal *śa* is also similarly seen divided in two parts, the vertical on the right and the double-looped limb on the left. The language of the record is *Sanskrit* and, except the invocation in the beginning and the names of the writer as well as the engraver at the end, the whole of it must have been in verse.

The inscription being represented only partially by the impression its contents cannot be known fully. But the following items of information may be noted. The record opens with

¹ [The text gives *sālam*.—Ed.]

² The six *karmas* or duties enjoined on *Brāhmaṇas* are *adhyāyana*, *adhyāpana*, *yajana*, *yājana*, *dāna*, and *pratisraha*, or the six acts belonging to the practice of *Yōga* (Apte under *सङ्कर्म*). It is not *सत्कर्म* meant here?—Ed.]

an invocation to god Śiva. In the following lines Śiva seems to be praised in his *Arūhanār-īśvara* (half male and half female) form. In the eighth line the Lunar race is referred to. In l. 9 a king of the Western country is mentioned. Line 11 seems to mention a person whom people called [Va]rāha. Next is mentioned the river Rēvā. In l. 12 is mentioned a king named *Kṛishnarāja*, who was made to retreat hastily to his own country. In l. 13 some one is referred to as having gone to heaven after distributing untold wealth to Brāhmanas. In l. 15 some town, the name of which began with *Malava*, is mentioned as the place where a very charitable man named *Gōgga*, whose munificence is described in the following six lines, seems to have died. His faithful wife was named *Manikā*. Line 22 records the building of a temple of Vishnu, the enemy of the demon *Madhu*. In l. 23 *Īśvara*, the grandfather of one *Siddhāditya*, is mentioned, probably in connection with certain endowments to some temple. A verse in ll. 24 and 25 expresses the benediction for the long life probably of the temple. The *prastāva* was composed by *Śambhuvarman*, son of *Dēvavarman*. The writer's name is missing. It was engraved by the son of *Dharmalālaka*.

The name [Va]rāha contained in the above account is significant and reminds us of 'Ādivarāha', the *biruda* of *Bhōjadēva*, the famous king of the *Pratihāra* dynasty. If it is really meant for the said ruler, as is very likely, the inscription can well be relegated to his reign, and the king *Kṛishnarāja* mentioned in l. 12 can safely be identified with the *Rāshtrakūṭa* king *Akālavarsha Kṛishna II* (875-911 A.D.), who was his contemporary. We know that the *Pratihāras* and the *Rāshtrakūṭas* were constantly at war with each other and were alternately victorious. This inscription may be referring to a fight in which *Bhōjadēva* defeated *Kṛishnarāja*, for poets usually record victories and not defeats of their patron kings.

TEXT.¹

- 1 श्री² नमः शिवाय ॥ ब्रह्माण्डजन्मस्थितिसङ्गती[ना]
- 2 स्या वपुरिदमखिलं चन्द्ररेखा मदीयं चाक्षुसिहस्त
- 3 यस्य प्रदग्धा सुरस[वि]त इव योत्र . . ति सोव्यात् [दिहे?]
- 4 ह्रींभीर्ध्वं वेपसे किं गदितमिति हरस्वार्धनारीशमूर्त्तः प्रत्यग्व्या[तो] विधिर्भ-
- 5 लीन्दोर्गलितेन सिन्धुमयतेनागत्य विस्तारि[त⊕]कल्ठे यस्य विषं प्रसारित[म]-
- 6 भयनादिकर्मनिरते निश्शेषमास्वान्तरो खोमाभ्यासनिष्ठनेत्रमि[त्रि] धियां
सर्वज्ञ[ता]
- 7 यमे देहिनां ॥*³ अखिलमसम्पारे(१)मृत . . कराव्यनिर[त]

¹ From a rubbing preserved in the Barton Museum at Bhāvnagar

² Expressed by a symbol

³ This symbol and the one in the fifteenth line seem to indicate the conclusion of a paragraph.

- 8 आसीन्निशाक[र]कलाकृतपूजमूर्धदेवातिदेवदशनीप[म]शुभ
- 9 पाश्चात्यदेशाधिपो राज . . ह. परेसं. मरे च पञ्चत्वमापा
- 10 सुचार्णो दितिजेशसंगरजयोभिप्रायतः प्रापितो(तस्) तस्मिन्वांध
- 11 राह इति यं सर्वः समन्ता[ज्जनः] ॥ रेवातीयां(यान्)वह्नि[र्त्र]रपतय इ
- 12 श्देशाभिमुखमविरतं सातिरेकैः प्रयाणैः प्राप्य द्राक्ष्यराजं
- 13 [क्रि] दत्वा द्रविणानविदितप्रायसंख्यं द्विजेभ्यः । याते स्वर्लोकमाप्तुं सु
- 14 टितकृतक्रौञ्चमालाप्रलापप्रान्तस्था(?)पद्मतान्यध्वनिविभवधनुर्मुक्तरो[ष]प्रहृ
- 15 त्याज्जितस्यार्जुनेनः(न) ॥*॥ क्षीणामस्ति परं हारि मलवादिपदान्वितं नगरं
- 16 [वाम्बं] शरद्वन[म्] । दानविस्मितचित्तेन¹ शिरःकंप² विधास्यता भूकंपः ³क्षयते-
द्यापि ह
- 17 सुदारचरितः कृतधीः [कृतज्ञो गौगोभवत्तिभुवनप्रथितप्रभावः ॥ जन्मान्तरा
.
- 18 तस्यासी[न्मनिका साध्वो] भार्या[धिष]गुणान्विता हरत्यघ⁴ नृणां याता या
गंगेव [दृशा]
- 19 . ददता येन सुदा प्रणयिनावृत⁵ देहीति कृपणा वामो⁶ न नीताः
श्रुतिगोचरं ॥ सं
- 20 . युत एव सर्वमिदं निरूप्य निपुणं धर्मं समालंब्य यो विभ्राणेत
हिमाचलप्रतिनि
- 21 . सकलवसुमतीप्रान्तसंप्राप्तकीर्तिः दीनाना[मा]र्त्तिहन्ता प्रतिदिनमसमावाप्त-
पुण्यप्रता
- 22 . तसा कारिता सुधिया येन प्रतिष्ठास्व [मधु]द्वि[षः] ॥ तस्य . सुव्या
ध्यास्तवास्ति(?)मायिका गु

¹ Read °चित्तेन.⁴ Read स्वध.² Read °कंप⁵ Read प्रणयिनां.³ Read क्षयते°.⁶ Read वामो

A FRAGMENTARY PRATHARA INSCRIPTION.



- 23 . न्यस्य ॥ आसीन्मातामहस्य सिद्धादित्यस्य धीमतः [ः] मूर्तिमानिव
पुण्येषुः श्रीमानीश्वरसज्जितः ॥ मा
- 24 . . कारि भजनस्य निवेशमेव [ः*] ॥ यावत्किंलपविरामकालविलसदाताहतिप्रे-
रितप्रोत्सर्पेद्गुनदाम्बुवाहनिवह . . .
- 25 . [र्हा] स्वकीर्त्यन्नति ॥ प्रशस्तिमकरोदेना सर्व[ज्ञे]न प्रचोदितः शम्भुवर्म-
ति विख्यातस्तनयो देववर्म[णः] . . .
- 26 [रंगला] . २ . लिखित ॥ उत्कोर्णा धर्मलालकसूनुना ॥

No 28—AN ODD PLATE OF PARAMARA SIYAKA OF [VIKRAMA-SAMVAT 1026

By D B DISKALKAR

This copper-plate was obtained from a copper-smith of Ahmedābād by some pleader of Kaira (in Gujarāt), who made it over to Muni Jinavijayaji of the Gujarāt Purātattva Mandir of Ahmedābād some seven years ago. The latter kindly handed it over to me for publication.

The plate, which is the second half of a grant, has two holes each measuring $\frac{1}{4}$ of an inch in diameter at its top at a distance of 7 inches from each other. They are meant for the two copper rings holding the two plates together. The rings are missing. All the edges of the plate are fashioned into runs to protect the incised portion which is in a good state of preservation. It measures 1'-1 $\frac{3}{4}$ " in length and 7 $\frac{1}{2}$ " in breadth, and contains ten lines of writing, the last one containing, in about three times larger letters, the sign-manual of Śrī-Siyaka. In the left hand lower corner of the plate is engraved the figure of a flying Garuda holding in his left hand a cobra and having his right hand raised to strike it, as is generally seen in the grants of the Paramāra rulers of Mālwā.

The engraver has done his work in a slovenly way. The letters are not straight but are seen inclined to the left or more often to the right. Their average size is $\frac{1}{4}$ " by $\frac{1}{4}$ ". There are a number of grammatical mistakes even in this small portion of the record. The *anusvāra* is many times left out. The **characters** are old Nāgarī current in the 10th century A.D. They agree with those of the copper-plate grants of the Paramāra rulers, Vākpati Muñja³ and Bhōja,⁴ but are rather different from those of the two Harsola⁵ plates of VS 1005 of Siyaka, who is identical with the Paramāra Siyaka of the present inscription. The language of the record is Sanskrit. As regards orthography nothing special is to be noted.

A larger part of the plate, from the first line to the eighth, is taken up by the five customary imprecatory verses, which are the same as in the grant of Vākpatirāja of VS 1031. The last two lines of the inscription contain an important historical information. The ninth

¹ Re. d. °कि°

² *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. VI, p. 51, and Vol. XIV, p. 100.

³ They are being edited in this Journal.

⁴ Better read लिखिता.

⁵ Above, Vol. XI, p. 181, and *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. VI, p. 53.

⁶ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. VI, p. 51.

line gives the 15th day¹ of the dark half of Āśvina of the [Vikrama] year 1026 as the date of the record, and mentions Kanhapāka as the *dāpaka* (or the person who caused the grant to be issued)

By the loss of the first plate we are deprived of that portion of the record which contained the details of the family to which Siyaka belonged. There is, however, no doubt that this Siyaka was the illustrious Paramāra king of Mālwa. The Garuda symbol found in the plates of the Paramāras, namely, Vākpati and Bhōja, is found here exactly in the same form, and the characters are similar. We can even say that the Siyaka of our plate is the father of Vākpati Muñja, whose two grants of V S 1031 and 1036 have been discovered. The *dāpaka*,² moreover, in this grant and in the grant of V S 1031 is the same individual. We know that Siyaka had reigned at least up to the year 1029 of the Vikrama era, as the poet Dhanapāla of Dhārā says in verse 276 of his Prākṛit Dictionary called *Pālacchī*, that he had composed the work for the sake of his sister Sundarā in V S 1029, when Mānyakhēta was looted by the people of Mālwa.³ This undoubtedly refers to the statement in the 12th verse of the Udayapur *prasaṅga* that Śrī-Harsha, (another name of Siyaka), had invaded the dominions and looted the capital of Kṛhottiga.⁴ The present grant, being dated in V S 1026, is three years earlier than that date and twenty-one years later than the Harsola plates.

A point which requires to be borne in mind here is that the present plate and the Harsola plates, which are the earliest known records of the Paramāra family of Mālwa, were discovered in the Ahmedābād district of Gujarāt. The Harsola plates show that the property granted by the king consisted of the same tract of Gujarāt. We have, therefore, reason to believe that the Paramāras were connected with Gujarāt in the early days of their power.

TEXT.⁵

1 सासान्यं चैतत्पुण्यफलं बुद्धास्मद्वंशजैरन्यैरपि भाविभोक्तृभिरस्य दत्तधर्मदायोय-

2 न[नु]गन्तव्यं पालमीयम् [1*] उक्तं च भग[व*]ता व्यासेन[1*] * * *

3 to 8

[Five imprecatory verses]

¹ It will be seen that the *tithi* is given here as the 15th of the dark half, which is the *amāvāsyā* day of the month. In the Harsola grants of the same king, which are dated in V S 1005, the same *tithi*, *amāvāsyā*, is expressed as the 30th of the dark half as is done now a days. It seems, therefore, that both the forms of expressing the *amāvāsyā* day were in use in the mediæval period. Out of the eighty Valabhy grants, for instance, in as many as nine places the *tithi* is expressed in the former way.

² The word *dāpaka* has been read by the editors of Vākpati's grants of V S 1031 and 1036 (*Ind Ant*, Vol. VI, p. 51, and Vol. XIV, p. 160) as *dāyaka* and combined with the preceding word *āyā* as स्वयमाज्ञादायक. But it is to be noted that the word *dāpaka* found in these grants and in the grants of V S 1005 and in the present grant stands for the usual word *dātaka* and the word स्वयमाज्ञा means, as the grants of V S 1005 clearly state राजाज्ञया, 'by order of the king'. Both the expressions are quite separately given there thus—दापकोच ठक्कर भोविष्य । राजाज्ञया लिखितं कायस्थगुणधरेण । The word *dāpaka* conveys, I think, the same meaning as another word *kārāpaka* (a person appointed to look after the execution of the record) does. See *Ind Ant*, Vol. XIX, p. 62 n. 53, and *Ep Ind*, Vol. IX, p. 189.

³ *Ind Ant*, Vol. XXXVI (1907), p. 169.

⁴ From the original plate.

⁵ Read पालमीयम्

⁶ Above, Vol. I, p. 235.

⁷ Read बुद्धा°.

२ ४ ६ ८ १०
 २ ४ ६ ८ १०
 २ ४ ६ ८ १०

- 9 * * * * से १०२६ प्राचिन वदि १५ [१*] स्वयमात्रा दापकबात्र श्रीकण्ठवैकः ।
 10 Garuda figure श्रीसीयकस्य सहस्त्रोयं ।

No. 29—SIX INSCRIPTIONS FROM KOLUR AND DEVAGERI.

By LIONEL D. BARNETT

Kōlūr is a village in the Karajgi tāluka of the Dhārwar District, about 3 miles nearly west from Karajgi town, in lat. 14° 52' and long. 75° 27'. The name is ancient, and is that given to the village in the records here published. On the neighbouring village of Dēvagēri, anciently Dēvamgēri, I need only refer to Dr Fleet's remarks in Vol. XI above, p. 1. The present series is now published for the first time¹ from int-imp-ressions which were prepared for Dr Fleet, and on his lamented death passed into the British Museum. Four of them (Nos. A, C, D and F) are from Kōlūr; the rest (B and E) are from Dēvagēri. They range in date from Śaka 267 to the reign of the Yādava Siṅghana, in the first half of the 13th century A.D.

Kōlūr and Dēvagēri, together with the adjoining town of Kul'nūr, formed part of the *raṣṭra* or *raṣṭra* (something like the modern *māmi*) of the district known as the Bāsavūra Hundred-and-forty, or Hundred-and-forty of Bāsavūr. In the present records, with the sole exception of No. C, this *raṣṭra* is mentioned as being under the control of a dynasty of rulers who claimed to belong to the Jīmūtavāhan-āvaya or lineage of Jīmūtavahana and the Khechera-vamśa or Race of the Birds, and bore on their banners the figure of a snake (A, l. 18 f., l. 27). This refers to the legend dramatised in the drama *Nāgānanda*, attributed to Harsha-vardhana, and brings them into connection with the Śiṅkhāra dynasty of the Southern Kōṣṭha (c. 783-1008 A.D.), with the Northern branch of the same family, with Gonkadēva, who was reigning at Tādāl in A.D. 1122² and with the Sēnavāra or Sēnamāra family ruling in the Kādūr district of Mysore from about the end of the 7th century,³ all of whom claimed the same ancestry. This raises a point of peculiar interest. The *Nāgānanda* is one of the plays which the Cūṣṭjar of Travancore are in the habit of acting at religious festivals⁴. At first sight it seems strange that a Buddhist drama should be habitually performed by orthodox Hindus in honour of their gods, but the reason is now apparent. The scene of the *Nāgānanda* is laid on the Malaya Mountain, i.e. the Western Ghats of Malabar and Travancore, and its theme is indicated by the pedigrees of these three families. Hence either the plot of the drama was entirely fictitious and these pedigrees were concocted on the basis of it, or else it embodies a genuine legend of Malabar or Travancore, which was the source of these pedigrees, either directly or through the medium of the drama. The former alternative seems to me to be quite untenable. The other alternative fully accounts for the facts,—both the pedigrees of these neighbouring families and the appearance of a Buddhist play in orthodox Hindu festivals. Hence I venture to draw the inference that the performance of the *Nāgānanda* is one of the few cases in which a Hindu play is definitively associated with an ancient legend of the place where it is enacted.

¹ No. F is included in the Elliot Collection, on fol. 367a of Vol. i of the Royal Asiatic Society's copy.

² See *Dyn. Kavar. Distr.*, pp. 449, 443, 450, 523, 536, 548, *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XII, p. 252.

³ See *Ep. Carn.*, VI. Cn. 61, 62, 75, 76, 94, 95, Ep. 37.

⁴ See Pandit Ganapati Sastri's preface to Vol. xlii of the *Trivandrum Sanskrit Series*.

A —KOLUR INSCRIPTION OF THE REIGN OF SOMESVARA I: SAKA 967.

This is from a slab found in Kōlūr, but I can find no record of its site or other details. The inscribed area is 2 ft 1½ in wide and 4 ft. 10½ in high —The character is good Kanarese of the period, the letters in the upper lines are about ⅔ in. high, the rest about ⅞ in. The cursive *m* (above, Vol XII, p 335) appears in *ma[n*]gala* (l. 45) —The language is Old Kanarese prose, except in the two Sanskrit verses on ll 41-44. The *ḷ* does not appear, its place is taken by *l*. Initial *p* is preserved. The spelling *-śchēdamum* for *-śchhēdamum* (l. 39) is interesting cf Whitney's Sanskrit Grammar, § 227a, and Wackernagel, *Altindische Grammatik*, I, p 154.


The record opens by referring itself to the reign of Trailōkyamalla-dēva (Sōmēśvara I) in ll 1-4. Under him a certain functionary with the title of Rājagurudēva, of the Kādamba lineage, was governing the twelve towns which were administered for the benefit of the temple of Indrēśvara at Bankāpura (ll 4-13), he is described as the 'guardian of the Koṅkan' (l 11), and much is said about his piety, valour, learning, and other merits. Next is introduced Kalyāmmarasa, of the Jīmūtavāhana lineage and the Khachara race, who was administering the *manneya* of the Hundred-and-forty of Bāsavūr (ll 14-23). He was a Jain by religion, the tutelary goddess of his family was Padmāvatī, and their banner bore the device of a serpent. He is also termed *Dāyiga-dallalam*, 'a trouble to Dāyiga,' apparently some potentate whom he had defeated (l 22). Then follow the details of the endowment (ll 23-34), by which Rājagurudēva granted some land to the temple of Kalidēvēśvara at Kōlūr, and Kalyāmmarasa assigned thirty houses to defray the cost of perpetual lamps in it. The writer of the record was Basavayya, and the sculptor Bammōja.

The date is given on ll. 26-27 as Śaka 967, the cyclo year Pārthiva, Pausya-suddha 5, Sunday, the *uttarāyana-samkrānti*. This is irregular. The given *tithi* corresponded to Monday, 16 December, A D 1045, it ended at 12 h. 41 m after mean sunrise on that day, and began 13 h 1 m after mean sunrise on the preceding Sunday. The *uttarāyana-samkrānti* occurred 23 h 55 m. after mean sunrise on Monday, 23 December,—a week after the given *tithi*.¹

The places mentioned are · Rodda (l 8), Bankāpura (ll 13, 27), the Hundred-and-forty of Bāsavūr (l 22), Kōlūr (l 28), Karage (l 30), Ālakeṣe (l 30), the Varade river (l 31), and the *tīrthas* (ll 36, 37, 39). On Rodda see above, Vol VIII, p. 135n. Bankāpura is the modern Bankāpūr (see above, Vol. XIII, p 168). On Bāsavūr and Kōlūr see above. Kōlūr was one of twelve towns administered for the benefit of the temple of Indrēśvara at Bankāpura. Karage may possibly be the modern town of Karajgi, which gives its name to the *tālula*, and lies in lat 14° 52' and long 75° 30'. The Varade river must be the stream called "Verdā" on the Bombay Survey map. Kōlūr lies on its southern bank, and it flows thence westwards to the north of Dēvagēri and then turns southwards. There is a village named 'Vardi' (so the Bombay Survey) on its bank in lat 14° 47½' and long 75° 20'.

TEXT²

[The metres are as follows · verse 1, *Śālīnī*, verse 2, *Anushtubh*.]

1  Svasti samasta-bhuvan-āśraya Śrī-Prī(Pr)thvi-vallabha mahārājādhirājā(ja) para³.

2 mēśva(śva)ra parama-bhattārakam Satyāśraya-kula-talakam Chāluky-ābharanam

¹ I have again to acknowledge my obligation to the late Mr R. Sewell, who with his usual kindness checked my calculations for the dates in this series.

² From the ink-impression.

³ The engraver began this word with the syllable *dhi*, and then corrected it to *pa*.

- 3 śrīma[t*]-Trailōkyameśhā-dēvar sukha-[sam]kamtā¹-vinōdadim rājyam-geyyu-
 4 ttam-ire || ☉ Svasti yama-niyama-svādhyāya-dhyāna-dhāraṇa-prān-ā-
 5 yāma-pratyāhāra-japa-samādhi-sampannar=²Īśvara-p[ā*]da-kamala-
 6 bhri(bhri)mga sāhas-ōttumgan=³āśrita-jana-kalpa-vri(vri)ksha sa(śa)ran-āgata-suraksha
 7 nudid=ante mārppam kūre kūrppam pratipanna-Mēruv=⁴ēkāmga-viran=⁵Āsandhu(nda)-
 dhīram
 8 Vir-āvatāram vira-chūdāmanī gōtra-chintāmanī Rod[d*]a-kaivāram Sai(Śai)va-
 prākāram sa(śa)ra-
 9 paṇḍarīnata⁶ niśśamka-vairi-vri(vri)mdaka⁷-sa(śa)ra-sandhāna bāpa-śikshā-gui u Kali-
 yuga-
 10 Drōṇāchāryya sarvva-sa(śa)stra-sā(śā)stra-viśāradam nārācha-Parasu(śu)lāma
 gri-durgga-bhamjā(ja)-
 11 n-Āmjanēya trailōkya-ramjanam kataka-mābhīśam⁸ Komkena-rakshālam
 Kadamb-ānvaya-
 12 samuddharana-nām-ādi-samasta-prasa(śa)sti-sahitam śrīmat Rājagurudēvar
 13 Bāmkāpurad=⁹Ind[r*]ēśvara¹⁰-dēvargg=¹¹ālva panneradum bādamam sukhadin=¹²āuttam=
 ire || ☉
 14 Svasti samasta-vasumatitāla-kshā(khyā)ta-Jīmūtavāhan-ānvaya-bra(pra)sūta ba-
 15 ndhu-jana-kamal[i*]nī-rāja-hamśa(sa) vidya[j*]-jana-vinōdam gōshthi-vinōdam Padmā-
 vati-lābha-va-
 16 ra-prasāda rāja-vidyā-parāyana mūrti-Nārāyanam samyakt[v*]a-chū-
 17 dāmam bhri(bhri)tya-chintāmanī pratāpa-mārttānda pagevara-gaṇḍa din-
 ānātha-ja-
 18 na-santa[r*]ppit-ānūna-dāna pannaga-dhvaja-vi(vi)rajamāna vidagdha-mugdha-
 19 vār[ā*]mgaṇā-mc¹³ bhirāma chalad=¹⁴amka-Rāva(ma) Ji(Ji)na-pāda-pamkaja-¹⁵raja[h*]-
 20 pumja-pimjarita-gātra par-āmganā putra sakala-guṇa-gaṇ-ōttumga
 21 māvana sūnga jita-vairi-samkula Dāyiga dallalam nām-ādy-ā(a)nēka-[nā*]m-ā-
 22 lāmkrītam¹⁶-samētan=¹⁷appa śrīmat-Kālī(hi)yammarasam Bēsavūram(ra)-nū-
 23 ra-nālvattara manneya[d=arasu-geyyuttam=¹⁸idu*]¹⁹ || ☉ Svasti yama-ni(ni)yama-
 svādhyāya-dhyāna-
 24 dhāraṇa-mō(ma)n-ānushthānā(na)-parayāna²⁰-japa-samādhi-sampannarum anavara-
 25 ta-dharmma-chittarum=²¹appa śrīmat Vāmarāsi(śi)-dēvara śishyar=²²appa Mallikā-
 26 rjjuna-bhadāgga²³ svasa Sa(śa)ka-varsha 967neya Pārthiva-samvatsarada
 Pauśya(shya)-su(śu)ddha
 27 pamcham Ādivāra uttarāyana-samkrāntiyandu Bāmkāpurad=²⁴Indrēśva(śva) ra-

¹ Read -samkathā-² Read -pariyata³ The ānushthāna and da are not quite clear⁴ Possibly a mistake for -mahādīśam.⁵ I have altered the spelling Indrēśvara to Indrēśpara, as the latter form appears below, l. 27, and in inscr. C., l. 8. On the other hand, the Hottūr Inscription of Śaka 929 mentions a place called Indrēśvargeri (l. 12), hence it is possible that both forms were in use.⁶ Read -ājamhriti-⁷ There seems to be a gap here; I have accordingly filled it up from inscription B, ll. 22-23; cf. ibid., l. 8.⁸ Read -parāyana⁹ This may be corrected to -bhāffargge, or -bhāffārgge, or -bhāffārakargge. The first seems the most likely.

- 28 dēva[r*]gg=ālva panneradum bādada baliya Kōlūra Kalidēvēśvara-dēvargge
 29 śrīmat Rājagurudēvaru dhār[ā*]-pūrvvakadim sarvva-namasyam=ā-
 30 ge biṭṭa Karageya batteym temka Ālakereyimd=ūi=āmnaram¹
 31 paduval bitta ere mattar=emtt(mt)u dēgulada kōde(de)yim paduva Varade-
 32 ya toreyim temkal bitta kisu mattar=eradu antu mattar pattu [!*]
 33 Manneya Kaliyammarasam nandā-divigege bitta parisūtrada manegal
 34 mūvattu sarvva-bādhā-pamhāram=int-i dharmmamam pratipālisuvar [!|*]
 35 Ī dharmmamam pratipālīsīd-ātagem² vijaya-śriyum bal-āyum ārō-
 36 gy-ābhividdhiyum³=uttar-ōttaram=akku [!*] matta[m*] Kuukshētra Vāranāsi
 37 Prayāge Argghyatīrttham=emba mā(ma)hā-tīrtthagamlol⁴=sāsura kavileya kōdu[m*]
 kolagumam
 38 pamcha-ratnadol=kattisi mā(ma)hā-brāhmanargge ubhayamukhi gottā phalam=akku
 [!*] Idan=ak-
 39 dh(d)-ātame rōgam daridratvam santati-śchēdamum⁵ Vāranāsiyol=kōṭi
 kavileyum kōti
 40 brāhmanarum ek-kōti-tapōdhanarumam konda pamcha-māba⁶-pātakan=akkum ||
 41 Sāmānyō=yam dha[!*]mma-sētu[r*]=nripānām kālē kālō pālanīyō bhavadbhūh [!*]
 42 sarvvan=ētām(n) chāgīna⁷ pārtthivēndīō(ndrān) bhūyō bhūyō yāchatō
 Rāmabhadrah [|| 1*]
 43 Sva-datt[ā*]m para-datt[ā*]m vā yō harēti(ta) vasundarā⁸ [!*] sāshtur⁹-varsha-
 sahasr[ā*]m
 44 mūsthayām¹⁰ jāyatō krīmī¹¹ [!|* 2*] Bareda sēnabōva Basavayya besa-ge-
 45 yda Bam[m*]ōja [!*] Ma[m*]gala

TRANSLATION.

(Lines 1-4) Hail ! When the asylum of the whole world, favourite of Fortune and Earth, great Emperor, supreme Lord, supreme Master, ornament of Satyāśraya's race, embellishment of the Chālukyas, king Trailōkyamalla, was reigning with enjoyment of pleasant conversations —

(Ll 4-13.) Hail ! When he who observes the major and minor disciplines, scriptural study, meditation, spiritual concentration, suppression of breath, retraction of senses, prayer, and absorption, who is a bee to Īśvara's lotus-feet, possessing all titles of honour such as "lofty in courage, a tree of desire to dependents, a good guardian to seekers of his protection, an opponent (?) according to the word,¹² returning love for love, a Mēru in exaltation, a warrior of the body-guard, valiant as Āsanda [Vishnu], an incarnation of Vira [Virabhadra] a crest-jewel of warriors, a wishing-gem to his gōtra, a theme of praise to Bodhī, a palace¹³ for Śaivas, skilled in (the use of) arrows, stringing arrows against troops of fearless foes, a master to teach archery, a Drōṇāchārya of the Kali age, accomplished in all weapons and books of instruction, a Parāśurāma with arrows, an Āñjanēya (Hanumān) in shattering mountain-fastnesses, delighting the three worlds, great lord of the camp (?), guardian of the Kōṭkan, restorer of the Kadamba

¹ This word is corrupt.

² Read -ā'arage

³ On the spelling see Whitney's Sanskrit Grammar, §227a, and Wackernagel, *Altind. Gramm.* I, p. 154.

⁴ Read -makō.

⁵ Read śāstīr

⁶ Cf. the phrase *anfidāste gāṇḍa*.

⁷ Read -ābhividdhiyum=

⁸ Read bhāgīna.

⁹ Read śāstīr

¹⁰ [I would say 'rampart' instead — Ed.]

¹¹ Read tīrtthagamlol

¹² Read vasundharām.

¹³ Read krīmī

lineage," the illustrious Rājagurudēva, was happily governing the twelve towns administered for (the benefit of) the god Indrēśvara of Bankāpura :—

(Ll 14-23) Hail ! While he who is sprung from the lineage of Jīmūtavāhana famed over the whole earth, possessing many titles of distinction such as 'a royal swan in the lotus-lake of his kin, delighting in learned men, delighting in social circles, receiving the grace of boons from (the goddess) Padmāvatī, versed in the science of kings, an incarnate Nārāyaṇa, a crest-jewel of goodness, a wishing-jewel to servants, a sun of magnificence, a man of might to foes, satisfying by abundant gifts the miserable and forlorn, brilliant with the Serpent-banner, delighting the mind of witty and modest courtesans, a Rāma in the characteristic of constancy, having his limbs yellowed by the mass of pollen in the lotuses of the Jinās' feet, a son to other men's wives, exalted by the series of all virtues, a lion of his uncle, conqueror of a multitude of enemies, a trouble to Dēyaga', the illustrious Kalyāmmarasa, was ruling the seignory of the Hundred-and-forty of Bāsavūr¹ —

(Ll 23-26.) Hail ! to Mallikārjuna-Bhatta (?), disciple of Vāmarāśi-dēva, who is versed in the major and minor disciplines, scriptural study, meditation, spiritual concentration, and observance of the vow of silence, who practises prayer and absorption, and is constantly inspired by godliness,—

(Ll 26-27) Hail ! on Sunday, the fifth day of the bright fortnight of Paushya in the cyclic year Pārthiva, the 967th (year) of the Śaka era, at the *uttarāyana-samkrānti*,—

(Ll 27-34) For (the benefit of) the god Kalidēvēśvara of Kōlūr, (one of the towns) included in the twelve towns administered for (the benefit of) the god Indrēśvara of Bankāpura, the illustrious Rājagurudēva with pouring of water granted on *sarva-namasya* tenure, eight *mattar* of black-loam land north of the road of Karage, west . . . from the Ālakeṛe, (and also) he granted two *mattar* of red land west of the wall (?) of the temple, south of the river of Varade altogether ten *mattar*. The seignior Kalyāmmarasa granted for the perpetual lamps thirty houses in the precinct, immune from all conflicting claims. So they shall protect this pious endowment.

(Ll 35-40 a prose formula of the usual type)

(Verses 1-2 two common Sanskrit formulæ)

(Ll 44-45) The town-clerk Basavayya wrote (the record) Bammōja executed (the order) Happiness !

B—DEVAGERI INSCRIPTION OF THE REIGNS OF SOMESVARA II AND SOMESVARA III SAKA 997 AND 1058.

This record was found on a stone at Dēvagēri, but I have no information as to its site or character. The inscribed area is about 3 ft. 2½ in. high and 3 ft 6½ in wide. It contains two documents, in different hands, of which the second is imperfect at the end.—The character is Kanarese, the letters vary in height from ½ in to ¾ in. The cursive *m* (above, Vol XII, p 335) is used in *sampannar* (l 9), *dharmmam* (l 27), *kamma* (l 28), *mattam* (l 28), the palatal *ñ* appears in *pañcha-* (ll 4, 6)—The language is Old Kanarese, except for the introductory Sanskrit verse. The archaic *l* occurs in *lḍu* (ll 11, 15, 23), *galḍe* (l 28), and wrongly in *kalḥu* (l 13), elsewhere it is changed to *l*. Initial *p* is preserved, except in *hattakk-* (l 17), and *Halāmā* (l 29). The word *kottayum* on l 20 (if I have read it aright) is singular. On *mattalu* (l 28) cf above, Vol. XIII, p 168, and *Ep Gorn*, VII 1., Sk 8, 61, 70, 71, 322, Hl 7, 11, etc. Some words are of lexical interest, viz *kāsata* (l 16), *malave* (ll 16, 17), *kechchan-appa* (lb), and *hinige* (l 17).

¹ There seems to be something lost here, see above.

The first document, after referring itself to the reign of Bhuvanāikamallī-dēva, i.e. Sōmēśvara II (l 3), mentions the General Udayāditya—a *Mahāsāmantādhipati*, high minister, commissioner for *hēri* and for peace and war, and steward of the household—as administering at the time the Bāṇavase Twelve-thousand (ll 4-5), while the *Mahāśāmantā* Kalyāmmarasa, of the Jimūtavāhana lineage and Khachara race, styled 'a lion for Rājāditya' (apparently one of his family to whom he had rendered military services),¹ was governing the *manneya* of the Bāsavura Hundred-and-forty (ll 5-8). The details of the grant then follow (ll 8-21), according to which Vennamayya, a general, minister, and controller of the *perjunta* taxes, together with the controllers of the two *bilkode* taxes, assigned the proceeds of a toll on produce carried in a certain area to the temple of Kankalēśvara² at Dēvagēri, the trustee being Gangarāśi-Pandita.

The second document opens by referring itself to the ninth year of the reign of Bhūlōkamallī, i.e. Sōmēśvara III, and introduces another Kalyāmmarasa, a kinsman of the Kalyāmmarasa mentioned above, perhaps his grandson, as governing the same seignory (ll 21-23). A verse (ll 23-25) states that this dignitary, who is here named Kaliga, made a gift of land to the same temple, and the details of this donation, of which the trustee was Mallikārjuna-Pandita, are given in ll 25-28. This is followed by a record of a donation by some merchants, of which only the beginning remains.

The date of the first record is given on ll. 11-12 as Śāka 997, the cyclic year Rākṣasa, Paushya-*suddha* 14, Sunday, the *uttarāyana-samkrānti*; the *yōga vyatīpātā*. In these details the only error is in the week-day. The given *tithi* corresponded to Thursday, 24 December, A.D. 1075, when it ended about 3 h 12 m. after mean sunrise. The *uttarāyana-samkrānti* took place on the same day at 18 h 10 m. after mean sunrise, the following Friday being reckoned as Makara.

The second record is dated on ll. 21-22 as the 9th year of Bhūlōkamallā (i.e. Śāka 1056 expired), Ānanda, Paushya-*suddha* 11, Monday, the *uttarāyana-samkrānti*, the *vyatīpātā*. This is irregular. The quoted *tithi* corresponded to Saturday, 29 December, A.D. 1134, on which day it ended about 1 h 37 m. after mean sunrise. On the other hand, the *uttarāyana-samkrānti* occurred according to the Ārya-siddhānta 28 m. after mean sunrise on Tuesday, 25 December. Mr Sewell has pointed out to me that by the Brahma-siddhānta the *samkrānti* took place on Monday, 24 December, at 1 h 20 m. after mean sunrise, the current *tithi* for that day being Paushya śu 7. Apparently then the record has mixed up two distinct dates, namely Paushya śu 11 (Saturday) and the *samkrānti* on Paushya śu 7 (Monday).

The chief places mentioned are the Bāsavura Hundred-and-forty, l 8, or the Hundred-and-forty of Bāsavūr, l 22, Dēvamgēri, ll 14-15, Palavūr, l 15, E'eya-Tammuge, l 15, Barade, l 16, Bedābālu, l 27, Maruleyanakere, l 27, Chimudagere, ll 27-28, and Arakere, l 28. On Bāsavūr, Dēvamgēri, and Barade, see above. The other places I am unable to identify.

TEXT³

[The metres are verse 1, *Anushtubh*, verse 2, *Utpalamālā*]

- 1 [Na]mas=tu[m]ga-si(śi)raś-chumbita⁴-cha[m]dra-chāmara-chāravē [||*] trīlōkyam(kya)-nagar-ārambha-mūla-stambhāya Sa(Śa)mbhavē || [1*]
- 2 [Sva]sti samasta-bhuvan-āśraya Śri-Prī(Prī)thvī-vallabha mahārājādhirāja paramēśvaram parama-bhattārakam Satyāśraya-kula-tīlaka[m] Chāluky-ā-

¹ [Ordinarily it may also imply that he was a lion to (i.e. vanquished) Rājāditya. The previous plate has *manneya* śingga (l 21).—Ed.]

² The name is spelt on l 14 *Kamkalēśvara*, on l 24 *Kamkalēśvara*, and on l 28 f. *Kamkalēśvara*.

³ From the ink-impression.

⁴ Read -chumbi.

- 3 bharanam śrīmat Bhuvanaikamalla-dēva-jaya-rājyam=uttar-ōttar-ābhivṛi(vṛi)ddhi
pravarddhamānam=ā-chamdi-ārka-tāram-baram saluttam=ire [1*]
- 4 [Ta]t-pāda-padm-ōpajīvi samadhigata-pañcha-mahā-śa[bda-ma]hā-sāmantādhīpafi
mahā-prachanda-dādanāyaka mahāpradhānam hēri-sa-
- 5 [ndhi]-vigrahi mane-verggade dandanāyakan=Udayādityam Banavāse-pannirch-
chhāsīramuman¹=ālutt=ire [1*] Svasti samadhiga-
- 6 [ta]-pañcha-mahā-śabda-mahāsāmantam vijaya-lakshmi-kāntam samasta-vasumatitā/
khyātam(ta)-Jīmūtavāhan-ānvaya-prasā(sō)-
- 7 [tam] bandhu-jana-kamāhni rāja-hamśa(sa) Khachara²-vams-ōdbhavam Padmāvati-
labdha-vara-prasādam tyāga-vinōdam Rājādityaśasīnga śrīmat
- 8 Kāliyammārasam Bāsavūra-nūpa-nālvattarkkam mann[e*]yamam sukhadin=arasu-
geyyuttam=ire ☉ Svasti samasta-rājya-
- 9 bhara-nirūpita-mahāmātya-padavi-virājamāna mān-ōnnata prabhu-mamti-ōtsāha-sakti-
traya-sampannar=appa śīmad-danda-
- 10 [n]āyakam perjūmkada Vēnnamayyamgalum śrīmat-bilkode(de)ya Nāgavarm-
mayyanum Chikka-Kētayyanum antu perjūmkav=eradu
- 11 [b]ilkode(de)yavarum=īlḍu Sa(śa)ka-varsha 997nēya Rākshasa-samvatsarada
Panshya-su(śu)ddha 14 Ādityavāram=uttarāyana-
- 12 samkrāntiyu[m*] vyatipātamum kōḍid=andu Svasti yama-niyama-svādhyāya-dhyāna-
dhārana-mō(mau)n-ānushāna³-
- 13 parāyapa-japa-samādhi-sampannar=appa śrīmat Gamgarāsi(śi)-panditara kalam
ka[chi](rchchi)-dhārā-pūrvvakam mā-
- 14 di Dēvamgēriya Kamkalōśvara-dēvargge dhūpa-dīpa-nivēdyakke biṭṭa dharmmam-
ent=endade [1*] Śrīmat vadḍa-rāvulada perggade Bē-
- 15 chayyanum=īlḍu Dēvamgēriyalum Palavūralum Eleya-Tammam(amm)uge modal=āgi
mūr-ūra talada bhandadolam paduvalu Mafann(ann)a-
- 16 nḍiya pole mūdalu Tammugeya Kalla-vole modal=āgi Baradeyim temka pōpa
bhandakke kāsata malave irppattakk=ondu kechchan=a-
- 17 ppa nūla pāsina bīnigeya malave mūvattakk=ondu pattiya malave ayvattakk=
ondu davasada pēru hattakk=ondara sumkamū-
- 18 mam vadda-rāvulam perjūmkā eradam bilkode(de)ya sumkava[m*] pratipālisuvar
[11*] I(ī) dharmmamam pratipālisadavar Prayāge Bā-
- 19 parāsi Kurukshētram Argghyatirtthadolam sāsīrvvar vēda-pāragarige sāsira
kavileya kōḍum kōlagumam pamcha-ratnadol=ka-
- 20 tṭāsi kōṭṭayum phalav=akku [1*] I(ī) dharmmamam pratipālisadavam sāsīrvvar vēda-
pāragarumam sāsira⁴ kavileyumam konda
- 21 pamcha-mahā-pātakan=akkum ☉ Svasti śrīmach-Chālkyā⁵-Bhūlōka[malla*]-
varshada 997y=Ānamdā-samvatsarada Pausya(shya)-su(śu)ddha 11
Sōmavārada=n-
- 22 ttarāyana-samkrānti vyatipātad=amdu śrīman-mahāsāmantā Kāliyammārasaru
Bāsavūra nūpa-nālvattara mann[e*]ya-
- 23 d=arasu-gey[y*]uttam=īlḍu || Śr-īśvaran=appa Khēchāra-kul-ānvayan=i Kālig āvanīa
māhēśvara-dikshēyam tanage mādisi ko-

¹ Apparently what was intended was *Banavāse-pannirchchāsīraman*.

² Possibly *Khēchāra* - the first vowel is not quite clear.

³ Under the *r* is written *ā*.

⁴ Read - *ānushāna*.

⁵ Read - *Chālūkyā*.

- 24 ndu samastā-dēva-dēv-śvara-Kamkanēśvara-mahā-mahimamge nivēdya-pājagam
sāsvitam=āge kottan=akhil-ōrvare ba-
- 25 nni-il=ndgha-bhūnuyam || [2*] Svasti yama-nī(ni)yama-svādhyāya-dhyāna-dhāraṇa-
mō(mu)n-ānuśtānīl-japa-samādhi-
- 26 śila-guṇa-samppannar=appa śrīmatu Mallikārjuna-paṇḍitara kalam karchcha dhārā-
pūrvakam mādi bi-
- 27 tta dharmam-cint-cindade | Bedabēla batṭeyim tamka | Marujoyana kereyim
mūda ere mattalu nālku | Chinu-
- 28 dagereya padmaṇi deseyalu bitta Lisu mattalu eradu | Arakereya kelage
bitta galde kamma 50 [||*] Mattam Kamkālē-
- 29 [śvita-d]ēva[ī]ge [² parisū]trada samipadalu Kisuva Halama-seṭṭivālaru[m*]
Kāldēva-seṭṭiyum²

TRANSLATION.

(Verse 1) Homage to Śambhu, beauteous with the yak-tail fan, that is the moon, kissing his lofty head, the foundation-column for the building of the city of the three worlds

(Lines 2-3) While the victorious reign of—hail!—the asylum of the whole world, favourite of Fortune and Earth, great Emperor, supreme Lord, supreme Master, ornament of Satyāśraya's race, embellishment of the Chālukyas, king Bhuvanaikamalla, was advancing in a course of successively increasing prosperity, (to endure) as long as moon, sun, and stars —

(Ll 4-5) While one who finds sustenance at his lotus-feet, the Mahāśūmantādhipati who has obtained the five great (musical) sounds, great august General, High Minister, commissioner for affairs of *hīri*,³ peace, and war, steward of the household, the General Udayāditya, was ruling the Binavāse Twelve-thousand —

(Ll 5-8) While—hail!—the Mahāśūmanta who has obtained the five great (musical) sounds, beloved of the goddess of victory, scion of the lineage of Jīmūtavāhana famed over the whole earth, a royal swan to the lotus-pool—his kindred horn of the Khachara race, receiving the grace of boons from (the goddess) Padmāvatī, taking delight in liberality, a lion for Rājāditya, the illustrious Kāliyammarasa, was governing happily the seigniorship of Bāsavura Hundred-and-forty —

(Ll 8-14) He who is eminent in the office of high minister appointed for the administration of the whole kingdom, exalted in dignity, possessing the three powers of lordship, counsel and enterprise, the General Vennamayya (the controller) of the *perjunta* taxes, and Nāgavarimayya and Chikka-Kēṭayya (the controllers) of the *balloḍe* taxes, that is to say, the controllers of the *perjunta* and of the two *balloḍes*, in concert, on Sunday, the 14th of the bright fortnight of Pausya, in the cyclic year Rākshasa, the 987th (year) of the Śaka era, coinciding with the *uttarāyana-samkrānti* and the *vyatīpāt*,⁴ having lavied the feet of Gengarāśi-Pandita, who is versed in the major and minor disciplines, scriptural study, meditation, spiritual concentration and observance of silence, and practises prayer and absorption, granted with pointing of water a pious endowment for (the supply of) incense, lamps, and oblations for the god Kankalēśvara of Dēvaṃgērī, to the following effect —

(Ll 14-18) With the concurrence of Bēchayya, controller of the *vaḍḍa-rāvuḷa* taxes, (it was decreed that) they shall maintain both in Dēvaṃgērī and an Palawūr in the case of the produce of the soil of Eleya-Tammuge and the rest of the three towns, a toll upon produce that is

¹ Read -*anushthāna* -

² Of line 30 nothing is legible, and the rest of the record is lost

³ See remarks in my paper on the Lakshmēśwara inscr. of Jagadēkamalla II, l. 21.

⁴ A *yōga* in which the sun and moon have the same declination

carried south of Barade—beginning with the river of Mannandi on the west and the Kalla-river of Tammuge on the east—viz, one *malave* upon every twenty of *kāsata*, one *malave* upon every thirty of *binige* of red (?)¹ thread, one *malave* upon every fifty of cotton-pods, one load upon every ten of grain, (as) a toll of the *vadda-rāṭula*, the *perjunka*, and the two *bilkode*

(Ll 18-21 a prose formula of the usual type)

(Ll 21-23) Hail! At the *uttarāyana-samkrānti* on Monday, the 11th of the bright fortnight of Pausya in the cyclic year *Ānanda*, the 9th (year) of the Chālukya-Bhūlō-kamalla era, in the *vyatipāta*, while the *Mahāsāmanta* Kalyāmmarasa was governing the seignory of the Hundred-and-forty of Bāsavūr —

(Verse 2) This prince *Kāḷaga*, of the lineage of the Khēchara family, a lord of fortune, having caused to be performed for himself the Māhēśvara consecration, bestowed in perpetuity, with the approval of the whole earth, good land for the great glory of Kankanēśvara, the lord of all gods of gods, and for his worship with oblations

(Ll 25-28) 'Hail! Having lavēd the feet of Mallikārjuna-Pandita, who has the merit of practising the major and minor disciplines, scriptural study, meditation, spiritual concentration, observance of silence, prayer, and absorption, he granted with pouring of water a pious endowment, as follows: four *mattar* of black-loam land south of the road of Bedabālu, east of Maruleya's Tank, two *mattal(r)* of red land he granted on the west of the Chimudagere, 50 *amma* of paddy-field he granted below the Arakere

[Translation of the latter part of l 28 and l 29 is omitted here, apparently because the sense is not complete. As they stand, we might render them thus —Further, to the god Kamkālēśvara-dēva, Kisuva Halamā-setṭivāla and Kalidēva-setti . . . in the vicinity of the enclosure —Ed]

C—KOLUR INSCRIPTION OF THE 4TH YEAR OF VIKRAMADITYA VI

This record was found on a fragment of a slab in the temple of Dhavalēśvara at Kōlūr, concerning which I have found no further details. The upper half is very imperfectly preserved. The maximum height of the inscribed area is about 3 ft, the width is 2 ft 3 in.—The character is a fair Kanarese of the period, the letters varying in height from $\frac{1}{2}$ in to $\frac{3}{4}$ in. The cursive *m* (above, Vol XII, p 335) occurs in [*pa*]micha-mahā°, l 9, ma[hāse]nādipati, l 11, and palama°, l 28. The language, except for the concluding Sanskrit verse, is Old Kanarese. The initial *p* is changed to *h* only in *hattiya*, l 25. The archaic *l* is preserved in *lḍu* ll 17-18, and is written irregularly in *karlchu*, for *karchhu*, l 21, elsewhere it has been replaced by *l*. The words *khēnhāra*, l 17, *binige*, l 24, *kechchan=appa*, l 24, and *malave*, ll 24-25, are of some lexical interest.

The record, so far as it is preserved, begins by referring itself to a time when Trailōkya-malla-dēva was reigning over the Nolambavādi, Thirty-two Thousand and the Śāntiloge Thousand (ll 1-6). This is probably Jayasimha III, the younger brother of Vikramāditya VI, on whom see *Dyn Kanar Distr*, p 453. Then, after a mutilated reference to some religious dignitary who was administering the demesnes of the god Indrēśvara of Binkāpura (cf above, A, ll 12-13), we learn that at the same time a *manneya*, probably the Bāsavura Hundred-and-forty, was under the government of a *Mahāsāmanta* whose name is lost, but was probably Kalyāmmarasa (ll 6-10), while the General Baladēvayya, a devotee of the Jain church, was ruling the Banavase Twelve-thousand and controlling the *kil-ratte* section of the *vadda-rāṭula* taxes (ll 10-13), the General-Bamandēvarasa was controlling the *perjunka* and the two *bilkode* taxes of the Banavase Twelve-thousand (ll 13-15), the *pergade* Chāvanna, also a pious Jain, was *khēnhāra* of the *vadda-rāṭula* (ll 15-18), and Dasa-Gāvunda and Rāja-Gāvunda were serving as *gāvundas* of Kōlūr (l 18). Next comes the date (ll 18-20), followed

¹ Possibly *kechchan=appa* is connected with *kechchane*, 'redness'; but it may equally be connected with *kechchu* in the sense of 'warp'.

by details of an endowment for the temple of the god Grāmśvara, the "Village Lord", of which the trustee was a certain Kannadāchārya, and under which a toll identical in its rates with that specified in B, ll 16-17, was to be levied on certain produce of the soil in Kōlūr and Aggalajūr under the provisions of the above mentioned four taxes, and applied for the benefit of the temple (ll 20-26)

The date is given on ll 18-20 as the 4th year of the Chālukya-Vikrama era, Siddhārtha, Paushya amāvāse, Sunday, the *uttarāyana-samkrānti*, the *vyatipāta*; an eclipse of the sun. This again is somewhat irregular. The given *tithi* corresponded to Thursday, 26 December, A.D 1079, ending about 3 h 7 m after mean sunrise. The *uttarāyana-samkrānti* occurred 19 h after mean sunrise on the preceding Tuesday, i.e. at 1 a.m. on Wednesday, 25 December, which was hence reckoned as 1 Makara. The eclipse of the sun actually took place on Thursday, 26 December, as stated see *Indian Calendar*, p. 122

The following place-names occur the Nolambavādī Thirty-two-thousand, ll. 4-5, the Sāntalige Thousand, l 5, Bankāpura, l. 8, the Banavase Twelve-thousand, ll. 12, 14, Kōlūr, ll 18, 22, Aggalajūr, l 22 f, Karage, l 23, the *tirthas*, ll. 26, 27, 29. Nolambavādī lay somewhere about Bellary. Sāntalige was in the west of Mysore or thereabouts (*Dyn. Kanar Distr.*, p 306, n 5). On Bankāpura see Vol XIII, p. 168, on Karage, see above

TEXT¹

[The metre of verse 1 is *Anushṭubh*]

- 1 [śa]-
- 2 [ra]n-āgata-rakshāma[pi]
- 3 gaḷāgarājam
- 4 śrīma[t*]-Traiḷōkyamallavēr² Nola[mbavādī-mūva]-
- 5 [tti]rchchāsīramumam Sāntalige-[śāsīramu]-
- 6 mam sukha-samkathā-vinōdadim r[ā]jyam-geyyuttam-ire || Svasti yama-niyama-
dhyāna]-
- 7 dhārana-mō(mau)n-ānushthāna-japa-samādhi
- 8 Bankāpurad=Imdrēśvara-dēvargg=ālva Gorava(?) [samadhiyata]-
- 9 [pa]mcha-mahāsa(śa)bda-mahāsāmantam śrīmatu [Bāsavura-nūpa-
nālva]-
- 10 [ttara] manneyad-arasu-geyyut[t*]am-ire || Svasti
- 11 ma[hāsē]nādi(dhi)pati mahā-prachamḍa-damḍanāyaka Jina-charaṇa-kamala-bhri(bhri)m-
ga [damda]-
- 12 [n]āyaka Baladēvayyam[ga*]lu Banavase-pannūrchchāsīramumam vadda-rāvula-
- 13 [da ?] kil-vatṭeya sumkaman=anubhavisuttam-ire || Śrīmad-danḍanāyaka Betti-
[mayyam ?]-
- 14 gala magam Bammadēvarasaru Banavase-pannūrchchāsīrada perjjumkamum
eradu[m bi]-
- 15 lkoḍeya sumkaman=anubhavisuttam-ire || Svasti samasta-guna-sampanna nudid-
am-
- 16 t=ennam sujan-aiyka-mitra gōtra-pavitra śrīta-jana-kālpa-vri(vri)ksha bandhu-jana-
chintāmanī Po
- 17 ttīya sīnga Jina-charana-kamala-bhri(bhri)mga śrīmatu vadda-rāvulada khēṇikāra
perggade Chāvannanu[m=ī]-
- 18 ldu || Śrīmatu-Kolu(lā)ra Dāsa-gāvundanum Rāja-gāvundanum gāvunḍu-
geyyū(yu)ttam-ire || Chālu[k]ya-
- 19 Vikrama-varsha 4neya Sīdh(d)dhārttha-samvatsarada Paushyad-amāvāse Ādityavā-
ram=uttar[ā]-

¹ From the ink-impression.

² Read Traiḷōkyamallā-dēgar.

- 20 yana-samkrānti vyatipāta su(ū)ryya-grahanadandu Giāmēśvara-dēvaṅge dhūpa-dipa-
 21 nivedyake Kannadāchāryyara kālam karicchi dhārā-pūrvvakam=āgi bitta dharm-
 mam=ent=enda[de]
 22 Vadda-rāvula perjūmka eradum bilode antum(ntu) nālkum sumkadalum=āgi
 Kōlū=Aggala-
 23 jūra Karageya tala-bhandamu[m* 2] ā yeraidum polege barpp=adda-vatteja
 khāsa-
 24 tada malave irpattakk=ondu lechchan=appa nūla pāsina binigeja malave
 25 mūvattakk=ondu hattiya malave ayvattakk=ondu davaśada pēru 1[1*]ppa-
 26 ttat-k=ondu [1*] Int=i dharmmamam pratipāhsidavaru Vāiaṅśi Gu(Ku)rṅkshētra
 27 Prayāgejā(yo)l=sāyura kavileya kōdum kolagumam pamcha-ratnadolu kattī-
 28 si(sī) vēda-pāragar=appa sāsuvvaru brāhmaṇaṅge mahā-dānam-gotta pa(pha)lam=
 akku ||
 29 I dharmmamam=alidam Vānarāsi Kurukshētradol sāsira kavileyum sāsira brā-
 30 hmanarau=alida pamcha-mahā-pitakan=akku || Śva-datt[ā*]m para-datt[ā*]m vā
 yō harēti(ta) vasu-
 31 ndharām shashthi(shtim)-varsha-sahasānām(ni) mī(vi)shthāyām jēyatē krīmī¹ ||
 [1*] ②

D—KOLUR INSCRIPTION OF THE 10TH YEAR OF VIKRAMADITYA VI

This mutilated fragment is from a stone found at Kōlūr, regarding which I have no details. It contains only the right-hand half of the record. Its height is about 3 ft 5½ in, its width at l 1 is 12½ in, and at l 32 (the last line) 17½ in. The character is fair Kanarese of the period and the letters vary between ⅙ in and ¼ in. The language is Old Kanarese, except in the formal Sanskrit verses on ll 24-27. The *l* is used irregularly in *lamala* and *sakala* (l 5), and in *negaḷḍalu* (l 14), elsewhere it is replaced by *l*. We find the archaic participle *pratipāh-sidange* (l 27) in a formula beside the later form *ahidavange* (l 29).

The record refers itself in ll 1-3 to the reign of Tribhuvanamalla-dēva, i.e. Vikramāditya VI, and then mentions in ll 3-7 Rājagurudēva (compare above, inscr. A) as administering twelve towns, probably those comprised in the diocese of Indrēśvara of Bankāpura. Next appears again Kaliyammaraśa, who figures in inscription B (ll 8 and 22), as governing the *manneya* of Bāsavura. After the date (ll 12-13) begins a series of *kanda* verses in praise of Basava and Kētamalla and their family, though of the latter only one name is preserved, viz. that of their grandmother (?) Bāganabbe (l 14). To judge from the words *Ō(Au)ragakula-talakam* on l 13, this family also belonged to the Jīmūtavāhana lineage. One or both of these men held the office of *gāruḍa* in Kōlūr (l 18), and won the favour of Kaliyammaraśa (l 19), who was pleased because Basava risked his life (literally, 'gave his head') in his service, and accordingly made a religious endowment (ll 19-22). The document was drafted by Maḷapayya, the teacher of Kētamalla, and was engraved by Kālōja (ll 31-32).


The date is given in ll 12-13 as the 10th year of the Chālukya-Vikrama era, Krōdhana, Thursday, the month and fortnight being lost. The year Krōdhana corresponded to A.D. 1085-6.

The only decipherable place-names are the Bāsavura Hundred-and-forty (l 11), Kōlūr (l 18), and the *tīrthas* (l 27).

¹ Read *krīmī*

TEXT¹

[The metres are as follow · verses 1-7, *Kanda*; verses 8-9, *Anuśubh*]

- 1 [Svasti samasta-bhuvan-āśraya Śī-I-Pṛthvi-vallabha mahāi]ājādhirāja paramēśvara
parama-
- 2 [bhattarakam Satyāśraya-kula-talakam Chālukya-abharana]m śrīma[*]-Tribhuvana-
malla-dēvaru sukha-
- 3 [samkathā-vinōdadum rājya-n-geyyuttam=ire | Svasti yama-nīyama-ev]ādhyāya-dhyāna
dhārana-mō(mau)n anu-
- 4 [shthāna] budha-jana-prasammanarū
dharmma-latā-
- 5 vā-kama]a(la)-mārttandarum
saka]a(la)- 
- 6 sara-vīratarum chāritra-nīratarum
śrīma-
- 7 vīndarum=appa Rājagurudēvaru panneradum
bādamam
- 8 [Samadhigata-pa]mcha-mahāśabda-mahāśāmantam
vijaya-
- 9 [lakshmi-kānta] Jīmūtavāhan-ānvaya-prasūta
bandhu-jana-
- 10 [kamalini-rāja-hamsa] [Padm]āvati(tī)-labdha-vara-prasīda tyāga-vinōda
biruda-
- 11 [manneya-mada-nivāraṇa(?)] śrīmat Kāṣyam[m*]arasa[r*]
Bāsavura-nūṇa-nāiva-
- 12 [ttara manneyad=rasu-geyyuttam=ire (?)] | Svasti śrī]mach-Chālukya-Vikrama-
varsham loneya Krōdha-
- 13 [na-samvatsara] [Bī]i(Bṛ)haspativārad-andu || Ō(Au)raga-kula-talakam²
prabhu Vī(Vi)r-ā
- 14 [vatāra] [r]uha-lōchane nega]da]u(ū) dhārmīyol
Bāganabbe
- 15 [1*] y=ananta-gunam bhavana-bha[vana]-jāna-vinutam
śīi-kāntam
- 16 shta-nivāsa || [2*] Āta Sītege
dō[1]e
- 17 yasa(śa)r=jjanīyāsīdai=nnīta-vida[1 r] Basava-
Kētama[1]la-
- 18 [3*] r=Kōlūroḷ gāvūdu-geydu sukhadin=
īral=patī-kāra-
- 19 mam mechchi Kāṣyam[m*]arasam dayeyi || [4*]
Enage tale-go-
- 20 [tt] n=emdu Kāṣyam[m*]arasam manam=osed=
eradum kēriya mane-
- 21 itta || [5*] Vīgrahadol tale-gottī(tta)n=udagra-balam
Basava-

¹ From the ink-impression

² The syllables *ti/a* have been omitted from their proper place and inserted in smaller letters at the end of the line, with crosses to mark the omission

- 22 . . . [gra]hadimdam samasta-parigraham¹=ā-cha[m*]-
dra-tāram=amt=āg=itta || [6*]
23 mg=adu pīrdum punyam=arthad=ā(a)pēkshateyimd=
īdan=alidava-
24 rīdu naḍege nadevavar=ella || [7*] Sva-datt[ām*]
para-danta(ttām) vā yō ha-
25 [rēta vasundharām [1*] shashtimv-a]īsha-sahasrānām(m) mī(vī)shthāyām jūyatē
kṛimī² || [8*]
26 [Sva-dattād=divgunam punyam p]ūrvva-datt=ānupāh(la)nam [*] pūrvva-datt-
āpahārēna sva-dattam nīś(sh)phalam bha-
27 [vīt ||] [9*] maryyādeyam tappade pratipālīsīdomge
Vāranāsī Gange Kuru-
28 [kshātrādol sāsira]-kavīleya kōdum kolagumam pamcha-ratnadol kattisī vēda-
pārāga-
29 [r=appa sāsira-brāhmaṇargg]e dānam-gotta pa(pha)lam=akku || Idan=alidavamge
ant=ā tīrttheadol sāsī-
30 [ra kavīleyu]m sāsira-bī[ā]hmanīrum sāsira-divya-tapōdhanaruma[m*] komda pā-
31 [takam=akku] || Kētāmallanan=ōdisīda upādhyāyam Mālapayyam baieda besa-
ge-
32 [yda] . . . sīyamōjana magam Kālōja ||

E—DEVAGERI INSCRIPTION OF THE 48TH YEAR OF VIKRAMADITYA VI

This document, of which a transcript is given in the *Elliot Collection*, vol 1 (fol 367a of the Royal Asiatic Society's copy), is from a slab found standing in the front of the gateway of the temple of Basavanna by the *honda* or well of Dēvagēri. The inscribed area is about 3 ft 10 in. high and 1 ft 3½ in. wide. The lower part of the inscription is lost—The character is fair Kanarese of the period, with letters varying between ½ in and ⅔ in in height. The cursive *m* occurs in *mūla*, l 2—The language is Old Kanarese, except for the opening Sanskrit verse. Initial *p* has become *h* in the name *Hermādī*² (ll 19, 23, 43) and in *hola-iēreyim* (l 25, cf above, Vol XIV, p 277). The *l* does not appear—we find *irddu* (l 21) for *īlḍu*, and elsewhere *l*.

The document refers itself to the reign of Tribhuvanamalla-dēva, i.e. Vikramāditya VI (ll 3-8), and mentions next the *Mahāsāmantādhīpati* Īśvarayya, a general and steward of the household, as administering the "Two Belvalas," (*scil* Belvala and Puligere) (ll 9-13), while the *Mahāsāmanta* Hermādiyarasa of the Jīmūtavāhana lineage and Khachara family, was governing the *manneya* of the Bāsavura Hundred-and-forty (ll 14-21). It then records a date (ll 21-23) on which Hermādiyarasa made a grant of some lands to the temples of Tribhuvanēsvara (a title of Śiva derived from the name of the reigning king) and Bhairava, the trustee being Tribhuvanasingi-Pandita (ll 23-29). After formulæ of the usual type (ll 29-39) comes a verse which tells us that Hermādiyarasa was the son of Kālīyammārasa (see inscriptions B-D) by his wife Lāṣṣahāladēvi (ll 40-44). After this the rest of the record is lost—only small fragments of nine lines survive.

The date is given on ll 21-23 as the 46th year of the Chālukya-Vikrama era, *Plava*, the full-moon of *Paushya-suddha*, Sunday, the *uttarāyana-samkrānti*, the *vyatipāta*. The *tithi* quoted corresponded to Sunday, 25 December, A D 1121, it began on that day at 12 24 A M, and ended about 13 m after midnight. The *uttarāyana-samkrānti* occurred 15 h 45 m after

¹ The letter *gra* has been omitted and added at the end of l 21, with crosses to mark the omission.

² Read *kṛimīh*

mean sunrise, i.e., at 9 45 P.M. on the previous Saturday, so it actually took place before the quoted *tithi* began, but the day to which it was attached, i.e. from mean sunrise on Saturday to mean sunrise on Sunday, was still current when the *tithi* commenced, and hence the two dates might legitimately be connected. Mr. Sewell informs me that according to the *Brahma-siddhānta* the *uttarāyana-samkrānti* occurred on Friday, 23 December, a date which could not possibly be connected with the given *tithi*.

The only place-names mentioned are the Banavāse Twelve-thousand (l. 12), the 'Six-hundred consisting of the two Belvalas', i.e. Belvala and Puligere (ll. 12-13), the Bāsavura Hundred-and-forty (l. 20), Dēvagēri (l. 25), Marayagere (l. 26), and the *tirthas* (l. 30).

TEXT¹

[The metres are verse 1, *Anuṣṭubh*, verse 2, *Śālīnī*, verse 3, *Śārdūlavikrīḍita*]

- 1 [Namas=tumga]-ś[1]raś-chumbi-chamdra-chāmara-chāravē [1*] trail[ō]kya-
- 2 nagai-ārambha-mūla-stambhāya Śambhavē [|| 1*] ☉ Mamba[la]
- 3 ☉ Svasti samasta-bhuvan-aśrayam Śrī-Prī(Prī)thvi-[va]-
- 4 llabha maharājādhuāja paramēśvara para-
- 5 mabhattārahāṁ Satyāśraya-kula-tīlakam Chālu-
- 6 ky-ābharanam śrīma[t*]-Tribhuvanamalla-dēvara vija-
- 7 ya-lājyam=uttar-ōttar-ābhivri(vri)ddhi-pravāddhamā-
- 8 nam=ā-chamdr-ārka-tāram-baram saluttam=ire
- 9 ☉ Tat-pāda-padm-ōpajivi ☉ Svasti samadhigata-pamcha-
- 10 mahā-śabda-mahāsāmamtādhīpati mahāpra-
- 11 chanda-dandanāyakaṁ mane-veiggadey=Īśvarayya-
- 12 dandanāyaka[m*] Banavāse-pannirchchhāsīramumam Belvala-
- 13 v=erad=arunūrumam sukha-samkathā-vinōdadīnd-āluttam=ire
- 14 Svasti samadhigada²-pamcha-mahāśabda-mahāsāmamtam vijava-
- 15 lakshmi-kāmtam samasta-vasmatītala³-khyīta-Jīmūtavāhan-[ā*]-
- 16 nvaya-prasūtam bandhu-jana-kamalini-rāja-hamsam Khechara-va[m*]-
- 17 ś-ōttamsam Padmāvati-labdhā-vara-prasādam tyāga-vinōdam b[1]-
- 18 ruda-manneya-mada-ni(ni)vāraṇa-nām-ādī-samasta-
- 19 prasa(śa)sti-sahita śīman-mahāsāmamtam Hērmamādiyarasa-
- 20 ru Bāsavura-nūṇa-nālvattara manneyad=arasu-geyutta-
- 21 m=irddu Chālukya-Vikrama-varshada 48nēya Plava-samva-
- 22 tsarada Paushya-suddha puṇamī Ādivārada[m*]d=uttarāya-
- 23 na-samkrānti vyatīpatadalu Hērmamādiya-
- 24 rasam māhēśvara-diksheyam kay-kondu śīma[t*]-Tribhuvanē-
- 25 śvara-dēvara nivēdyak[e] Dēvagēriya hola-vēreyim temka Ma-
- 26 rayagereyim badaga śīma[t*]-Tribhuvanasimgi-pamditara kā-
- 27 lam kachchi dhārā-pūrvvakam mādi dēvaigge bitṭa yere ma-
- 28 ttar=aydu allī Bhairava-dēvaigge yere mattar=omdu
- 29 antu matte=āṇu [||*] Yī dharmmamam pratipāhī-
- 30 davargge Vāram(rā)nāsī Kunukshētra Prayāgey=Argghya-
- 31 tirthadalū sahasra-kavīḷaya kōdum kolagu-

¹ From the ink impression

² Read -vasmatītala-

³ Read samadhigata-

- 32 mam pamcha-ratnadalu khachiyasi chatur-vvōda-pāiagar=appa
 33 sa[hasra*] brāhmanargg=ubhayamukhigoṭṭa phalam=akku [*] Yi dha-
 34 rmmamam(n)=ār=orvvar=alidar=alidavargge Vāranāsi Ku-
 35 rukshētra Prayāgey=Argghyatīrtthadal=sāyira kavile-
 36 yumam sāsirvva[r*] brāhmannūman=alida pamcha-mahā-pā-
 37 takan=akku ☉ Sāmānyō=yam sētu-dharmma¹ nri(nri)pāṇām kālō
 38 kālō pālaniyō bhavadbhūh [*] sarvvān=ētām(n) bhāg(v)ina[h*] pārtthi-
 39 [v]ēmdrō(ndrān) bhūyō bhūyō yāchatō Rāmabhadra[h || 2*] ☉
 40 [Ksh]ir-āmbhōdhi-tanūjegam Vanaruhākshamgam manō-rāgadi[m*]
 41 [Kāmam(?) pu]t[t]uva volu Vīyachchāra-kula-prāchi-ṇag-ārkkam [m☉]-
 42 [— — —]m Lachchaladēvigam Kaliyam-ōrvvipālakam-
 43 [gam ☉ — — —]māpati puttīdam nri(nri)pa-varam Hermādī-bhū-
 44 [— ☉ — || 3*] prasūta-nri(nri)-putīa-
 kar=ār=mmige (2)²

TRANSLATION

(Verse 1 identical with verse 1 of inscription B)

(Line 2) Happiness¹

(Ll 3-8) While the victorious reign of—hail!—the asylum of the whole world, favourite of Fortune and Earth, great Emperor, supreme Lord, supreme Master, ornament of Satyāśraya's race, embellishment of the Chālukyas, king Tribhuvanamalla, was advancing in a course of successively increasing prosperity, (to endure) as long as moon, sun, and stars —

(Ll 9-13) While one who finds sustenance at his lotus-feet,—hail!—the Mahāsā-mantādhīpati who has obtained the five great musical sounds, great august General, steward of the household, the General Īśvarayya, was governing the Banavāse Twelve-thousand and the Six-hundred consisting of the two Belvalis³ with enjoyment of pleasant conversations —

(Ll 14-21) Hail! the Mahāsāmanta who has obtained the five great musical sounds, possessing all titles of honour such as “beloved of the Goddess of Victory, scion of the lineage of Jīmūtavāhana famed over the whole earth, a royal swan to the lotus-pool his kindred, chaplet of the Khachara race, receiving the grace of boons from (the goddess) Padmāvati, delighting in bounty, repressing the arrogance of titled seigniors,” the Mahāsāmanta Hermādīyarasa, was ruling as seignior the Bāsavura Hundred-and-forty.—

(Ll 21-29) On Sunday, the full-moon of the bright fortnight of Pausya in the cyclic year Plava, the 46th (year) of the Chālukya-Vikrama(era) on the uttarāyana-samkrānti, in the vyatipāta (yōga), Hermādīyarasa, having performed the Māhēśvara consecration, for the oblations of the god Tribhuvanēśvara, assigned, with laving of the feet of Tribhuvanasingi-Pandita and pouring of water for the benefit of the god, five mattar of black-loam land south of the dry-land bounds of Dēvagēri (and) north of Marayagere, (and) in the same place, for the benefit of the god Bhairava, one mattar of black-loam land, thus (making altogether) six mattar

(Ll 29-37 a prose formula of the usual type)

(V. 2 a common Sanskrit verse)

¹ Read dharmma sētura.

² Nine more lines of writing are visible, but very few words on them are legible

³ That is, the Belvala Three-hundred and the Paligege Three hundred see above, Vol XIII, p 178

(V 3) As to the daughter of the Milk-Ocean (Lakshmi) and to the Lotus-eyed (Vishnu) of their souls' love was born [Kāma]—a Son on the eastern mountain of the Viyachchara¹ race to Lachchaladēvi and to king Kaliyama was born a lord . . . the excellent king Hermmādi the [ruler] of the earth.

F.—KOLUR INSCRIPTION OF THE REIGN OF SINGHANA.

This is written on a slab found in the temple of Mārtanda-dēva or Holapa at Kōlūr. The inscribed area is about 2 ft 10 in high and 1 ft 9½ in wide, lines 1-5 occupying a compartment about 4 in. high, and the rest of the inscription being about 2 ft. 6 in high. The character is a rather irregular Kanarese of the period, the letters generally vary in height from ⅔ in to ⅕ in. The cursive *m* occurs about 24 times, the cursive *v* about 27 times. The language, except in the second verse, which is Sanskrit, is Kanarese, a mixture of the ancient and the medieval dialects. The *upadhmanīya* appears wrongly in *Puhpa*², l. 16; *l* is not found. Initial *p* has become *h* in *Huligere*, l. 13, *hammeradu*, l. 33, *hitu* (*hittu* ?), l. 33, beside *padura* l. 35, *padedam* and *padedā*, l. 40. The first verse is of some lexical interest.

The record refers itself in ll 6-8 to the reign of Singaladēva, i.e. the Yādava Singhana (circa A.D. 1210-46), who here bears the chief of the Chālukyan titles, together with those of 'a Nārāyana of kings' and 'majestic Emperor' (cf. *Dyn. Kanar. Distr.*, p. 523). It then mentions the high minister Vankuva-Bāvuta, with various titles, as governing the Belvala Three-hundred, the Huligere Three-hundred, and the Banavāse Twelve-thousand (ll 9-14), while Kēśava-Nāyaka was administering the Hundred-and-forty of Bāsavūr (ll 14-23), and the *Mahāmandalēśvara* Mallidēvarasa, of the Jīmūtavāhana lineage and Khachara family, was governing the *manneya* of the same Hundred-and-forty (ll 24-30), and under the auspices of this Mallidēvarasa the representatives of Dēvagēri made a grant to the sanctuary of the Kshētrapāla of Kōlūr (ll 30 ff.) The change in the status of Mallidēvarasa's family is noteworthy. He bears the title of *Mahāmandalēśvara*, and is said to be 'reigning in the chieftainship of the *manneya*' (*arasu-rājyam-geyyuttam*), whereas his ancestors were only *Mahāsāmantas* and were described as 'exercising the chieftainship' (*arasu-geyyuttam*). But on the other hand, the previous records make no mention of a government of the Bāsavūr Hundred-and-forty distinct from that of the *manneya*, and it would, therefore, seem that in earlier times the former was included in the general administration of the whole province, and that later a special commissioner was appointed for it, perhaps as a counterpoise to the rising power of the Lord of the *manneya*. The distinction between the two administrations is not clear.

The place-names mentioned are the Belvala Three-hundred (ll 12-13), the Huligere Three-hundred (l. 13), the Banavāse Twelve-thousand (l. 13), the Hundred-and-forty of Bāsavūr (ll 22, 28), Dēvamgēri (l. 31), Kōlūr (l. 33), Karage (l. 35, see above on inscr. A), Māvina-chavuda-kārve (l. 36), and Nidugere (l. 37).

TEXT³

[The metres are as follows: verse 1, *Tarala*⁴, verse 2, *Anushṭubh*, verse 3, apparently a *Tripadī*]

1 ☉ Nosala kamnu kudu-dāde tōlu-vale pāvu kayya kapālamum [m]-

2 supa bālu nīṇi-gōda kem-jede kēlal=itta ba(kāla)lgahm [*] misuni-jannapa⁵ dē(vē)-

¹ A poetical synonym for *Khachara*.

² From the ink impression.

Read *misuni bannada* (or *-ra nanda*).

³ See Nāgavarma's *Kannada Chandasaru*, ed. Kittel, p. 56, l. 186.

- 3 tramam pīdīd-aksha-sūtradha(da) māleyim̐d=eseva geṇṇeyi Bhē(Bhai)ravam namag-
igai(ge) [bē]-
4 lpa varamgalam || [1*] Namas=tunga-surastumbi¹-cha[m*]dra-chāmara-ch[n*]ravē
traiḷōkyā²-nagar-[ñ*]ram-
5 bha-mulastabhavasabavē³ || [2*]
6 ☉ Svasti samasta-prasa(śa)sti-sahitam Śrī-hṛtīvivalabham⁴ mahārājādī(dhī)-
rājam
7 paramēśvaram paramabhaṭṭāarakam Rāya-Nārāyana pratāpa-chakravartī
8 śrī-Singala-dēvaru sukha-samkathā-vinōdadim rājyam-geyyuttam=ire ||
9 ☉ Svasti śrīman-mahāpradhānam sarb-ādihikāri mahā-pasayitam
10 bāhattara-niyōg-ādhipatīy-anēka-dhē(dē)ś-ādhipatī sakala-lakshmi(kshmi)-patī-nī-
11 yōga-Yōgamdharam patī-kāryya-dhuramdharam nī(nī)ta-Ohāpā(pa)kyam svāmī-vam-
12 chakara-gamdam śaraṇ-āgata-vajra-pamjaranam=appa Vamkuva-Rāvutaru Be-
13 beluvala⁵-mūnūru Hulgerē-mūnūru Banavāse-pannirchchāsīramam
14 sukha-samkathā-vinōdadim̐d=āluttam=ire || ☉ Svasti samasta-prasasti-sa-
15 hitam śrīman(n)-mahāpradhānam Dvīja-kula-kamala-M[a*]rttamdam kāmīni-manō-
16 nayana-Puṣpakōdhamdanum⁶ śaraṇ-āgata-vajra-pamjaranam yu-
17 dhī dik-ku[m*]jaranam yatīśāma⁷-hay-ārūda(dha)-pranda(dha)-rēkhā-Rēvamtanum
svā-
18 mī-bhakta-Hanūma[m*]tanum satya-śauch-āchāra-chāritranum Bhāra-
19 dhvā(dvā)ja-gōtra-pavitranum sakala-sāhitya-vidhy(dy)-ādy-ā(a)nēka-śāstra-
20 pārānana⁸ mūrtti-Nārāyaṇanu[m*] vairi-sēnē-nūtha-jiv-ōchchā-
21 ṭana-mamtra-siddh(ddd)hanum sakala-lōk-ē(a)ka-prasiddh(ddd)hanum yaty-ādhy-
ānēka-gu-
22 ṇa-gaṇ-ōlamkrītanum⁹=appa Kēśava-na(nāya)karu Bāsavūra nūṇa-
23 nālvattumam duṣṭa-nīgraha-sī(śī)ṣṭa-pratīpālan-a(ā)gi¹⁰ a(ā)luttam=irdhdu(rddu)



- 24 Svasti [||*] samasta-vasumatī(ti)-tala-khyātam(ta)-Jīmūtavā-

- 25 han-ānvayam(ya)-prasūta[m*] bamdhu-jana-kamalīnī-rāja-hamsam Padmā-
26 vatī(ti)-labdha-vara-prasādam Khachara-vamś-ōtta[m*]sam tyāga-vinōdam biruda-
27 mamneya-bēmtēkārām sarppa-dhvāja-śōbbhitam māvana gamdha-vārapam
28 śrīman-mahāmamḍalēśvaram Malli-dēvarasaru Bāsavūra nūṇa-nā-
29 lvattumam sukha-samkathā-vinōdadim mamneyad=arasu-rā-
30 jyam-geyyuttam=ire || Tatu-pāda-padm-ō[pa*]jīvigalu || śrīmatu-sama-
31 sta-guṇa-sampamnar=ap[p*]a Dēvamgēriya sāyira parivāram
32 14 aṇuvatt-u(o)kkalum Masana-gāvumḍa Īcha-gāvumḍa mukhyav-āda
33 hamneradu hit[t*]u sahita biṭṭa dharmma Kōlūra Kshētrapālam-

¹ Read -śraś chumbi-

² The īō has been omitted, and added in smaller script

³ Read -mūla-stambhāya śāmbhāvē

⁴ The second be is superfluous

⁵ Read atīvaśama-

⁶ Read ity-ādy anēka-guṇa-gaṇ ālamkrītanum

⁷ Read -Prithvī vallabham

⁸ Read -Puṣpakōdhamdanum.

⁹ Read -parāyananum

¹⁰ Read -pratīpālanadī or pratīpālanegim

- 34 ge ramga-bhōga-nivēdyā(dya)kke biṭṭa datti vārim mūḍa yā(a)dda-dāmyim
 35 paduva yere Gangana mattaru 1 vārim temka Karageya dāri-
 36 yim badaga kem-gādu kamba 20 M[ā*]vina Chavuḍa-kārveyim¹ tem-
 37 ka Nidugeyaya kelage kamba 10 sōṭige yeṇ[e*] || Śrī śrī [*]
 38 Yimt=1(1) dharmavam pratipālīsida(da)mge mahāmpū² yidha(da)n=a-
 39 līdam paṇcha-mahā-pāṭakan=aku(kku) || Sthāna-pati³ maḍavari(m) samtatī-
 40 padadam sarvva-na[ma*]śe(sya)v=āgi dhā(dha)reyam paḍeda | atana⁴ satatī(ta)
 bidey=abaleya
 41 nichita [|| 3*]

TRANSLATION

(Verse 1.) May Bhairava, with an eye in (*the centre of his*) forehead, crooked tusks, serpents as armlets, a skull in his hand, a glittering sword, red matted locks in a neat horn,⁵ and with anklets worn on his feet, holding a rod of golden hue, with loins adorned with a rosary of beads, give us the boons which we crave.⁶

(V 2 identical with verse 1 of inscription B)

(Lines 6-8) While—hail!—the possessor of all titles of honour, favourite of Fortune and Earth, great Emperor, supreme Lord, supreme Master, a Nārāyaṇa of monarchs, the majestic Emperor king Singala was reigning with enjoyment of pleasant conversations —

(Ll 9-14) While—hail!—the High Minister, general controller, great favourite, administrator of seventy-two offices, administrator of many territories, holding the office of master of the whole treasury, a Yaṅgandharāyaṇa in offices of his lord, a Chānakya in polity, a man of might to traitors against his master, and an adamant chamber to seekers of his protection, Vankuva-Rāvuta, was governing the Beḷvala Three-hundred, the Huligeṇe Three-hundred and the Banavāse Twelve-thousand, with enjoyment of pleasant conversations —

(Ll 14-23) While—hail!—the possessor of all titles of honour, the High Minister, decorated with a series of many virtues (*denoted by the titles of*) 'Sun to the lotuses of the Brāhmaṇ race, a Love-god to the souls and eyes of amorous women, an adamant chamber to the seekers of his protection, an elephant of the sky-quarters in battle, a Rēvanta of magnificent type among those who ride most forward horses,⁷ a Hanūmān among those who are devoted to his lord, practising truth and purity of conduct, purifying the Bhāradvāja-gōtra, versed in all literature and much other lore, an incarnate Nārāyaṇa, adept in spells destroying the lives of hostile generals, uniquely renowned among all men,' Kōśava-Nāyaka, was governing the Hundred-and-forty of Bāsavūr so as to suppress the wicked and protect the cultured. —

(Ll 24-30) While—hail!—the scion of the lineage of Jīmūtavāhana which is famed over the whole earth, a royal swan to the lotus-pool his kindred, receiving the grace of boons from (*the goddess*) Padmāvatī, a chaplet of the Khachara race, delighting in bounty, hunter of titled seigniors, adorned with the serpent-flag, a furious elephant of his uncle, the Mahā-mandalēśvara Mallidēvarasa, was reigning as seignior over the Hundred-and-forty of Bāsavūr, with enjoyment of pleasant conversations —

(Ll 30-37) They, who find sustenance at his lotus-feet, possessors of all virtues, the Thousand of Dēvaṃgēri, the fourteen parivāras, the sixty Households, and the twelve *hittu*,

¹ Apparently for *kāṭeyim*

² Read *mahā puṇyam*

³ This verse is written in a very slovenly and inaccurate manner, and it is with the utmost diffidence that I offer my present attempts at emendation and translation

⁴ Dare we read *padadan=ava*?

⁵ [—neatly pointed like a horn —Ed.]

⁶ On this description of Bhairava-Kaṣṭrapāla see Gopinatha Rao's *Elements of Hindu Iconography*, Vol 2, p 405, and Vasu's *Arch Survey of Mayurabhaṇya*, p ccciv

⁷ See above, Vol. V, p. 238n, and Vol. XIII, p. 813n.

headed by Masana-Gāvunda and Īcha-Gāvunda, jointly granted a pious endowment for the theatrical entertainment and oblations of the Kshētrapāla¹ of Kōlūr they granted a gift, 1 Gaṅga's *maṭṭar* of black-loam land east of the town (*and*) west of the cross-road, 20 *kamba* of red forest-land south of the town (*and*) north of the road to Karage, 10 *kamba* south of the channel of Chauda of the Mango (*and*) below the Long Tank (Nidugeṛe) and oil for lights Fortune! Fortune!

(Ll 38-39 a prose formula of the usual type)

(V 3) The prior of the establishment has obtained the monastery as a pious gift,² he has got the land on *sarva-namasya* tenure, on condition that he shall certainly always avoid women.

No. 30.—SHAHDAUR INSCRIPTIONS, ONE APPARENTLY OF THE YEAR 60

By STEN KONOW

Shahdaur is a hamlet in the Oghi kanungo circle of the Mānsehra tahsil, Hazāra District, and is situated about two miles east of Shamdhara and about four miles due east of Oghi. It is shown as Shodaur on the one inch equal 2 mile sheet 43 F, N W, at 34° 30' 36" N and 73° 4' 20" E.

One mile south-east of the hamlet there is a narrow glen descending from the Tanglai hill, which gives its name to the Tanglai Forest, one of the reserved areas in the Hazāra District. In one of the small terraced fields of this glen, and overlooking a small spring in a contiguous gorge, is a firmly buried rock or large boulder of irregular shape, measuring 13' × 16', without any sign of dressing or design in position. The boulder marks the southern edge of a small field, and is of grey friable sandstone with a rough surface.

The rock bears two Kharōṣṭhī inscriptions, one in two lines on the perpendicular side facing the north, and another on the top. The latter shows remnants of five lines, but must, according to Khan Bahadur Mian Wasi-ud-din, have extended further to the south, where the surface is said to be greatly disfigured from age and other causes.

The rock is said to have been brought to the notice of Mr W S Davis, Assistant Superintendent of Police, Hazāra, in 1893, but no records have been traced about the matter.

In the hot weather of 1924 a villager of Shamdhara gave information about the existence of the inscriptions to Mr T C Copeland, I C S, Deputy Commissioner of the Hazāra District, who informed the Director-General of Archaeology of the matter in a letter of the 24th October 1924 and forwarded some photographs and rough tracings. A further report was sent to the Director-General on the 20th November 1924 by Khan Bahadur Mian Wasi-ud-din, who had in the meantime examined the rock and exposed it by excavation for several feet and found out that there was no continuation of the inscription on the perpendicular side below the surface. He also stated that an examination of the neighbourhood did not bring to light any further evidence or coins, but only some glazed fragments of coarse pottery. Local inquiries about coins are also said to have been fruitless. Every patch of level space in all directions has been lately brought under cultivation, and no ancient walls are said to be in evidence anywhere, though mention is made of the existence of 'burjs' before Government occupied the valley.

¹ On this deity, a form of Bhairava, see above.

² *Saṁtāna* or *samtati*, a pious work. The *sapta saṁtāna* are enumerated in the verse
Tafākam dhana nikhēpam brahma-sthāpyam Śivālayam
Pañāni samtatiḥ putrāḥ sapta-saṁtānam-uḥkṛtyatē ||
 Cf. above, Vol. III, pp 92 and 128.

The Khan Bahadur further states that the glen itself reminds one strongly of the locality and environs of Zaur Dheri across and beyond the Agror valley, where a *stūpa* of Kushān date is said to exist, which has been referred to in the *Annual Report of the Frontier Circle for 1922-23*¹ The inscriptions have also been noticed in the Epigraphical Summary in the *Annual Report of the Archaeological Survey, 1924-25*, but I have not seen this notice²

We do not know much about the history of the district in ancient times. It belonged to the kingdom of Urasā or Uraśā, which is mentioned in the *ganās* to Pāṇini IV-11-82 and IV-11-93, and in the *Rājataranginī* (V 217 etc.) and has been identified with Ἀρσα or Οὐαρσα, the name given by Ptolemy VII-1 45 to the country between the Vitastā and the Indus. Huan Tsang mentions the country under the name of Wu-la-shi. In his days it was tributary to Kashmir.

Ptolemy mentions Ἰσάγουρος as one of the cities of the Ἀρσα territory, and Sir Aurel Stein has shown that Ἰσάγουρος can very well be a rendering of a Prākṛit form Aityugura, which he identifies with Atyugrapura, mentioned in Kalhana's *Rājataranginī* VIII 3402 as conquered by the Kashmirian King Jayasimha (A.D. 1128-49) in a war against Dvitiya, the Uraśā. Atyugrapura, Sir Aurel further identifies with the present Agror.³

We may infer from this that the Agror valley has played some rôle in the history of Hazāra, and that some centre existed in the neighbourhood of Shahdaur. In later times Oghi was the residence of the Khan of Agror.

A

The inscription on the northern side of the rock consists of two lines. The first extends over 6' 2" and contains *aksharas* varying in size from 3" to 4", the second is 1' 9" long and the size of the *aksharas* is 2" to 3½"

Of individual letters we may note the *cha* at the end of l 1, which has almost the same shape as in the Sihla vase inscription, the well-shaped and angular *dh* in *vaḍha*, l 1, and the distinct prolongation of the lower vertical of *sa*, upwards and towards the left, at the point of juncture with the upper portion of the *akshara*, just as in the Patika plate. On the whole there cannot be any doubt that the inscription belongs, palæographically, to the Śaka period.

The first *akshara* is evidently *ra*, though the upper portion is somewhat damaged. The second seems to be *ga*. There is an apparent cross-bar, which is, however, so thin that I take it to be a crack in the stone. There are, further, two apparent strokes protruding from the bottom, which might be taken to be remnants of an *u*-loop. But I do not think that they are anything else than fissures in the stone. The third letter is *na*, and I think that I can see traces of an *o-mātrā*. I therefore read *raḡano*, Skr. *rāḡñāh*.

Then comes a word which I read *namṡadasa* and explain as the genitive of a name *Namṡada*. There is apparently a curve above the vertical which I take to be the *i-mātrā*, in the second *akshara*, and one might think of *ga*. The top of the vertical is, however, straight, and the reading *mi* seems to be preferable.

The next three *aksharas* seem to be *saḡasa*. The top of *ḡa* is damaged, and the unevenness of the stone has resulted in an apparent bar between the two legs of the *akshara*, but the reading seems to be certain. Then follows an *akshara* which may be *la* or a blurred *ba*. With every reserve I read *ba*.

The following letter is certainly *śa*, but it is placed much lower than the surrounding *aksharas*, and the left vertical is prolonged upwards. There are, moreover, traces of lines above the horizontal, and it seems possible that we have before us the compound *tśa*, of the same shape as in

¹ *Annual Report of the Archaeological Survey of India, 1922-23*, p. 96

² [See *ibid.*, 1924-25, pp. 116 and 119. Ed.]

³ See his translation of the *Rājataranginī* II, pp. 267 and 434

Shahdaur Inscription A, of the year 60

1st third



2nd third



3rd third



the Patika plate. The ensuing *akshara* may perhaps be *ra* or *re* I therefore tentatively read *batšare*. But then the preceding *sa* must be drawn to this word, and we must read *saha sabatšare*, or rather *saśasabatšare*

With regard to the interpretation of *saha* there may be some doubt It may correspond to Skr *śvaha*, but a dating in "the own year" of a ruler is without any parallel in Kharōshthī inscriptions

So far as I can see, the most probable explanation is to take *saha* as corresponding to Skr *śāla* and explain *sahasabatšare* as meaning 'in the Śāka-year,' 'in the year of the Śakas, or the Śāka king, i.e., as almost synonymous with the later *śākanripati-rājyābhishēka-kālā*¹ It should be borne in mind that the Śakas were Iranians and that the name under which they are known was not coined in India The Persian, Greek and Chinese renderings point to a form *saka* and not *śāla*, and if the name is Iranian, as we have every reason for assuming that it is, since it signifies an Iranian people, an initial *s* is not possible Moreover, the word occurs in the form *saśra*, where *śr* points to a spirantic pronunciation of the intervocalic *l*, on the Mathurā lion capital, where Professors Thomas² and Lüders³ are certainly right in explaining the sentence *sartasa Sakrastanasa puyae* as 'in honor of all Sakastāna'

After *sabatšare* I think that we may read *shashtiammi*, though every *akshara* is uncertain The head of *sha* is indistinct but probable. The ensuing compound is without any parallel and my reading is only conjectural Then follows what looks like the head of an *a* with a bend, which I take to be the beginning of an *anusūra*, and, finally, an irregular *a* or *m*

Then follow three signs which I take to be the numerical symbol for 20, thrice repeated

The ensuing word might be read *sabharusa* or *sabhadusa* The latter seems to be the most likely reading because the vertical is distinctly projecting above the top line *Bhadu* might stand for *bhandu*, which occurs in the *gana* to Pāṇini IV-ii-77 after the names *Surāstu* and *Varnu* and may be the name of a country *Sabhadusa* would then mean 'together with the Bhandu ruler'

The next word is perfectly clear *saśalavadhapi[u]sa* The *tu* is perhaps uncertain and might be *ta* A comparison of the *ta* of inscription B will show that our *akshara* differs in showing a forward bend of the leg, wherefore I think that *tu* is intended I am in doubt about the explanation of this word It may stand for *svabalavardhāpitasya*, 'elevated by his own strength' or for *sa-Balavardha-pituh*, 'together with his father Balavardha'

The ensuing *akshara* is apparently *ña*, and the next one is certainly *cha* I take *ñacha* to correspond to Skr *jñāti*, though the *a*-suffix is strange L 2 opens with *mitravadhā*, followed by a vertical, which apparently rises above the line and which I take to be *ne* *Ñachamitravadhane* I take to mean 'for the increase of relatives and friends'

The last *aksharas* of the line I read *putrahitae*, and so far as I can see there can only be some doubt about the last letter

Though I am considerably diffident about several details in the analysis I have attempted above, yet I give the following reading and explanation —

TEXT.

- 1 [Rajano] Na[mī]jadasa sakasa[batšare] sha[shtiammi] 20 20 20 saBhadusa
saValavadhapi[u]sa [ña]cha-
2 mitravadhā[ne] putrahita[e]

¹ Kielhorn, *List of Inscriptions of Southern India*, No 3

² *Ep Ind*, IX, p 147.

³ *S B A W*, 1912 pp. 414 ff

TRANSLATION.

Of the Rājan Namijada, in the sixtieth, 60, Śaka-year, together with Bhadu (or, the Bhandu-king) and his father Balavardha, for the increase of relatives and friends, (and) for the welfare of his son

B

The second inscription, on the top of the rock, is much more damaged and, according to Mr Wasi-ud-din, incomplete. There are remains of five lines

L 1 The beginning has apparently disappeared altogether. There seems to be exactly room for four letters, and with great reserve I restore *maharayasa*. Then comes an almost certain *a*, where the only uncertainty is caused by an apparent stroke projecting upwards and towards the right from the lower half of the vertical, a fairly distinct *ya*, and traces of a *sa*. I therefore read *Ayasa*, which is probably the genitive of the well-known name *Aya*, *Azes*. In my edition of the Takht-i-Bāhī inscription, above Vol XVIII, pp 273 f, I have tried to show that Azes founded a new era in the old Śaka year 77. We should therefore expect the inscription B to be somewhat later.

Then follows *sam*, i e, *samvatśare* or *sambatsare*, and afterwards traces of some signs which can be interpreted as 20 20 20 20. The year may accordingly be eighty and something or even ninety.

L 2 The first *akṣaras* which remain are clearly *Śivarakṣhitasa*. Then comes a blurred *akṣara* which might be *tsa* or *shu*, followed by *tasa*. *Shutasa* would regularly correspond to Skr *śrutasya*, while *tsātasa* reminds us of Khotanī *tsāti*, 'rick'.

L 3 The first remaining *akṣara* is quite uncertain, but looks like *a*. The second may be *dha*, and the third is certainly *sa*.

The next *akṣara* is quite uncertain. It may be *va*, *ra* or *lsha*. The second may be *a* or *na*, the third *va*, *ra* or *thi*, and the fourth and fifth are certainly *tasa*. With great diffidence I tentatively read *vanathitasa*. Then follows what looks like *cha*.

L 4 The first *akṣara* is perhaps *da*. The second and third ones are certainly *sahī*, and with some confidence the first word can therefore be restored as *dasahī*.

Then comes *kahapa* followed by some *akṣaras* which I cannot make out, but which may perhaps be *nasahas[re][hi*]*. The form *kahapana* seems to be common to all Prākṛits.

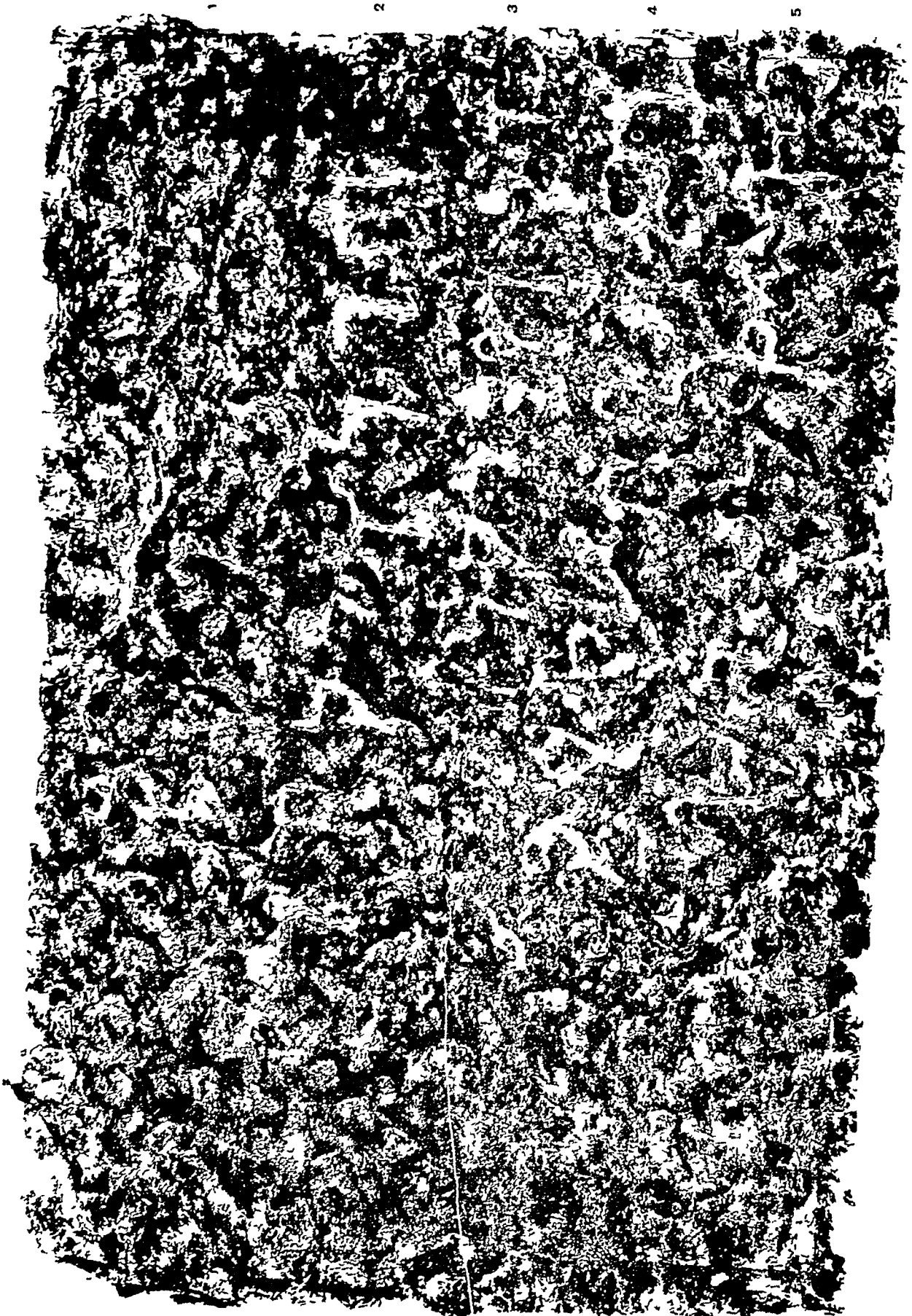
L 5 The beginning of this line seems to run *abhu yo Gotama*. The last remaining word may be *stalao*, possibly corresponding to Skr *sthālakāḥ*, 'a certain bone on the back', in which case a bone-relic of the Buddha would be meant.

In such circumstances I am unable to give more than a fragmentary text, and even the fragments which I attempt to restore are uncertain.

TEXT.

- 1 [Maharayasa] Ayasa sam [20 20 20 20]
- 2 Śivarakṣhitasa [shu]tasa
- 3 [aḍha]sa [vanathī]tasa cha 1. . .
- 4 [da]śahī kahapa[na]-sa[hasre] ..
- 5 abhu yo Gotama-[stalao]...

Shahdaur Inscription B



STEN KONOW

SCALE 20

C WHITTINGHAM & GRIGGS PHOTO LITH

TRANSLATION

Of the [*mahārāja*?] Aya, anno of Śivarakshita, the famous (?), wealthy (?), and staying in the wood (?), here (?) . for ten thousand *lārshāpanas* was, which the backbone(?) of Gōtama .

The chief importance of the Shahdaur inscriptions rests with the fact that the era in which they are dated seems to be designated as a Śaka reckoning. Their palæography shows that there cannot be any question of the well-known Śaka era, which began 78-79 A D. The characters being of the same kind as these of the Patika plate, there can hardly be any doubt that both records are dated in one and the same era, and we now learn that this era was instituted by Śaka rulers.

It therefore becomes impossible to follow those scholars who think that the Patika plate is dated in an unknown era instituted by Mithradates I after the incorporation of Seistān in the Parthian empire, or in the Parthian era of 248 B C, with omitted hundred. We have to do with a Śaka era.

Professor Thomas has long ago¹ maintained that the reckoning used in the inscriptions of Patika, Guduvhara, etc., was a Śaka institution, and in a paper contributed to the *Acta Orientalia*² I have tried to show that it commemorated the establishment of an independent kingdom in Seistān or a Śaka conquest of India. The Shahdaur inscriptions show that the era was still known to be a Śaka era in the year 60, i.e., if the initial point was, as maintained by me in the paper just quoted, 84 B C, about 24 B C.

It can of course, *a priori*, be maintained that the era which is usually known as the Vikrama era was originally instituted in commemoration of the Śaka conquest of India, and identical with the Śaka reckoning of the Shahdaur inscription and, as maintained by the late Dr Fleet, with the era used in the Patika plate. But then we should have to state the use of another unknown era in the Śodāsa inscription of the year 72. For, as explained in my edition of the so called Takht-i-Bābī inscription,³ Śodāsa, who was Mahākshatrapa when the record of Sam 72 was executed, must be identified with the Kshatrapa Śudāsa of the Mathurā lion capital, who as such, was contemporary with the Mahākshatrapa Patika, whom most scholars rightly identify with the chief mentioned in the Patika plate of the (Śaka) year 78, at which date his father was Kshatrapa.

I may now add that Patika himself seems then to have been designated as *jaūa*. The last words of the record are certainly, as read by Bühler, *mahadanapati Patikasa jaūaṇae*, and we have no right, as suggested by Professor Luders,⁴ to read *jaūaraye* or some other equivalent of Skr *janarāṇye*, for *y* is never changed to *j* in the dialect of the Kharōṣṭhī inscriptions. On the other hand we know from the coin legends of Zeionises that an initial voiced *s* was sometimes written *j*. There is not, therefore, so far as I can see, any objection to identifying *jaūa* with the title which we find later on, in the coin legends of Kadphises I, in the forms *yaūa*, *yavuga*, *ζαοο*. If I am right, we here have another example of the close connexion between the old Śaka conquerors and the Kushānas.

If my tentative restoration of the beginning of l 3 of inscription B is correct, we further seem to be justified in inferring that the Parthian dynasty of Azes had replaced the Śakas in the Hazāra district at an unknown date, perhaps about the year 80 of the old era.

¹ *J R A S*, 1913, pp 635 ff

² Above, Vol. XVIII, p 272

³ III, pp 57 ff

⁴ *J R A S*, 1909, pp 664 j

In addition to the Rājan Namijada we are introduced to a certain Śivarakshita, whose name seems to show that he was an Indian, who may have been employed as a Kshatrapa by the Śakas or Parthians, presumably in or near Shahdaur, or perhaps in Taxila ¹

No 31 —PESHAWAR MUSEUM INSCRIPTION OF THE YEAR 168

By N G MAJUMDAR, M A

In February 1924, while studying the antiquities kept in a store-room of the Peshāwar Museum, I chanced upon an inscribed stone marked as "No 20" and labelled "Presented by Sir Aurel Stein on 4th July 1916" But there was no record in the office of the Peshāwar Museum to show whence the inscription came On my return to Calcutta I wrote to Sir John Marshall, Director-General of Archæology in India, requesting him to kindly refer the matter to Sir Aurel Stein and ascertain whether the latter could throw any light on the point As a result of the enquiry I came to know that the stone was presented to Sir Aurel Stein, in April 1906, by Sir Harold Deane, to whom it had been brought by some Pathān visitors, and that later on in 1916, when the former returned to Peshāwar from his Third Central Asian Expedition, it was presented by him to the Peshāwar Museum I edit the record from the excellent photographs kindly supplied to me by Khan Bahadur M Wasī-ud-dīn

The inscribed surface of the stone is about 11" by 4½", and the letters vary in size between 1" and ½" The inscription consists of 3 lines and is in a good state of preservation Below it there is engraved a *Svastika* symbol

The characters are Kharōshthī of the Kushāna period Specially to be noted are the curvively written *pa* with *anusiāra* and *cha* in *pamchadaśa* (l 1), and *la* in *lue* (l 3) The first two might be compared with almost similar forms in Stein's Kharōshthī documents from Niya in Chinese Turkestan, and the third one with the form occurring in them as well as in the inscription on the Wardak vase The letter *sa* shows no projection of the lower vertical line in two out of four instances (*sam* and *divase* l 1), but in the other two, there is just a trace of a projected lower vertical (*mase*, l 1, and *-sahayana*, l 2) The *e* stroke does not touch the top of letters in *Jetha* and *divase* (l 1) Similarly in the sign for 100 the upper slanting stroke is not joined to the lower portion of the letter Some letters again are not fully incised, *e g*, *ga*, the *u*-stroke attached to *sh* in l 2 and the letter *e* immediately before the word *viharami* in l 3

The language is the typical north-western Prākṛit as found generally in Kharōshthī inscriptions coming from the Peshāwar region The form of the word *śashura* (*śvaśura*) calls for special notice, being comparable to such forms as *khakhorn* (= ?*śaśurānī*) and *khakhorna* employed in the third century Niya documents ² The latter forms are obviously later, because both the palatal *śa*-s have been lingualised, and the lingualisation has necessitated the orthographic substitution of *lha* These were probably derived from Iranian *χasura* ³ Whether the same Iranian influence is responsible for the lingualisation of *ś* in *śashura* in the present instance is doubtful.

¹ The name *Śivarakshita* is found on a copper seal from Sirkap, where the shape of the Kharōshthī letters is of the same kind as in our inscription, see *Annual Report A S I*, 1914-15, p 35 and Plate XXIV, 51

² *Kharōshthī Inscriptions* (ed Rapson, Senart and Boyer), No 53, reverse, l 1 and No 248, l 4 Cf F W Thomas, *Jour Boy As Soc* 1921, p 280

³ See Bartholomew, *Altiranisches Wörterbuch* (1904), col 1874

It is probably due to the peculiar pronunciation of the word as prevalent on the North-Western Frontier of India ¹ Clear instances² of lingualisation of the palatal sibilant occur in the word *shamana* (*śramana*) in the two Chārsadda earthen jar inscriptions³ and the Hashtnagar pedestal inscription in the Lahore Museum,⁴ in the name *Shamanamitra* (*Śīmanamitṛa*) in a Taxila image inscription,⁵ in the word *shavaa* (*śrāva*) in the Jamālgarhī inscription of the year 359, published below, and in the word *Kashyava* (*Kāśyapīya*) in a Bedadi copper ladle inscription ⁶ In the majority of cases, it appears, that the change of *ś* into *sha* is the result of the proximity of the letter *ra* This characteristic is very well represented by the Khotanese dialect in which Aryan *śr* is regularly converted into Khotanese *sh* ⁷ This old linguistic feature has survived in some of the modern dialects of the North-West as, *e.g.*, the Bashgali⁸ and the Gilgit dialect of Shina ⁹

The object of the inscription is to record the excavation of a well inside a certain monastery *Trava* is probably a Prākṛit equivalent of Sanskrit *trapā* meaning 'bashfulness,' which would be a good Indian personal name befitting a lady It is very likely that she was the actual donor Her father-in-law Agasahaya (Agrasahāya), who calls himself 'humble' (*lshudra*), excavated the well probably to carry out her pious wish, namely, to provide for drinking water, specially during the hottest part of the year The record is dated the 15th day of Jyaishtṛa, the year 168 of an unspecified era The mode of reckoning is however, the same as in other Kharōshthī documents such as the Panjtār inscription of the year 122, which are now generally assigned to the era of 57 B C Referring the year 168 to that era the corresponding English date becomes 110 A D

TEXT

- 1 Sam 1 100 20 20 20 4 4 Jetha-mase divase pañchadaśa(se)
- 2 khudana Agasahayana Trava-śashurana dana-mu-
- 3 khe kue kharavi[ce] viharana

TRANSLATION

(In) the year 168, on the 15th day of the month of Jyaishtṛa, a well (*which is*) a gift, is caused to be dug, within the Monastery, by the humble Agasahaya (Agrasahāya), the father-in-law of Trava (Trapā)

No 32 —A KHAROSHTHI INSCRIPTION FROM JAMALGARHI OF THE YEAR 359. BY N G MAJUMDAR, M A

This inscription was discovered by Mr Hargreaves in December 1920, from the debris of Court No VII adjoining the stūpa at Jamālgarhī in the District of Peshāwar. It was afterwards removed to the Peshāwar Museum where it is at present deposited A short

¹ Cf Luders, *Ann Rep Arch Surv Ind*, 1903 4, p 290 and *Sitz kōn Preuss Ak d Wiss*, 1913, p 421, n 1, also Vogel, *Ann Rep Arch Surv Ind*, 1903 4, p 252

² If Prof Luders is right the feature would also occur in the word *shavaa* (*śrāva*) in the Mānikyāli inscription of the year 18 '164' *Roy As Soc*, 1909, p 645) The reading of *sha* in *Dashalatha* in the inscriptions of Aśoka's grandson at Barābar in Gajā District, and in all cases where one would expect other sibilants, in the Kālsī edicts of Aśoka is probably unwarrantable

³ *Ann Rep Arch Surv Ind*, 1903 4, p 289

⁴ *Ibid*, p 250

⁵ *Mem Arch Surv Ind*, No 7, p 9

⁶ See my edition in *Jour As Soc Leng*, N S, Vol XIX (1923), p 345

⁷ Konow, *Jour Roy As Soc*, 1914, p 353

⁸ Konow, *Jour Roy As Soc*, 1911, pp 30, 41

⁹ Cf. Gilgit *śash* (= śāś, ū) Lorimer, *Jour Roy As Soc*, 1924, p 178.

notice of the record has already appeared in the *Annual Report of the Archaeological Survey of India*, Frontier Circle, 1920-21, pp 5-6 I now edit it from a set of excellent photographs and estampages which Mr Hargreaves had very kindly sent to me.

It is incised on a slab of stone which is slightly damaged Excepting a few letters which have peeled off, it is in a sound state of preservation The writing consists of only 2 lines covering a space of 21" x 3", and is neatly done It is divided by a horizontal line drawn across the blank space between lines 1 and 2 The letters vary in size from 1½" to 1"

The characters are Kharōṣṭhī of the Kushāna variety According to Bühler¹, this variety is "represented by the strongly cursive script of the first and second centuries A D (?), which begins with the Takht-i-Bāhī inscription of Gondopheres and is fully developed in the inscriptions of the later Kusana kings Kaniska and Huviska and occurs also in the MS of the *Dhammapada* from Khotan" But the present record contains scarcely any cursive forms at all, a feature in its palaeography that is specially to be noted The evidence of this inscription partially repudiates Bühler's statement and shows that cursiveness need not be necessarily associated with the Kharōṣṭhī of the Kushāna period Of greater palaeographic significance are, in the present case, the superscript *r* expressed by a loop at the base of a letter² (in *sarve*, l 2), and the form of the letter *s* which is open to the left, without the least upward projection of the lower vertical line (*e g*, in *Āspaīasa*, l 1)³ That the inscription cannot be earlier than the Kushāna period follows at once from the presence of these two characteristics Two conjunct forms deserve to be noted, *viz*, *dn* and *śp* Of these, *śp* (*Āsparasa*, l 1) is already well known from coins and inscriptions But the ligature *dn* (*radne*, l 2) is new It is composed of the signs for *d* and *n* simply joined together without any modification of their individual forms

The language is north-western Prākṛit, called 'Gandhārian' by Bühler The nominative singular ends in *e* (*e g*, *parigrahe*) The letter *t* is changed into *d* (*radne*), *th* into *dh* (*padhamamm*), *p* and *m* into *v* (*prethavide*, *ve*) and *v* conjointly with *ś* into *p* (*Āspaīasa*) The conjunct *śr* becomes *sh* (*shavaena*) The *r* is often retained in groups, both as a posterior (*e g*, *parigrahe*) and a prior member (*e g*, *sarva*) Cases of consonantal elision are rather abundant The letter *y* is invariably elided, *e g*, in *Āsparasa* (*Āsvayujasya*), *sa*(?)*haehi* (*sahāyāh*), *dhamante* (*dharma-yuktah*), and *Odihakehi* The letter *h* is elided, *e g*, in *shavaena* (*śrāvakēna*) and *Podue* (*na*?) (*Potalēna*), and *ṛ*, in *Āspaīasa* Elision of medial consonants is very rare in the Prākṛit of the earliest Kharōṣṭhī documents, namely, those of Aśoka from Shāhbāzgarhī and Mūsehra Again, the Mathurā lion-capital inscriptions, which belong to *circa* 1st century A D, contain fewer instances of consonantal elision,⁴ when compared to the present record From this point of view, the language of the record would seem to represent a much more advanced stage of development like the Prākṛit of Indian dramas and of the Dutreuil de Rhins MS of the *Dhammapada* from Khotan which has been assigned to the 3rd century A D

The inscription records the establishment of the 'jewel' (*ratna*), *ie*, an image of the Buddha, by the disciple (*śrāvaka*) Potaka, together with his companions, the Odihakas, the sons of Śida It is dated the first day of the month of *Āsvayuja*, the year 359

It is by no means easy to decide the era in which this record is dated. The Leriyān Tanager inscription of the year 318⁵ and the Hashtnagar inscription of the year 384,⁶ have

¹ *Indian Palaeography* (trans.), p 25

² Majumdar, *Sir A Moolerji Silver Jub Vols*, Orientalia, Part I, pp 461-62.

³ Banerji, *JRAS*, 1920 pp 203-9

⁴ Thomas, *Ante*, Vol IX, p 138

⁵ *JASB*, 1922, p 63

⁶ Langer, *Ante*, Vol XII, p 302.

to be brought in a line with the present record Palæographically it cannot be placed earlier than the Kushānas and linguistic grounds would seem also to favour the conclusion that it has to be assigned to a period not prior to the 2nd or 3rd century A D. The numismatic finds, which Mr Hargreaves made near the spot where the inscription was discovered, comprise issues of the Early and the Later Kushāna dynasties The latter have been generally assigned to the 3rd and 4th centuries A D, which may be regarded as the latest limit of the date of the inscription Under the circumstances I am inclined to refer the year 359, as also the two other years 318 and 384, to the Vikrama era of 57 B C The date of our record would, accordingly, be 301 A D

TEXT.

1 Sam 111 100 20 20 10(a) 4 4 1 Aśpaśasa padhamammi shavaena Podae[na,]
(b) haehi Sida-[p]u(c)

2 [O]diliakehi(d) ive radne(e) prethavide dhamaute a (f) parigrahe sarva-sa..(g)

REMARKS

(a) Through the carelessness of the engraver this sign and the previous one have been jumbled up (b) There is space for about two letters here *Podae[na]* was perhaps intended. (c) Probably two letters are missing Read *putchi* (d) The lower portion of the first letter is broken (e) The *e-kāra* in *radne* is placed on the top of *d* (f) Read *aye* After *a* there is just space for only one letter which was probably *ye* I have to offer a few remarks on this restoration The word *aye*=Sanskrit *ayam* There is evidence to show that, so far as the North-western Prākṛits are concerned, *aya* is sometimes used as a base by itself. The Shāhbāzgarhī and Mānsehra versions of the edicts of Aśoka have *ayi dhrama-nipi* and *ayo dhrama-nipi* An unpublished Kharōshthī inscription in the Lahore Museum has *aye pukarani* The Prākṛits of a later period, also, sometimes use the form *aya* as a base, e g, *aammī* and *ayamsi*=*asmin* (Pischel, *Prākṛit—Sprachen*, § 429-30) Quite in keeping with this system of declension, the Taxila silver-scroll inscription of the year 136 contains *sam 136 ayasa asnūāsa masasa dīvase 15* This portion of the record has been interpreted in a variety of ways, and scholars do not seem to be agreed as to the exact meaning conveyed by the word *ayasa* in this expression Those, who propose to take it in the sense 'of Azes,' cannot satisfactorily explain the anomalous position of a king without titles, and further, they make dependent on *ayasa* the preceding 'sam 136' (i e 'the year 136 of Azes'), which, to judge from similar analogies, is not probable Similarly, to interpret *ayasa* as *ādyasya* and say that it means 'the first Ashādha' is not quite convincing. If, on the other hand we take *ayasa*=*asya*,¹ as *aye* or *ayi*=*ayam*, or *ayamsi*=*asmin*, no such difficulty would arise *ayasa* might mean 'of this,' and when it is preceded by *sam 136*, it might stand for 'of this (year)' i e 'of the year 136' The dated portion of the Taxila inscription may thus be translated as 'The year 136 On the 15th day of the month of Āshādha of this (year)' (g) There is space for two letters here. Read *satvana* or *sapana* on the analogy of similar votive inscriptions.

¹ It was so taken first by Fleet, *JRAS*, 1915, pp 317-18 Cf Konow, *Ep Ind*, Vol XIV, p 288

TRANSLATION.

In the year 359, on the first (day) of Aśvayuja, this Jewel (*ratna*)(a) has been installed(b) by the lay-hearer Potaka, together with his companions, the Odihyakas, (who are) the sons of Śida (May) this gift, endowed with merits, (c) belong to all living creatures

NOTES

(a) I e., Buddha who is one of the *Tri-ratna* Buddha, Dharma and Sangha. In the *Saddharmapundarikā*, however, the term *ratna* denotes a Bodhisattva (*Sacred Books of the East*, vol XXI, p 66). The word *ratnagriha* which occurs in a Mathurā inscription of Dhanabhūti (Luders, *List of Brāhmī Inscriptions* No 125), and two Sāñchī inscriptions (Fleet's *Gupta Inscriptions*, p 32 and p 261), probably means 'the sanctuary containing the Buddha's image.' (b) *Prasthāpita*, cf *prethavatiye* in another Kharōshthī inscription (Thomas, *JRAS*, 1916, p 283). (c) *dhamaute*=*dharma-yukta* as Dr Thomas suggests

No 33 —RAWAL SPURIOUS INSCRIPTION OF THE YEAR 40

By STEN KONOW.

At the village of Rawal near Mathurā an inscribed stone has been dug out of a mound. The stone is now in the Mathurā Museum.

The information which has been supplied by the Honorary Curator is to the effect that there is nothing suspicious about the find. The stone is stated to be, to all appearances, old.

To judge from the photographs and estampages, the stone is square, about 4" high, 11½" long and 6" broad. It is inscribed with four lines in Kharōshthī of a very peculiar type, one line on the front edge of the upper surface, and three lines on the vertical face of the front. The inscribed portion measures about 4" by 8", and the size of individual letters varies between ½" and 1¼".

When the impressions reached me, I was hardly able to recognize a single *akshara*, and I was for some time in doubt whether I had before me a Kharōshthī inscription or a record in some 'unknown' script. It was only when I chanced to think of the Shakardarra inscription of the year 40 that I realized that the Rawal record is nothing else than a clumsy copy of the former, evidently executed by a person who cannot have had but a very imperfect idea of the contents of his original. The only way of 'editing' the Rawal inscription is, therefore, to compare it, line by line, with the Shakardarra record, and to show how far the writer has been able to reproduce his draft.

The various attempts at reading the Shakardarra inscription have been registered by Mr. N. G. Majumdar, the last editor of the record, in his valuable *List of Kharōshthī Inscriptions*,¹ and I need not repeat what he has said.

L 1 does not present any serious difficulty. It runs *sam 20 20 Protharadasa masasa dñas*, where we can only be in doubt whether the last word should be restored as *divase* or as *divasam*. The edge is broken, and there seems to have been room for a *m* after the mutilated *s* at the end. We may note the shape which the letter *da* has in this inscription. It looks like *ta*.

It will be seen that the initial *sam* rises above the line. The copyist has exaggerated this feature and, besides, separated the *akshara* in an upper and a lower part.

The ensuing numeral figures have come out fairly well.

¹ *J & P A S. B.*, XX, 1924, p 20

The next word in the Shakardarra inscription is damaged in the beginning. The *o mātrā* has caused a peeling off of the stone, the result being an apparent narrow semi-circle. The head of *pa* looks as if it were curved back, and a horizontal seems to connect the hmb of this letter with the ensuing *alshara*. All these features have been faithfully reproduced on the Rawal stone, and the consequence is that *Protha* looks like a *Nāgarī ni* followed by a broken line, which might be taken to be *Kharōshthī va*, but is in reality a misread *tha*. The ensuing letters *vadasa* can be recognized, though the final *sa* is quite distorted.

If we abstract from the distorted shape of the *sa*'s, the ensuing *masasa* is well recognizable, but the next word, *duas*, has not been properly reproduced, *vas* having become something like a *Kharōshthī da*, though it is possible that the last *alshara* is meant to reproduce the initial *vi* of l 2.

L 2 of the Shakardarra record is clear, if we abstract from the last *alshara*, which has usually been read as *la*, but which seems to me to be *la*. With this reading it runs *viśamī dī 20 atra dīasakāle śala*. We may note the distinct difference between *t* in *atra* and the *da* of this record, and also the sign of the long *ā* in *kāle*.

The copyist begins with an *alshara* which seems to correspond to the second one of the Shakardarra record, viz, *śa*, and then adds a figure which evidently reproduces the somewhat peculiar 20. Here we have the impression that he has felt that *dīasa[mī]* *viśamī dī 20* is redundant and has tried to write *dī viśa 20*.

Then comes a recognizable copy of *atra dīasakāle*, though the *alsharas* of the latter word are all misshaped.

The last two *alsharas* of the line have not been clearly visible in the original inscription and the copyist has simply tried to reproduce what he saw. The *śa* looks like an *a*, and the last *alshara* has been drawn as an upright and a broken line. Only a comparison of the original can explain how he arrived at his reading.

L 3. The first three *alsharas* have usually been read as *nīkame*, which has been explained as representing Skr *niḡamē*. Mr Banerji read *elame*. The first *alshara*, however, seems to be *no*, with the *o*-stroke added towards the top, and the *la* is provided with a sloping bottom stroke which, I think, is the *r*-stroke. It, therefore, seems to me that we must read *nokrame*, Skr *naulramē*. This word, which occurs in the *Dvyaṅvadāna*, has been translated as 'bridge of boats,' but may also mean a 'boat-crossing,' 'ferry-station'.

If we take *Salanokrame* as one word, its meaning must be 'at the Śala ferry-station,' and it is of interest to remember that we have a similar name, *Śalātura*, on the other side of the Indus. It is probable that those two places were the starting points for those who wanted to cross the river.

After *nokrame*, I think, we must read *luvo khadao dromivadrana sa*. The *u* of *luvo* has got its *u* loop blurred, because the stone has peeled off where the rounding is most pronounced. There is not, however, any reason for reading *kovo*. The *d* of *dromi* is of the same shape as in *Protharadasa*, *dīasa[mī]*, etc, and quite different from the *t* of *atra*. The *r*-stroke of *dra* is of the same kind as in *kra*. I take *dromi* to be Skr *drōnī*, Pāli *dōnī*, which latter word also means 'a trough-shaped canoe', a doney. In *vadra* I see Skr *padra*, village, and *dromivadra* I take to be an adjective meaning 'belonging to the doney-village,' i.e., the village providing ferries for the crossing.

The last letter of the line has a forward bend at the bottom, which seems to be due to a desire of avoiding its running into the picture below and not to be a vowel-*mātrā*. I connect it with the first *alsharas* of l 4, which I read as *harana*, and explain *saharana* as the genitive plural of

sahara, i e, sahayara, sahachara, companion The well is accordingly the gift of the companions of the ferry-village, *i e*, of the boatman-association at the *Salā* crossing

We shall now see what the imitator has made out of this *No* has become *o*, and *kra* and *me* would hardly be intelligible without the guidance of the original Of *kuro khadao* only one *akshara* remains It looks like *o* Then we can, with some modifications, recognize *dronivadrana sa*. Then follow three signs which have nothing to correspond to them in the original The first one is repeated in l 4, below the final *sa* of l 3, and the last one looks like an attempt at reproducing the top of the picture shown in the Shakardarra inscription

L 4 It will be seen that the first *aksharas* of the Shakardarra record are a little misshaped, the head of *ha* having become closed, the top of the *na* running into the preceding *ra* and being, besides, continued in a short stroke to the left, the latter being evidently due to peeling off It also seems necessary to read the final *na* as a dental, the same sign as in *nokrame*, though we should certainly expect *na*, as usually between vowels in this record Thus the last word is clearly *danamukho*

The writer of the Rawal record has drawn the *ha* with a hook protruding from the upper part of the vertical, the *ra* has become something looking like *da*, and the *na* has been read with the forward protrusion and looks like *va*

The ensuing *dana* is well imitated, but the remainder of the inscription has turned out very badly The two first *aksharas* may be copied from *mukho*, with a reversion of the *mu*, or they may be an attempt at supplying the word *kuvo* omitted in l 3 Then follows the same sign which we found after the final *sa* of l 3, and, finally, three signs which may represent an attempt at reproducing parts of the picture of the original It is not, however, of any use to speculate on their meaning

In order to illustrate how the copyist went to work I shall give a transliteration of the Shakardarra record, adding, (in *italics*), the corresponding words or letters of the Rawal text where they have come out with something like the original.

TEXT.

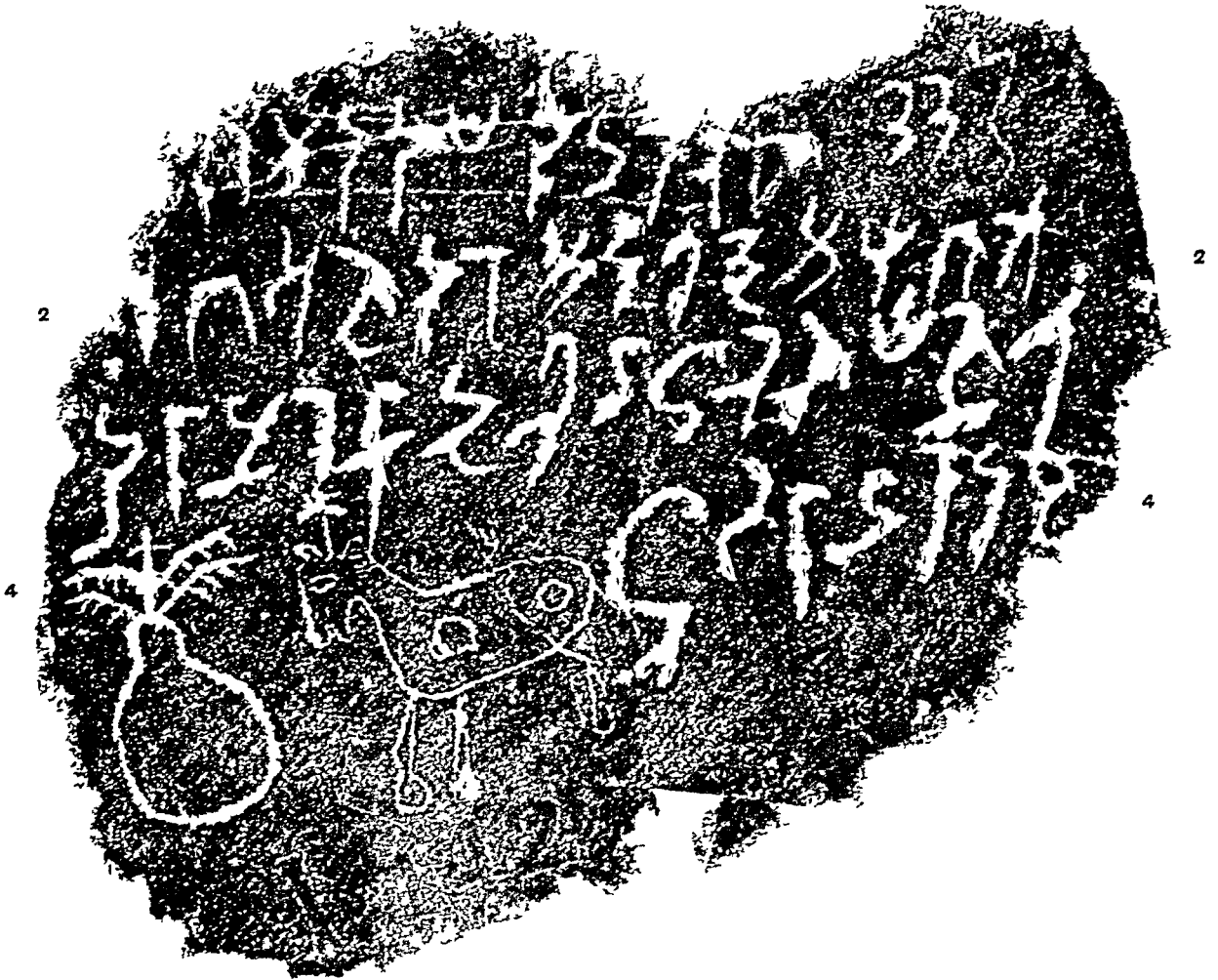
L 1	sam	20	20	Prothavadasa	masasa	divas[am]
	<i>sam</i>	<i>20</i>	<i>20</i>	<i>. . . vadasa</i>	<i>masasa</i>	<i>diva</i>
L 2	viśami	di	20	atra	divasakāle	Śa[la]-
	<i>sa</i>		<i>20</i>	<i>atra</i>	<i>divasakāle</i>	<i>a . . .</i>
L 3	nokrame	kuvo	khadao	dronivadrana	sa-	
	<i>okrame</i>		<i>o</i>	<i>dronivadrana</i>	<i>sa . . .</i>	
L 4	[ha]ra[na]		danamukho			
	<i>hadava</i>		<i>dana</i>			

TRANSLATION.

Anno 40, on the twentieth day, d. 20, of the month Praushthapada, at this time and day, at the *Salā*-ferry, this well was dug as the gift of the ferry-village associates

The Rawal inscription has not, it will be seen, any value as an independent record It is nevertheless of interest as throwing light on the way in which such inscriptions were looked on

Shakardarra Inscription, the year 40



Rawal Inscription, the year 40



It is a well-known fact that several inscriptions were never destined to be read. They were buried and hidden from view in stūpas or temples. They cannot, accordingly, have been intended to convey information to other persons. M Barth¹ has spoken of such records as aiming at a certain amount of publicity, no doubt, but a publicity intended especially for the next world. And we seem indeed justified in looking on many of the ancient inscriptions not as notifications but as a kind of charms or powerful formulas, intended to ensure good results from some pious act.

Numerous examples might be quoted, but I do not know of any which is so clear as the Rawal record. The person who put it up in a well he had dug or in some other place endowed by him, evidently brought it to Mathurā from Shakardarra, where he had seen the inscription and drawn the inference that it was a powerful charm, either for conferring merit on pious donors or for making the water of the well fresh and abundant. And he copied the inscription for the benefit of his own donation in Mathurā.

The Rawal record does not, accordingly, hail from Mathurā, though the person who executed it may have been a native of that place, who had seen the inscription on the occasion of some travel. But it cannot, no more than the inscriptions on the Mathurā lion capital or the Mathurā elephant, be taken to show that Kharōṣṭhī was ever used by the native population of Mathurā in the natural course of things. It is a distinctly north western alphabet, while Brāhmī was the usual script in and about Mathurā.

No 34.—AMODA PLATES OF THE HAIHAYA KING JAJALLADEVA II OF THE (CHEDI) YEAR 912

By RAI BAHADUR HIRA LAL, B A

Amodā is a village in the Bilāspur District of the Central Provinces, where eight copper plates recording four different charters² by three different kings were found while digging for the foundation of a temple in May 1924. They are now deposited in the Nagpur Museum. The two plates in hand were issued by the Haihaya king Jājalladēva II. These are massive plates each weighing 150½ tolas and measuring 13" × 10". Each plate has a hole for being strung with the seal of the king, which is lost. The engraver commenced with letters as big as half an inch in size, but on completing the first line he apparently calculated or felt that the whole record would not come in, even within those two big plates. So with the second line he reduced the size to ¼" which he continued almost to the end, with a very slight diminution in the closing eight lines. There are altogether 37 lines of which 18 are engraved in the first and the remaining on the second plate. The characters are Devanāgarī of the well known Kalachuri type. The whole of the record is written in Sanskrit verses numbering 26 in all, except the initial salutation and the date and the names of the donees at the end, which are in prose. Many of the verses are taken from the ancestral eulogy composed once for all and added to later on according to the requirements of the generations coming into power, and sometimes improved upon by the Court Pandit dealing with the charters. The old verses are really beautiful. The new ones appear to be rather crude. Spelling and grammatical mistakes are not wanting, but comparatively speaking, the charter in

¹ *Comptes Rendus*, 1907, p 387, *Ind Ant* 37, 1908, p 246

² Two of these have been published in the *Indian Historical Quarterly*, Calcutta, Vol 1, pp 405 ff, and another in *Ep Ind*, Vol. XIA, pp 75 ff

hand is written better than others found along with it. As regards orthography, *ba* is not distinguished from *va*, which stands for both. *Śa* and *Sa* have been confused. The sign for *ṛ* resembles an arrow-head with a parallel stroke below it.

Ordinarily, grants on copper-plates are made for increasing the religious merits of the donors and their parents, but this is an exception. It was made by way of **thanksgiving** on an escape from a great calamity, when the donor had almost lost his kingdom in a battle with one **Dhīrū**, who is described as a huge alligator clutching his victim. **Dhīrū** is a non-Āryan name and it appears that a local aboriginal chief rebelled against **Jājalladēva** and put him into a precarious position. In fact it is stated that on regaining his kingdom he made the gift, which indicates that it was merely by a turn of fortune that he became the king of his country once more.

The **genealogy** of **Jājalladēva** is given as follows:—From **Kārtavīrya** were born the **Haihayas**, among whom was born **Kōkalla**, who had 18 sons. The eldest of these became the king of **Triपुरi** and he made his brothers the lords of the *Mandalas* or districts which lay close by. One of these younger brothers had a son named **Kalingarāja**, who was very powerful. His son was **Kamalarāja**, from whom was born **Ratnadēva I**. His wife was **Nōnallā** and from them was born **Prithvidēva I**. He had for his queen **Rājalladēvī**, from whose union was born **Jājalladēva I**. The latter's son was **Prithvidēva II**, whose son was **Jājalladēva II**, the donor. By this charter a village named **Bundērā** was granted to two **Brāhmans** **Rāghava** and **Nāmadēva**, the former being the astrologer and the latter the royal priest. Their genealogies are also given. **Rāghava** belonged to *agōtra* having five *pravaras*, viz., **Vatsa**, **Bhārgava**, **Chyavana**, **Āpnuvāna** and **Aurvva**. His father was **Dāmōdara**, who was very learned. He was a great astrologer and was loved by the people and worshipped by kings.¹ **Dāmōdara's** father was **Prithvidhara**. **Nāmadēva** belonged to the **Bhūradvāja-gōtra** having three *pravaras*, to wit, **Bhūradvāja**, **Angiras** and **Bārhaspatya**. His father's name was **Parāśara** and grandfather's **Mahādhana**. At the end of the record **Nāmadēva** has a *Tha* before his name, which apparently stands for **Thakkura** and would indicate the military tendencies of the royal priest.

The charter was written by a **Vāstavya Kāyastha** named **Chitrabhānu**, son of **Vatsarāja**, master of **Jadēra** (village), on **Friday the 5th of the dark fortnight** of a month which reads as **Agrana**, apparently a mistake for either **Śrāvana** or **Āgrahāyana**, in **Samvat 91[2]**. Although the era is not specifically stated, it cannot but be the **Kalachuri** one, as the king belonged to its founder's dynasty. The last figure of the year is corroded, but the bottom bend indicates that it could not but be 2 or 3. With the aid of the week-day we find that in 912, the 5th *tithi* of the dark fortnight fell on a Friday in **Śrāvana** and not in **Āgrahāyana**. Friday did not fall on that *tithi* in either month in 913. In the text there are only three letters for the month, which suit **श्रावण** better than **आग्रहायण** which has five letters. So it is pretty certain that the reference is to the **Śrāvana** month, and as such, the date is equivalent to Friday, the 14th July 1161 A D.

¹ This **Dāmōdara** appears to be identical with one whose stone image was found in **Kharod**, a village in the **Jāngir tahsil** of **Bilāspur District**. He was being worshipped as a *Dēvī*, with the blood of hundreds of cocks and goats, until the writer's visit to that locality about 20 years ago, when he proved to the satisfaction of the local people that the statue represented neither a *dēvī* nor a *dēva*, but an ordinary male worshipper, as the figure and the pose clearly showed. The people then informed the writer that it bore an inscription at the bottom which on digging up confirmed this guess. It read as follows—**पंडितदामोदरस्य मूर्तिरियं शम्भोर्कुं (कुं)ले**. At **Kharod** there is an old temple of **Siva** known as **Lakṣmīśvara mandira**. It has two **Kalachuri** stone records affixed to the wall. Apparently the *Samlhu kula* referred to that temple with which **Pandit Dāmōdara** might have been connected as a priest or worshipper. His merits given in our record qualify him for being honoured with a statue, which was restored at the writer's instance to the **Lakṣmīśvara** temple, some 20 years before this inscription was discovered. (See *Hiralal's C P and Berar Inscriptions*, pp 117 and 118.)

There are only two geographical names mentioned, *viz*, Bundērā, the village granted and Jadēra, the village to which the writer of the gift belonged. Bundērā may be identical with Bundelā in the Janjgir *taksil*, situated about 13 miles from Amodā where the plates were found. Jadēra is not traceable.

TEXT ¹

First Plate

- 1 ओम् ओम् नमो ब्र(ब्र)ह्मणे । निगुण व्यापकं नित्यं शिवं परस(म)-
कारणं । भावग्राह्यं पर(रं)द्यो(ज्यो)ति-
- 2 स्तस्मै सद्ब्र(ब्र)ह्मणः।(णि) नमः [।]² १[॥] यदेतदयेसरमंवर'स्य ज्योतिः स पूषा
पुरुषः पुराणः । अथास्य
- 3 पुत्रो मनुरादिताजस्तदन्वयेऽभूद्भुवि कार्त्तवीर्यैः ॥२॥³ तदंशप्रभव(वा) नरेन्द्रपतयः
ख्याता[:*]
- 4 क्षितौ हैहयास्तेषामन्वयभूषणं रिपुमनोविन्द्यस्ततापानलः । धर्मः ध्यानध-
नावुमं चि-
- 5 जयाः⁴ शश्वत्सता सौख्यस्तयेयान्सर्व्वगुणान्वितः समभवच्छ्रीमान्(न)श्री(सौ)
कोकिलः ॥३॥⁵
- 6 अष्टादशारिः(रि)करिकुम्भविभङ्गसिन्हाः पुत्र(त्राः) प(ब)भूवुरतिश्रीयंपरास्य तस्य ।
तत्राग्रजो नृप-
- 7 वरस्त्रिपुरोश् आसीत्पार्श्वे च मण्डलपतीन्स चकार व(ब)न्धून् ॥४॥⁶ तेषाम-
नूजस्य⁷ कलि-
- 8 वृत्तजः प्रतापवह्निर्दपितारिराजः । जातोऽन्वये द्विष्टरिपुप्रवीरप्रियाननाभो-
रुद्रपा-
- 9 र्व्वर्णेन्दुः ॥५॥⁸ तस्मादपि प्रततनिर्धूलकोर्त्तिकान्तो जातः सुतः कामलराज
इति प्रसिद्ध[:*]

¹ From the original plates and impressions kindly taken by Mr. F. F. Pike, Superintendent, Government Press, Nagpur.

² This is expressed by the letter च with a dot over it, while the first one is expressed by a peculiar sign [which stands for *Siddham* or *Siddhī astu* (see above, Vol. XVII, p. 352). I think this affords another strong support in favour of Mr. Bhattasali's view, because *om* is written here in quite a different way and just after this very symbol. See also the facsimile of the plates of Prithvidēva II published in the *Indian Historical Quarterly* Vol. I, between pp. 406-407.—Ed.]

³ Metre *Anuṣṭubh*

⁴ Metre *Upajāt*

⁵ Metre *Sārdūlavakriṣṭa*

⁶ Apparently नू is made long for the sake of metre

⁷ Read ऐसरमन्वरस.

⁸ Read धर्मध्यानधनावुसखितयशाः.

⁹ Metre *Vasantatilakā*.

¹⁰ Metre *Upajāt*.

- 10 यस्य प्रतापतरणावुदिते रजन्धां जातानि पंक(पङ्क)जवनानि विकासभान्जि-
(ञ्जि) ॥६॥¹ तेनाथ चन्द्र-
- 11 वदनोऽजनि रत्नराजो विश्वोपकारकरुणार्जितपुण्यभारः । येन स्ववा(वा)हु-
युगं(ग)निर्मितवि-
- 12 क्रमेण नोतं यशस्त्रिभुवने विनिहत्य शत्रून् ॥७॥² नोनस्त्राख्या प्रिया
तस्य शूरस्येव दि(दि) शूरत(ता) [1*]
- 13 तथा(योः) सुतो नृपश्चेप्र(ष्टः) पृथ्वीदेवो प(व)भूव ह ॥८॥³ [पृ]थ्वी[दे]वस-
मुद्भवः समभवद्राजसूदवीशूत(सुत.)
- 14 शूरः सज्जनवाङ्कितार्थफलदः कल्पद्रुमः श्रीफल । सर्व्वेषामुचितोऽर्चने सुमन-
सा(सां) तोष्णहि-
- 15 प[त्क]टकः पश्यत्कान्ततराङ्गनाङ्गमदनो जाजसूदेवो नृपः ॥९॥⁴ तस्यात्मजः सकल-
- 16 [को]शलमण्डनश्रो श्रोमान्समाहृतसमल(स्त)नराधिपश्रोः । सर्व्वचितोश्चर-
[शि]रोविहिता-
- 17 झिपे(से)वः सेवामृतान्निधिरसो भुवि रत्नदेवः ॥१०॥⁵ पृथ्वीदेवस्ततोजातः पीतः
कठोरवादिव [1*]
- 18 मि(सिं)(ह)हं(स)द(ह)ननो योऽरिकरियूयमपोययत(त्) ॥११॥⁶ तस्मादजायत
जगच्चयग्रीस.

Second Plate

- 19 तस्मात्प्राप्त(भ्र)कपादपद्ममधुपो जाजसूदेवोऽभवद्दीरारातिनितस्वि(स्वि)नो-
मुखपयोज-
- 20 श्लोषधीशोदयः । लोके यस्य यशस्यैर्ष्वलिते र[म्यं] शसां(शां)कोदमं
मत्वा सप्तपयोधयो व-
- 21 वृधिरि प्रोत्फुल्लितं कैरवैः ॥१२॥⁷ यो वत्सभार्गववरच्यवनापुवानौर्बभूषिते
गोत्रे तर्क्षस्य वरिष्ठे
- 22 जात. पृथ्वीधरो विप्रः ॥१३॥⁸ तस्माद्देवचूडामणिरखितजनानन्दसंदोहहे[तुः]
पुत्रो दामोदरोभूत्सक-

¹ & ² Metre *Vasantatilakā*.

³ Metre *Sārdūlavikrīḍita*

⁴ Metre *Anuṣṭubh*

⁵ Metre *Anuṣṭubh*

⁶ Metre *Vasantatilakā*

⁷ This portion to the end of the line is superfluous and must be omitted. Possibly the engraver left out the three *pādas* of this verse, the first could very well be तस्मादजायत जगच्चयग्रीस

⁸ Metre *Sārdūlavikrīḍita*

⁹ Metre *Ajyā*

- 23 लघुणनिधिः पार्थिवाराधितांघ्रिः ॥(1) यः सा(शा)पाऽनुग्रहाभ्यामपर इव सदा
गोभिलः सामगाग्रस्त्रे(स्त)त्पुत्रो रा-
- 24 घवाख्यः कषिकुमुदसुदे जातवान्विप्रराज. ॥१४॥¹ भारद्वाजांगि(जाङ्गि)रसवा-
(वा)र्हस्यत्य(त्वेति)तृतीयकप्रवरे ॥ भारद्वाजे
- 25 गोत्रे महा[धनो] नाम विप्रोभूत् ॥१५॥² महाधनेनाऽजनि पुन्य(ख्य)भाजा परा-
स(श)रः कैरवकुंदकोत्तिः ॥(1) धृते गृहं
- 26 यो यश्—७— सः सत्यास्पदं पुन्य(ख्य)निधानमासीत् ॥१६॥³ उदयगिरे-
रिव तरणिर्दुग्धाब्धेयन्द्रमा यथा तद्व-
- 27 त् ॥(1) पुत्रः पाराशरतः(पराशरस्य च १) प्रख्यातो नामदेवाख्यः ॥१७॥⁴ ताभ्यां
द्विजाभ्यां नृपवैरिनारीसोमन्तहारी रणरङ्गम-
- 28 ङः ॥(1) जाजङ्गदेवो विधिवदु(द्)न्देरासंज्ञं ददौ ग्राममदीनसत्त्वः ॥१८॥⁵ धीरू-
महाग्राह्यहोतमूर्तिर्जाजङ्गदेवो नृप-
- 29 तिर्व्व(र्व्व)भूव ॥(1) यच्चेण सुक्तः समवाप्य राद्यं(ज्य) ग्रामं ददौ पुन्य-
(ख्य)दिने द्विजाभ्याम् ॥१९॥⁶ शंखं भद्रासनं छत्रं गजाश्वव-
- 30 व(र)वाह[म]म् । भूमिदानस्य चिन्हानि फल(लं) स्वर्गमनुत्तमं(मम्) ॥२०॥⁷
व(व)कुं(द्)भिर्व्वसुधा भुक्ता राजभिः सगरादि-
- 31 भिः । यस्य यस्य यदा भूमिस्तस्य तस्य तदा फलं(लम्) ॥२१॥⁸ भूमिं यः
प्रतिगृह्णा(ह्ना)ति यस्तु भूमिं प्रयच्छति [1*]
- 32 उभौ तौ पुण्यकर्माणी नियतौ [स्वर्ग]गामिनौ ॥२२॥⁹ स्वदत्तां पर-
दत्तां वा योसरेहसुधरां(हरेत वसुधरां)। स विष्ठा-
- 33 यां कृमिर्भूत्वा पितृभिः सह मज्जति ॥२३॥¹⁰ हंति¹¹जातातुयातांश्च भृम्यर्थे
योऽनृतं वदेत् । स व(व)द्वौ
- 34 वारुणैः पाशैः [ति]र्य्योन्वा तु जायते ॥२४॥¹² द्विजाश्च [नाव]मन्तव्यास्त्रैलोक्य-
मितिहेतवः [1*]
- 35 देववत्पूजनीयाश्च दानमानार्चनादिभिः ॥२५॥¹³ वास्तव्यवंशकमलाकरचित्तभानुः
शत्रुप्रवी-

¹ Metro Sragdharā

² Metro Upēndravajrā.

³ Metro Indravajrā

⁴ Metro Anushṭubh

⁵ Metro Anushṭubh

⁶ Read हन्ति जातातुयातां°.

⁷ Metro Anushṭubh.

⁸ Metro Aryā.

⁹ Metro Aryā.

¹⁰ Metro Indravajrā

¹¹ Metro Anushṭubh

¹² Metro Anushṭubh.

¹³ Metro Anushṭubh.

36 रवि[ले]नचित्रमातुः । [श्रीवत्सराज]तनयः खलु धर्मराजो जडे(डे)रनाथ इह
ताम्रनि(मि)दं लिलिख ॥

37 १२६॥ सवत् ८१[२] अग्रण(यावण) व(ब)दि ५ सुक्र(शुक्र) ॥ ज्योतिषी(षी)
पंडितराघवा(वः) ॥ पुरोधः ठ नामद(दे)व[ः] ॥

No. 35.—A NOTE ON THE VELVIKUDI GRANT OF NEDUNJADAIYAN.

By A M Satakoparajanujacharya, VIDVÂN

In the interesting article on the Vēlvikuḍi grant of Nedunjadaiyan, that was published in this journal² by the late Rao Bahadur H. Krishna Sastri, I find that some corrections are absolutely necessary in the text and the translation as given by him. These I should like to put down below, together with a few suggestions in regard to one or two points raised by him in that article.

In text line 95, for *Āya°*, I should like to read *Āy*, and in line 132 for *pōr*, *pora*. Again, in line 120 of the text, instead of *Kulandanan-Kūḷṇandai-śe[y*]kkun*, I would read *Kulandai-raiṅṅūḷ vanda-śakkun*, correcting *Kulandai* and *vandai-śe* of the text into *Kulandai* and *vandaśai*. Accordingly, in the translation of this passage, instead of 'to the north of the field (called) Kūḷṇandai-śēy of Kulandēvan', I would prefer to have 'waved (gently) by the tender breeze' (*Kulandai*=tender, *raiṅṅūḷ*=breeze, [*vandu*] *śaṅṅūḷ*=waving)

According to the Rao Bahadur, the Mangalapura of the inscription is identical with Mangalore, the district head-quarters of South Kanara. Mr. K. G. Sankara Ayyar also, I find, holds the same view.³ In my opinion, however, it should be looked for somewhere in the Tamil districts,⁴ north of the Kāvēri, where we find many villages called Mangalam or having names ending in 'Mangalam', because from the Udayēndiram plates⁵ we learn that Paramēśvaravarman defeated the army of Vallabha in the battle of Peruvaṇanallūr, on the northern bank of the Kāvēri, and from the Gadval grant⁶, that Vikramāditya was encamping at "Uragapuram on the southern bank of the Kāvēri" in 674 A.D. The Kēndūr plates⁷ also say that Vikramāditya fought with the Pāṇḍyas and other Tamil kings.⁸

¹ These strokes are unnecessary Metro Sragdharā

² Vol. XVII, pp 291 ff

³ Ind. Ant., Vol. LI, p 214

⁴ [The plates do not say where Mangalapura was situated. As such, it is not possible to definitely locate it. The identification of it with Mangalore or any place in the Tamil districts is only a conjecture—K. V. S. Ayyar]

⁵ S. I. I., Vol. II, p 371

⁶ Above, Vol. X, p 101

⁷ Ibid., Vol. IX, p 205

⁸ For further details see Dubreuil's *The Pallavas*, p 63.

No 36 —KUMBAKONAM INSCRIPTION OF SEVVAPPA-NĀYAKA.

By G VENKOBĀ RAO

The subjoined Tamil record¹ is engraved on the door-jamb of the entrance into the inner *prākāra* of the Kumbhēśvara temple at Kumbakonam. It is dated in the cyclic year Vikrama during the reign of *Śevvappa-Nāyaka*, who was the first ruler of the Nāyaka dynasty of Tanjore. The stone inscription (No 145 of 1924) which is dated in the same cyclic year and in the reign of *Kṛṣṇadēvarāya* (corresponding to A D 1520) calls *Śevvappa*, a *Dalavāy* (commander) only. Possibly, therefore, the present record has to be assigned to A D 1580, especially, because a copperplate record belonging to him and dated in Śaka 1502 (-A D 1580) was also issued from Kumbakonam².

The history of the Nāyakas of Tanjore remains yet to be written in detail,³ although an excellent preliminary attempt has been made in *A Short History of the Tanjore Nayakas in Tamil* by Mr T S Kuppusvami Sastri of Tanjore. How and when the Nāyaka dynasty of Tanjore arose is obscure. An unpublished Sanskrit poem *Sāhityaratnākara* by the eldest son of Gōvinda-Dikshita, the Brahman prime-minister of the second and third Nāyaka kings, says that *Śevvappa* obtained the Tanjore kingdom by his own valour. The Telugu poem *Vijayavilāsam* by Chēmākūra Vēnkata-Kavi would show that *Śevvappa* married the sister of the queen of the Vijayanagara king Achyutarāya, and got the Tanjore principality, perhaps, as a dowry.

Like other old kings, *Śevvappa* was a tolerant ruler, though his leaning was specially towards Vaishnavism. Inscription No 425 of 1924 relates to some gifts of land made by *Śevvappa* to the mosque at Tanjore in the year Sādhārana corresponding to A D 1549, and the record under publication is interesting in that it mentions a temple of Buddha at Tiruvilandurāi. It registers the gift of 2½ (*vēli* ?) of land as the charity of the king *Śevvappa-Nāyaka* in the Brahman village (*agaram*) of Tirumalairājapuram for the repairs or the worshipping service in the temple (?), when a channel was dug through the lands belonging to a certain individual (name not very clearly made out) attached to the Buddha temple. The two villages Tiruvilandurāi and Tirumalairājapuram cannot be definitely identified. Tiruvilañjuḷi, which is 4 miles away from Kumbakonam, and was one of its wards⁴, has a standing image of Buddha placed near the *gōpura* of its Śiva temple. Tiruvilandurāi of this inscription has, perhaps, to be identified with Elandurāi, a village about 9 miles distant from Kumbakonam which has a Śiva temple with an inscription dated in Śaka 1493 (A D 1571) of the time of Achyutappa-Nāyaka (No 239 of 1927). It may also be noted that Ilanturāi has been mentioned in No 222 of 1927 as one of the *saptasthānas* or seven sacred places round about Kumbakonam. I cannot say whether the Tirumalairājapuram of this record has to be identified with Tirumalairājapuram *alias* Sungam-tavirttaśōlanallūr which is mentioned in an inscription published in *South-Indian Inscriptions*, Vol. II, p 119, as adjacent to Karuntittaikkudi in Tañjāvūr-parru. There is one seated image in the temple at Pattisvaram near Kumbakonam, and another, now popularly called Bhagavarishi, lying outside the Ganēśa shrine in the Ānāyadī street at Kumbakonam, both of which appear to be Buddhist. From these facts, it appears that Buddhism continued to survive in the Tanjore district till the 16th century. This would be natural when Negapatam in the Tanjore district was a stronghold of Buddhism. The large Leyden plates record the grant of the village

¹ No 292 of the Madras Epigraphical Collection for 1927.

² *Mysore Archaeological Report* for 1917, p 55, para 135.

³ A paper on the detailed history of the Tanjore Nayakas by the author is almost ready and will appear very soon in this journal.

⁴ In Tamil it is sometimes loosely applied to a Jaina temple also.

⁵ Nos 629 and 633 of the Madras Epigraphical Collection for 1902.

of Ānaimangalam to a Buddha temple at Negapatam during the time of the Chōla king Rājārāja I (A.D. 985-1010). The smaller Leyden grant dated in the 20th year of Kulōttunga I (A.D. 1090) records gifts to two Buddhist temples. An ancient tower known as 'Puduvēḷigōpuram' or 'Jaina Pagoda' was demolished by the Jesuits when they built the St Joseph's College at Negapatam.¹ This tower might have belonged to one of these two Buddha temples. It is interesting to note that a number of metallic Buddhist images were unearthed at this place recently.

Though Jain families are living in Tanjore, Kumbakonam and Mannārgudi even now, and we see Jain temples at Kumbakonam and Mannārgudi, yet traces of Buddhism are no longer visible there.

The record bears at the end the expression "(the) Gurukkal, (i.e., teachers) of the Convention", perhaps of Buddha.

TEXT.²

1 Vikkīra-	15 ndā-Nāyakar
2 ma-varusham	16 nilattu[l]ē
3 [Ā]dī-mādam ³ 2-	17 Tirumalai-
4 2 ⁴ ௭ ⁵	18 rāsapura[ttu]
5 Śevuvap ⁶	19 'aśēsham-ā-
6 pa-Nāyak-	20 ga śaṅgaṅga]
7 kar-ayya-	21 vākkāl ve-
8 n damma-	22 [tti] pōgaiyil Tī-
9 m-āga Tī-	23 rumalai-rāsapurattil-
10 ruvilan-	24 agarattil tirup-
11 durai-	25 paṇi-śērvai-
12 Buddar-	26 āga vi[tti] nilam ⁸ 2 ⁹
13 kōyil-	27 [sa]mayattār Guru-
14 Titta-Mā[ma]ru-	28 kka] ௭

TRANSLATION

(Lines 1 to 26) (On) the 22nd day of the month of Ādī in the year Vikrama, all the people of Tirumalai-rājapuram assigned 2 $\frac{3}{4}$ (vēḷi of) land in the brahman village (agaram) of Tirumalai-rāja-

¹ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. VII, pp. 224-27 and *Annual Report on South-Indian Epigraphy* for 1925-26, p. 2

² From an inked extampage

³ Expressed by an abbreviated symbol.

⁴ The figure 22 is expressed in the Tamil text by three digits, the numerical figure for ten intervening between the two figures.

⁵ This symbol stands for the word *tēdī* meaning day.

⁶ Read *Śevvap*.

⁷ It may be read also as *aśēsha-māgaśaṅgaṅgaḷ* (*mahājanangaḷ*)

⁸ Expressed by an abbreviated symbol.

⁹ Expressed by a Tamil numeral

puram for repairs¹ as a charity² of Śevvappa-Nāyakkar-ayyan as the channel was dug and passed through the land³ belonging to 'Titta Māmarundā-Nāyakar of the Buddha temple at Tiruvilandurai

(Ll 27 and 28) (*This is under the protection of*) the Gurukkal of the Faith (*samayam*)

No 37 —GADAG INSCRIPTION OF THE REIGN OF JAYASIMHA II SAKA 959

By LIONEL D BARNETT

This inscription was found in the wall of the yard of the Vira-nārāyana temple at Gadag⁵. An attempt at a transcript is given in the Elliot Collection, Vol I, f 37b of the Royal Asiatic Society's copy and good ink-impressions were prepared for the late Dr Fleet, which are now in the British Museum. The stone is very dilapidated. On the ink-impression there seem to be some faint vestiges of effaced sculptures, but Elliot's pandit found no sculptures surviving in his day. The record itself is but a fragment. The ink-impressions record 64 lines, but the stone has been broken off on the proper right, the break beginning on line 13 and increasing as it runs down, while the left side also is damaged below. I have therefore given only the text as far as the eleventh verse, near the end of l 38, the rest being altogether fragmentary. The width of the slab is 2 ft 5½ in, the height is somewhat uncertain, as there seems to be a gap in the ink-impressions between ll 43 and 44, but it must be something over 6 ft 8 in. The writing is a fine archaic hand of the period, the letters vary in height from ¾ in to 1½ in, becoming smaller and more crabbed at line 61. The guttural nasal is used in *salonga*, l 4. The language in the portion edited below is Old Kanarese prose and verse, with two formal Sanskrit stanzas (vv 1 & 2). The *l* is preserved in *negalda* (l 26), *negaldam* (l 27), and falsely written for *l* in *Chāluky-* (l 2), it is changed to *l* in *ahda* (l 15), *pēl* (l 24), *pogahar* (l 25). The *upadhmāniya* appears in *bhāvīnah=p^o* (l 17). The instrumental case in *-e* occurs in *Lokkigundiye* (l 19 f), cf above, Vol XIV, p 277, n 9. Lexically *adagu[ni]* (l 21) may be noted.

The record begins by referring itself in ll 1-4 to the reign of Jagadēkamalla-Jayasingha [II],⁶ and then in ll 4-11 relates that on a given date Maddimayya-Nāyaka, mayor (*ūr-odeya*) of Lokkigundi, made over⁷ an estate to one Dāmōdara-Setti, who a few months later assigned the same for the benefit of the cult of the Traipurusha gods and the Twelve Nārāyanas. After formal clauses of commonition (ll 11-18), the record bursts into poetry, expatiating, in a long series of verses, upon the excellences of Dāmōdara (also named Dāma and Dāvala) and his family. First it mentions Dhōyipayya of Lokkigundi, who built the temple of the Twelve Nārāyanas and the Traipurushas and set up a Garuda-column (v 3, ll 19-21), and Dhōyipayya's wife Gunābbe (v 4, ll 21-23). Next appears Māhuva-Setti, apparently their son, who is coupled with his sons Dāma or Dāvala (Dāmōdara) and Dhōyipayya (vv 5-6, ll 24-

¹ *Tiruppani sērai* may also be translated into "worshipping service"

² It is generally translated as "for the merit of"

³ Tamil language will also allow of another construction. "The people of Tirumalairājapuram" may be taken as the subject of the predicate "dug and passed" and *veṭṭi pōgariyil* will convey the same meaning as *veṭṭugariyil* (while digging). In this case, there will be no subject for the verb *viṭṭa* (assigned). But then we will have to translate "2½ was the land assigned"

⁴ *Titta* stands for *tirtha* (a preceptor) and *Māmarundā* means Amrita.

⁵ Cf above, Vol XV, p 348

⁶ See *Dyn Kan Dist*, pp 435 7.

⁷ See however note on l 7.

27) The rest of the poetry seems to be devoted to the praise of Dāma, and continues as far as l 61. Then begins a section in prose, written in a smaller hand, and specifying an endowment made by the latter in the presence of the local *Mahājanas* for the benefit of the Traipurushas and some other god; in the midst of this the stone breaks off.

It is perhaps worth noting that the poet compares Māhuva to the legendary Dadhichi, Gutta, Chārudatta, and Karna, and Dama to Karna, Vikramāditya, Hariśchandra, Nala, Chārudatta, Dadhichi, Śibi, and Gutta. The comparison with Karna and Nala is of course a commonplace, and Hariśchandra is one of the most popular figures of legend. On Chārudatta and Dadhichi I may refer to my remarks on the Sūdi inscription E (2) above, Vol. XV, p. 83. The mention of Vikramāditya, which seldom occurs elsewhere in this period, shews that the legend of the mythical king of that name had firmly established itself at this time in the Dekkan. It may well be that the legend, as has been suggested, is based upon traditions of the Gupta dynasty of the 4th-5th centuries A.D. and later, some members of which bore the title of Vikramāditya,¹ and if this be so, its appearance here by the side of that of Gutta is doubly interesting. For there seems to be little doubt that this legendary Gutta is to be connected with the Gutta dynasty of Guttavolal or Guttal, probably as an eponymous ancestor, and this family claimed to derive its name and origin from the Gupta emperors as well as from a more or less mythical Vikramāditya of Ujjayinī.² Hence it would seem that the two legends of Vikramāditya and of Gutta are doublets, both having sprung from vague memories of the glories of the Gupta emperors.

Two dates are specified. The first is given on ll 4-5 as Śaka 959, Īśvara, Āshādha śu. 5, Sunday. This apparently refers to Śaka 959 expired, which by the Southern Cycle was coupled with Īśvara, according to this, the *tithi* Āshādha śu. 5 was connected with Monday, June 20, A.D. 1037, ending about 19 h 38 m after mean sunrise for Ujjain. Thus the date is slightly irregular, the Sunday being named probably to lend auspiciousness, although the *tithi* was current only for a short time at the end of it (cf. Mr. Venkatasubbiah's *Some Śaka Dates in Inscriptions*, p. 69). The late lamented Mr. R. Sewell, who with his wonted kindness examined the dates in this inscription, informed me that by the *Ārya-siddhānta* very similar results are obtained; śu. 5 was connected with Monday, June 20, and was current only for about 1 h 55 m before mean sunrise on that day. He added that by the mean system, in Śaka 959 expired, śu. 5 began 3 h 50 m before mean sunrise on Monday. The Northern Cycle may be excluded from consideration, as it coupled Īśvara with Śaka 957 expired and 958 current.

The second date is given on l 11 as the *amāvāsyā* (kṛi 15) of Āsvayuja, evidently of the same year as the preceding date, coupled with an eclipse of the sun and the *yōga* Vyatpāta. This is fairly satisfactory. The *tithi* was connected with Tuesday, 11 October, A.D. 1037, on which it ended about 15 h 26 m after mean sunrise, and on the same Tuesday there was an eclipse of the sun, which, however, was not visible in India (Oppolzer, *Kanon der Finsternisse*, p. 214). Mr. Sewell has pointed out that by the mean system this Tuesday was coupled with kṛi 14 and the following Wednesday with the *amāvāsyā*, which tends to shew that the calculations here were made by true *tithis*.

The only names of places mentioned are Lokkigundi, ll 5, 19 f, the *tīrthas*, l 13 f, the Himāchala, i.e. Himālaya, l 32, and Malaya, *ibid*. Lokkigundi is Lakkundi ('Lukoondē' of the Indian Atlas), in lat 15° 23' and long 75° 45½', some 6 miles south-east from Gadag. Indrakila (l 30) is probably meant to be purely mythical, but there is a hill of the name at Bezvada.

¹ See especially Mr. Allan's *Catalogue of Coins of the Gupta Dynasties in the British Museum*, p. xlix, n. 1.

² See *Dyn. Kan. Dis.*, pp. 578-80.

TEXT ¹

[Metres —v 1, *Sālīnī*, v 2, *Anushtubh*, vv 3, 7, *Sārdūlavikrīḍita*, vv 4, 12, *Uṭpalamālā*, vv 5, 11, *Champakamālā*, v 6, *Kanda*, vv 8, 10, *Mattēbhavikrīḍita*, v. 9, *Mahā-sragdharā*]

- 1 ☉ Svasti samasta-bhuvan-āśraya Śrī-Pri(Pri)thvi-vallabha mahārājādhirāja
paramēśvara
- 2 paramabhattārahāṃ Satyāśraya-kuḷa-tīlakam Chālu(lu)ky-ābharanam Jagadēka-
mallam
- 3 śrīmaḥ-Jayasimghadēvara rājyam=uttarōttar-ābhī[vriddhi*]-pravarddhamānam=ā-
chandr ārkka-t[ā]-
- 4 ram saluttam-ire Sa(Śa)ka-nrī(nrī)pa-kāl-ātīta-samvatsara-sa(śa)taṅga[*]
959neya īśvara-samvatsarada
- 5 Āshāda(dha)-su(su)ddha 5 Āditya-vāradandu śrīmaḥ-Lokkiguṇḍiya ūr-ode-volada
per-vvasugeya
- 6 Sa(Śa)mkarayyam(yya)-Nāyakara magam ūr-odeya Maddimayya-Nāyakam
artthamam kondu Dāmōdara-
- 7 Settiyargge sāsirvvara sannidhānadāl kāl-garchch=āgī dānam-gondam² keyi mattar-
ayvatt-āru a[m]-
- 8 kadolam matta[r*] 56 ā keyge benn=irkkey=illa benn=irkkey=endavam svāna
gārdnebha³ chāndāla[m*] I-
- 9 dāra vyavasthe intutu [l*] Int=ā bhūmiyam kondu Traipurusaha-dēvarggaṃ bāraha-
Nārāyana-dēvar=u-
- 10 pachāradim mikkudam brāhmanar=unba[r*] [l*] Int=ī(i) s[th]itīyal Dāmōdara-Seṭṭi
bhūmi-dānam-go-
- 11 tta tithi Āsva(śva)yujad=amavāsyē sūryya-grahana-vyatipātam Antu kotta
dharmmavam sāsī-
- 12 rv[v]arum rakshisuvar [l*] Int=adaṛ=āśrama-guru-dharmma-pratī(ta)pālanum sva(sa)d-
āchāranum=ollitta[m]ge⁴
- 13 [vya]bhichāriyum bhakshakan=ād=ātam Prayāge Vāraṇāsī Argghyatīrtham
Kurukshētra[m]
- 14 [Pu]shkaram Śrīparvvatam=emba mahā-tīrthamga[o] chatur-vvēda-pāragarumam
pannirchchāsira kavī-
- 15 [le]yuman=alida pātakam sva-dharmmadol rakshisadan⁵=ī tīrthamgu[uma[m]] ī(i)y=āyadha(ta)namumam
- 16 [rakshī]sida⁵ mahā-puṇy-ādhyakan=akkum || Sāmānyō=yam dharmma-śētu[r*]=
nnrī(nnṛī)pāpām kālā kā[lē]
- 17 [pā]aṇiyo bhavadbhūh [l*] ssa(sa)rvvān=ētān=bhāvīnah=pārthivē[m*]drān bhūyo
bhūyo yāchatē [Rā]-

¹ From the ink impression² Read *svana garḍabha*³ The *ś* has been omitted, and added in small script under the line.⁴ Apparently an error for *goff* :⁵ The *gr* is added, in smaller script, under the *no*

- 18 [machā]mdra[h*] || [1*] Sva-datt[ā*]m para-datt[ā*]m vā yō harēta vasun-
dharām shashtir=vvarsha-sahasrāni viśthāyām jāyatē¹ kṛimī² [[* 2*]
Mam[gala]
- 19 Śrīmat-perggade Dhōyipayyan=adhikam dhārmikān=udyan-mahāgrāmam neṭtane
Lokki[gu]-
- 20 [nā]ye nutam kīrtti-dhvajam sad-gun-ōddāman dvādasa(śa)- Viśnuvam Garuda-
māna-stambhamam sthāpi[s—]
- 21 [—]mam Traipurusharkkalam nīlīdam³ puny-ādhikam dhātṛiyo! || [3*] Ā
mahimā-vilāsad=adagu[nti]-
- 22 [ya ?]⁴ perggade Dhōyipayyan=uddāma-kulakke takka satī mikka patibrate Jainā-
dāns-dharmm-āmrite⁵
- 23 [² vri]ddhi-chamdrike Gunābbe gun-ādhiko sanda Rugminī⁶-rāmege Rāma-rāmeg-
eney=endode mattaran=ēnan=embenō || [4*]
- 24 [∪ ∪ ∪] Dadhichi puttīdano Guttane bandano Chārudattanō [n]irati(ay-Ārkka-
nandanano pēf=ene Māhuva=artthig=artthama[m]
- 25 [kara]m=osed=ittan=ātana magam vibudh-āgraniy=endu Dāmam(ma)nam karam=atirā-
gadim pogalvar=ēn=esav-antano pu-
- 26 [² nya]m-antanō || [5*] Māhuva-Settiya magan=atīsāhasikam nega[da] Dhōyipayyan=⁷
amarmmam mahātm[y*]-ārjita-guṇa-[sam]-
- 27 [dōha]m dhareg=eseye Dāvalam sale nega[dam] [[6*] ⊙ Śrī-kāntā-kamanīyam=ādudu
viśāl-ōra[s*]-sthalam tanna vāk śrī-kā[ntā-ka].
- 28 [ma]niyam=ādudu mukh-āmbhōjātam=udya[ya]-jaya-śrī-kāntā-ramanīyam=ādudu bhujā-
dandam dig-ant[am ?]
- 29 [ya]śa[s*]-śrī-kāntā-kamanīyam=ādud=adarind=ēn=Dāman=uddāmanō || [7*] Sura-
rājendra-mad-ēbha-mastakadol [—]
- 30 [dig-da]nti-dantamga[ol]=Haran=ugr-āsiyol=Imdrakīla-tatadol=Nirējaputr-āndadol=vara-nāg-
ālayadol=Murāri-
- 31 [ya ?] grī(grī)h-ōdya[d*]-dvāra-bandhamgalol=bareda[=]Vāg-vadhū Dāvalam su(śu)chī
mahā-dān-ādyā(dhya)n=emb=amkamam || [8*] Sura-rāj-ādr[i]-
- 32 [ndra-Hi]māchala-Male(la)ya-nag-ōpānta-vallī - van - ābhyanataradol=nānā - vīmōdamga[ole]
nelasi vidyādhara-strī-
- 33 [∪ — ∪ ∪] kānt-ānikamum pannaga-yuvatiyarum pāduvar=kkūde Dāmōdara-
kīrtti-śriyan=ēn=end=adapa
- 34 [∪ ∪ ∪ —]m ban[n]isalk=ārppan-āvam || [9*] Moḷe-voyt=Ārkka[anum] pasurppu
vadedatt=ā Vikramāditya-bhūtala-nāth-ā[g]r[ani]-
- 35 [yim ∪ — ∪ ∪ ∪ —]tt=ettam Hariśchamdranum Naḷanum pūtudu Chārudatta-
vibhuvimdam kāytud=i bhūri-bhūta[ado] Dāma[∪ —]

¹ The ya has been added below the line² Read kṛimī³ The si has been omitted, and added below⁴ Or possibly -ye,⁵ This is the common Southern spelling for the Sanskrit Rukminī⁶ Read āmrīta

⁷ [Reference to inscription No 30 of the Nagamangala Taluq (line 55) Ep Carn Vol IV, Pt II, and its translation by Rice (p 120, l 1) to which Mr N Lakshminarayana Rao has drawn my attention, would suggest that the reading is 'Dhōyipayyana marmam' or possibly mammam. If that is so, Dāvala would be the son of Māhuvaseṭṭi and grandson of Dhōyipayya. See p 217 above, last para. Kittel, however, gives mōmma but not marmma (or marmma) in the sense of grandson.—Ed.]

(Lines 1-4) While the reign of—hail!—the refuge of the whole world, darling of Fortune and Earth, great Emperor, supreme Lord, supreme Master, ornament of Satyāsraya's race, embellishment of the Chālukyas, king Jagadēkamalla-Jayasingha, was advancing in a course of successively increasing prosperity, (*to endure*) as long as moon, sun, and stars —

(Ll 5-8) Śaṅkarayya Nāyaka's son, the mayor Maddimayya Nāyaka, having received money, laved the feet of Dāmōdara Setti in the presence of the Thousand, and (?) made over (to him) in gift a field of fifty-six *mattar*, in numbers 56 *mattar*, (forming part) of the large section of the mayoral lands of Lokkigundi. Of this field there is to be no resumption *ne* that claims resumption (*shall be reborn as*) a dog, an ass, (or) a Chāndāla.

(Li 8-16) Thus is its constitution Having so obtained this land, what remains from the service of the Twelve Nārāyaṇa gods for the Traipuruṣa gods² the Brāhmins shall consume The lunar day on which Dāmōdara Settī thus granted the land on this condition was the last of the dark fortnight of Āśvayuja, (*during*) an eclipse of the sun and a *vyatīpāta* (*yāga*) The Thousand shall preserve the pious endowment thus granted So he who devours it, in disobedience to the worthy man who preserves the holy law of the masters of his order and acts righteously, incurs the guilt of slaying (*Brāhmins*) versed in the Four Vēdas and twelve thousand kine at the great sanctuaries of Prayāga, Benares, Arghyatīrtha, Kurukshētra, Pushkara, and Śrīparvata, he who preserves it according to its proper rule shall abound in the same great merit as if he preserved those esanctuaries and those temples

(V 3) The fortunate officer Dhōyapayya, peculiarly righteous, praised fitly by the exalted great town Lokkigundi, having a banner of glory, eminent in virtue, extraordinary in merit on earth, erected (a temple of) the twelve Vishnus (and) a column of honour for Garuda and . . . established (a sanctuary of) the Traipurushas

(V 4) The good wife worthy of the eminent race of the officer Dhōyapayya, that perfection of the display of dignity, uniquely devoted to her lord, moonlight for the increase (?) of the ambrosia of pious bounty to Jains, singular in virtue, Gunābhe, is peer to the excellent dame Rukminī, (and) to Rāma's dame when this is said, what other shall I name ?

(V 5) "Say, . has a Dadhichi been born? has a Gutta come, (or) a Chārudatta, (or), the unsurpassed child of the Sun [Karna]?"—with men speaking thus, Māhuva gladly indeed bestowed wealth on suitors, as his son, a leader among the sages, men extol Dāma indeed with extreme affection, who is his like in distinction, who is his like in righteousness?

(V 6) While Māhuvā-Seṭṭi's son, the exceedingly valiant (and) eminent Dhōyipayya free from weaknesses, possessing a multitude of virtues won by nobility of soul, was flourishing on earth³ Dāvala verily became eminent

"Brahman, Vishnu, and Śiva

² [See footnote 7 on page 220 above -- l'd.]

(V 7) His broad breast was worthy of being desired by the lady Fortune; his speech was worthy of [being desired by the lady] Fortune. the lotus of his face¹ was worthy of the love of that lady the Fortune of high Victory, his rod-like arm, extending through the regions of space, was worthy of being desired by that lady the Fortune of Glory, thus how splendid is Dāma!

(V 8) On the head of the rutting elephant of the great King of Gods, on the tusks of the elephants of the regions of space, on Hara's awful sword, on the slope of Indrakīla, on the cosmic egg of the Lotus-born [Brahman], on the home of the great Serpents [Pātāla], on the high door-posts of Murāri's house, the lady Speech has written the title "Dāvala is pure, rich in great bounty"

(V 9) Standing in divers sports amidst the groves of creeping plants on the skirts of the great mountain of the King of the Gods, of Himālaya, and of Mount Malaya, do not the wives of the Vidyādhara and the company of ladies of . . . and the Serpent damsels sing in concert the splendour of Dāmōdara's glory? hence who is able to praise (*fittingly*) its [greatness]?²

(V 10) The noble tree of desire . . . , throwing out its sprouts through the child of the Sun [Karna], attained to greenness through Vikramāditya chief of monarchs, . . . everywhere from Hariśchandra, flowered through Nala, put forth green fruit through the lord Chārudatta, [and ripened into perfect fruit] through Dāma . . . on this vast earth

(V 11) Is not Dāma, who makes gifts with calm delight to the company of sages even in [this] troublous time, [when] the Kali Age is rife everywhere and the quality of greed [pervades?] the whole universe . . . to this world, a Dadhichi, a Śibi, a Karna, a Gutta, a Chārudatta?

No 38 — TWO INSCRIPTIONS FROM RON, OF SAKA 944 AND 1102.

BY LIONEL D BARNETT

Rōn (the word is spelt "Roan" in the Indian Atlas sheet 41) is the chief town of the Rōṇ *tāluka* in Dhārwar District, Bombay Presidency, and lies in lat 15° 42' and long 75° 47'. Both the present epigraphs, which are now edited from ink-impressions bequeathed by the late Dr Fleet to the British Museum, come from the local temple of Īśvara. From notes on the ink-impressions it appears that at the time when the impressions were taken both the stones were on the outside of the temple, the introductory note to the imperfect transcript of B in the Elliot Collection (Vol II, fol 93b in the Royal Asiatic Society's copy) states that Elliot's agent found it "in the stone temple standing in front of the Reḍḍiyavar's house in Rōṇ".

A — OF THE REIGN OF JAYASIMHA II SAKA 944

This record is imperfect, the latter part of the stone is missing, and it is moreover cracked across the middle. The inscribed area is about 2 ft 7 in wide, and the maximum height of what remains is about 3 ft 1 in. There seems to be no trace of any sculptures — The character is Kanarese. Lines 1-28 are written in a fair sloping hand typical of the eleventh century, with letters of an average height of $\frac{5}{8}$ in, and underneath them are portions of three more lines

¹[We may construe the sentence as — tanna viśāl ōrasthalam Srikāntā-kamaniyam=ādudu, tanna mukh-ām-bhōjātām Vāk śrikāntā kamaniyam=ādudu tanna bhuj ādandam udyaj Jayaśrikāntā kamaniyam=ādudu, etc, and translate it accordingly — Ed.]

written in a slightly smaller and more cramped hand, perhaps a later addition. As very little can be made out of the latter, I give only the text of ll. 1-28. The language is Old Kanarese, with two formal Sanskrit stanzas (vv 10 and 11). The *l* is preserved in *negaḍ*- (ll 6, 21 f.), *alidon* and *alida* (l 20), it appears as *l* in *pogaladar* (l 10) and *pogalal* (l 21). *Nirmmadhyam* (l 18) is a rare but classical Sanskrit word. In *tandeya māḍida bhūmī-dānamām* (l 24) we have an example of the use of the genitive for nominative to which I have called attention in *Journ Royal Asiat Soc*, 1918, p 105.

The record opens by referring itself to the reign of the Chāḷukya Jagadēkamalladēva (Jayasimha II) (ll 1-3). It then describes in verse the town of Rōṇa, the modern Rōn (ll 3-5), and the virtues of an eminent local Brāhman named Āyṭavarina and his son Saṭkimayya, the latter of whom constructed a temple to the Mūlasthāna god in Rōṇ (ll 5-10). Sankimayya had an elder brother named Māchamayya, whose younger brother was Chāṇḍimayya; and Māchamayya granted land for a rest-house for Brāhmins (ll 10-14). Next follow prose details of Māchamayya's gift of some lands and three oil-mills, etc., for the maintenance of the temple of Śiva, the trustees being the Hundred-and-four burgesses of Rōn (ll 14-20). Next come three verses (ll 20-25), from which we learn that he also constructed a well, and that his three sons Āyṭavarina, Rudramayya, and Dēchīmāyya made over their father's land-endowment to the custody of the Hundred-and-four, apparently there had been some delay in the formal transfer of the estates granted by Māchamayya, and probably he died in the interim. After this come two concluding Sanskrit stanzas (ll 25-27), and then begins a new section, of which the first verse (ll 27-28) speaks of a certain Ravikiya-Bhaṭṭa as possessing some estate. From this point the stone becomes more and more dilapidated, there remain only fragments of three more lines, which I have not thought worth while to print, as they give no consecutive sense. It is noteworthy that these three lines are in a slightly smaller and more cramped hand than the rest of the record, as I have remarked above. The rest of the stone has been lost, and hence it is impossible to determine the exact date when the epigraph in its present form was set up. Apparently it was intended as a composite record of the various charities of the family. The reference to the reigning king in ll 1-3 and the character of the script shew that it cannot be later than about Śaka 964, and we have Śaka 944 as a *terminus ad quo*, hence it may be reasonably assigned to a date about midway between these limits.

The date of the first donation is given on ll 14-15 as Śaka 944, Dandubhi, Pushya ba 14, Monday, the *uttarāyana-samkrānti*. This is not perfectly regular, but may be accepted. The *tithi* specified corresponded to Tuesday, 25 December, A D 1022, whereas the *samkrānti* occurred 1 h 8 m after mean sunrise on Monday, 24 December; but as the *tithi* ba 14 began 3 h 15 m after mean sunrise on the Monday and ended 2 h 54 m after mean sunrise, thus being current for 20 h 45 m on the Monday, the confusion is pardonable.¹

Only two places are mentioned, viz Rōṇa, the modern Rōn (ll 4, 9, 16, 21), and a spot of which the name began with Pushpa- (l 16).

TEXT²

[Metres —vv 1, 3, 4, 7, 9, 12, *Kanda*, vv 2, 8, *Champakamālā*, v 5, *Śārdūlavikrīḍita*; v. 6, *Mattēbhavikrīḍita*, vv 10, 11, *Anushtubh*]

1 [Om] Svasti samasta-bhuvan-āśraya Śrī-Pṛthvī-vallabha mahārājādhirāja paramēśvara paramabha-

¹ I have again to thank Mr R. Sewell, who unhappily has died since this paper was written, for his kindness in checking my calculations in this paper.

² From the ink impression.

- 2 [ttāraka]m Satyāsraya-kula-tīlakam Chāluky-ābharanam śrīmaj-Jagadēkamalla-
dēvara vijaya-rājya-
- 3 [m=utta]r-ōttar-ābhivridhī-pravarddhamānam=ā-chandr-ārka-tāram saluttam-ire |
Kandam | Śrī-ramanī-pr[ī*]yan=i—
- 4 [∪∪] Dvā]rāvatigam Surēndran=Amarāvatigam sāram dharanī-vaniteya hūra[m]
śrī-Rōnam=oppugum
- 5 [vasu]matiyol | (||) [ī*] Vṛttam [ī*] Enipa mah-āgrahāram=adaṇol=Vana-
jōdbhava-vamśajarkalol=Manu-charita-pra-
- 6 [—∪]r=ene kottahvan=nega[d=ol-gulakke mikk=anupama-dāni śishta-jana vatsa]an=
īvara dēvan=Āytava[r*]mmane
- 7 [pa]ram-ārttham=endu dhare baṇṇisugum vibudh-āgraganyan(n)am | (||) [2*]
Kandam | Ātamge sujana-jana-vikhyātame jagaj ja-
- 8 [n]-aika-nuta-charitam nirdhūt-āgha-nichayam=urvī-khyātam śrī Samkramayyan=ādām
tanayam | (||) [3*] Kshiti-valayam
- 9 [ba]nnusal=unnatīyam mādisidan=esevinam Rōnadol=unnatam ene Mūla-sthūn-āyatana-
man=ā Samkramayyan=e-
- 10 ne pogaladar=ār | (||) [4*] Vṛttam | Ātamg=unna[t]a-kīrttig=agrajan=
udagram Māchumayyan jagat-khyātam¹ nirmma]a-dharmman=ātan=a-
- 11 nujam śrī-Chandimayy-āmkam=uddhūt-āgh-aughan=enippan=irvvar-olag=ā śrī-Māchi-
mayyam dvija-vrātakk=unnata-satra-
- 12 bhūmīyan=idam bittam mah-ōtsāhadim | (||) [5*] Odalam tām sucharitrado]
dhanaman=udyad-dānadol=nan[n]iyam nudi-
- 13 yol=bhaktīyan=eyde tandeyol=udagram chittamam santatam Mṛida-pād-ābjadol=
āvagam basanamam sad-dharmmadol=tā-
- 14 [d]idam gadad=e vannipen-anna sach-charitamam śrī-Māchumayy-āmkamam | (||)
[6*] Ad=ent=e[ndode] | Śaka-varsha 944neya Dum-
- 15 dubhī=samvatsarada Pushya=bahula 14 Sōmavāram=uttarāyana-samkramanadandu
pennirvvar=brāhmanargge sa-
- 16 tram mādi bamd=ā Rōna-māladol 50 mattar=ddanada keyyu[m*] dēvargge
Pushpā temkalum 2 mattaram 335 kammada tōm-
- 17 tamum sodar-ennege 3 ghānamumam sarvva-bādhā-parihāram mānyam māḍi
śrīman-nūra-nālvargge pāda-pūje[ge*] 50
- 18 gadyāna[m] ponnam kotta dharmmamam rakshisuvud=endu nirmmadhyam=
oppisidar-i dharmmamam rakshisidavargge Prayāge-Vāranāsi-
- 19 Kurukshētradol=sāsira kavīleya kōdum kulagumam suvarnnadol khachiyisi sā-
sirvvar=vvīda-pāragar=appa brāhmana-
- 20 rgge sūryya-grahanadol=kotta punyam=ak[k*]um=idan=a]idon=mitunidevaruman²=a]ida
mahā-pātakan=ak[k*]um | Ka-
- 21 ndam | Jagatī-jana-lutamam vibudha-gan-āgrāṇi Māchumayyan=urvī-valayam
pogalal Rōnada maniyara nega-
- 22 [d=āramey-olage bāviyam tōḍisidam | (||) [7*] Enisida Māchumayya-vibu-
pa(dha)mg=eseyalke tinnūjar=urvvarā-jana-
- 23 nutan=Āytavarmma-vibhu sach-charitam sale Rudramayyan=atyanavarat-ēshta-
dāni vibudh-āgrāṇi dhātuge Dēchima-

¹ Written as separate words, jagat khyātam² Apparently corrupt: we should expect something like mitum=mitaruman.

- 24 [yyan]=atyanupamar=int=ivar=kramade tandeaya mādida bhūmi-dānamam [|| 8*]
 Parirakshisi vipra-kalēbara-bhānu-ga-
 25 [bhasti nūra]-nālvargg=atyādaradinde samarppisidar=paripālisim=endu chandra-
 tāra[m*]-baregam [|| 9*] Ślōkam [1*] Sva-dattām
 26 [para-dattām vā yō har]ēta vasundharām | shashtir=vvarsha-sahasrāni vishthāyām
 jāyatē kṛimih | (||*) [10*] Akarasya karam(rī)-
 27 [karanam gō-sahasra-vadhah smri]tah | kara-pravṛitti-vichchhēdād=gō-kōti-phalam=
 aśnutē | (||*) [11*] Kandan | Nettane shan-māsam mugī-
 28 [] kat[t]-āl=en[d]um
 Ravikiya-bhattam Nīrgudīyan=unna neleyan=tinnam | (||) [12*]¹

TRANSLATION

(Lines 1-3) While the victorious reign of—hail!—the refuge of the whole world, darling of Fortune and Earth, great Emperor, supreme Lord, supreme Master, ornament of Satyāśraya's race, embellishment of the Chālukyas, king Jagadēkamalla, was advancing in a course of successively increasing prosperity, (to endure) for as long as moon, sun, and stars —

(Verse 1) More excellent than the Dvārāvati of Lady Fortune's lover [Krishna] or than the Amarāvati of Indra, a pearl-necklace for the Lady Earth, the blest Rōna is conspicuous on earth

(V 2) The great Brāhmanic fief so named—in it are men perfect (?) in the conduct (prescribed) by Manu among the scions of the race of the Lotus-born [Brahman] one of this company, a man of peerless charities excelling in that illustrious good family, kindly to cultured men, a god of givers (of bounty), is Āyavarma in supreme truth in such terms does the world land that most eminent of sages

(V 3) To him, who was renowned among good men, there was a son, the blest Sankamayya, whose conduct was uniquely praised by the people of the world, who dispelled the mass of sin, famed on the earth

(V 4) With the circle of earth lauding (his) eminence, this Sankamayya constructed a Mūla-sthāna sanctuary such as to be conspicuous for magnificence in Rōna, for this who are there that do not praise (him) ?

(V 5) He, exalted of fame, had an elder brother, the stately Māchamayya, world-renowned, stainless in religion, his younger brother, named the blest Chandamayya, is known as having dispelled the flood of sin. Of the two, this blest Māchamayya with great generosity granted to the company of Brāhmins the land for a magnificent rest-house

(V 6) He kept his body in righteousness, his wealth in noble charity, truth in speech, devotion fittingly towards his father, an eager spirit ever towards Mṛda's lotus-feet, passion ever for the good Law verily, O brother, how can I (worthily) extol the righteous man bearing the name of the blest Māchamayya ?

(Ll 14-20) As regards the manner thereof —On Monday, the 14th of the dark fortnight of Pushya, in the cyclic year Dundubhi, the 944th year of the Śaka (era), at the *uttarāyana-samkrānti*, having made a rest-house for twelve Brāhmins, and having come and made into an honorary estate for the god with immunity from all conflicting claims a corn-field

¹ The stone contains portions of three more lines, possibly by a later hand, on which see above (p 223)

of 50 *mattar* in the meadows of Rōna and south of Pushpa 2 *mattar* and a garden of 335 *lamma* and 3 oil-mills to supply oil for lamps, he granted 50 *gadyāna* of gold for adoration of the feet to the Hundred-and-four, which pious endowment they undertook directly to maintain To those who maintain this pious endowment will accrue the merit of decorating with gold the horns and hoofs of a thousand kine at Prayāga, Benares, or Kurukshētra and giving them, during an eclipse of the sun, to a thousand Brāhmins learned in the Vēdas, he who destroys it will bear the same deadly sin as if he destroyed the same number of them.

(V 7) Māchamayya, leader of the company of sages, with the applause of the circle of earth caused to be dug in the splendid park of the intendants of Rōna a well, beneficial to the people of the world

(Vv 8 & 9) As this sage Māchamayya's sons became distinguished, the lord Āytavarma praised by the people of the earth, the truly righteous Rudramayya, and Dēchamayya, a most unceasing dispenser of boons, a leader of sages in the world, were quite without peer these four, in order preserving the land-endowment founded by (their) father, with the utmost respect transferred it to the [Hundred and] four, who are [rays] of the sun in the bodies of Brāhmins, bidding them guard it for as long as moon and stars endure

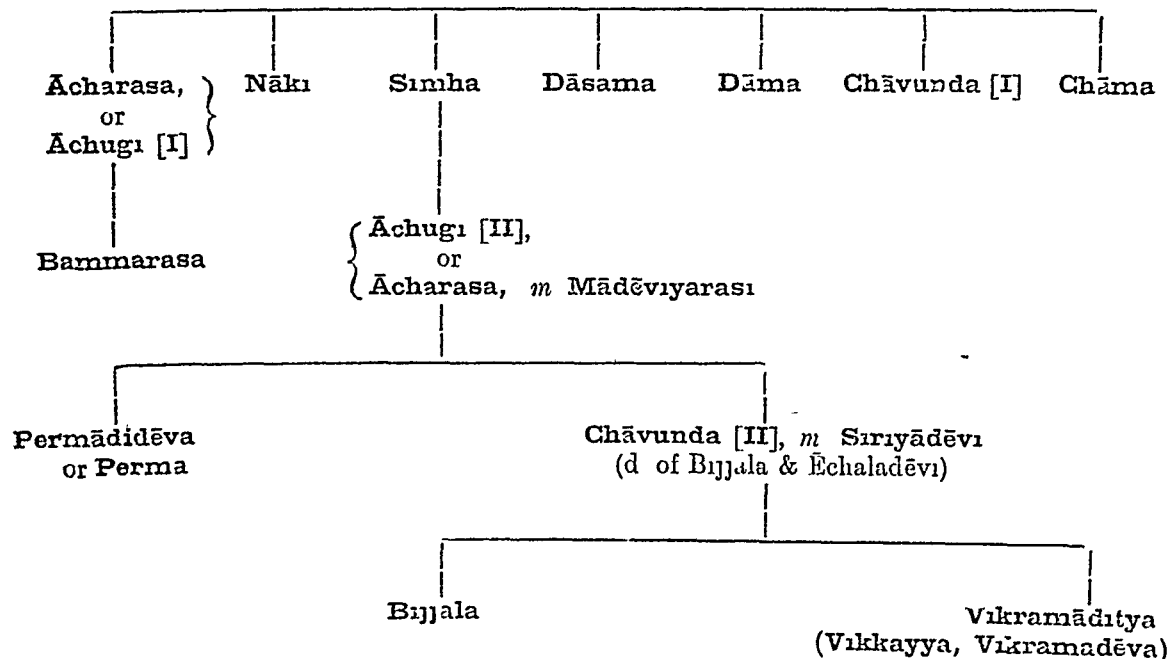
(Vv 10, 11 two common Sanskrit formulæ)

(V 12) . . . everywhere Ravikya—Bhatta has enjoyed the estate that . . . possessed

B —OF THE REIGN OF SANKAMA AND THE SINDA VIKRAMADITYA . SAKA 1102

The inscribed area of this epigraph is in width about 2 ft 3 in and in height nearly 5 ft There is no record of any sculptures being attached to it The character is Kanarese of the period, a generally well-formed ornate hand, decorated at the beginning with arabesque designs similar to those of the Kurgōd inscriptions published above, Vol XIV, p 265 ff The height of the letters varies from $\frac{1}{2}$ in to $\frac{3}{4}$ in The cursive forms of *y* and *m* noted above, Vol XII, p 335, are found here that for *m* occurs in ll 38, 53, 75 (twice), and 77, and that for *y* in l 19. The language is Kanarese, the metrical part being in the ancient language and the prose medieval, two formal stanzas (vv 1 and 26) and a quotation from Manu (v 25) are in Sanskrit Sporadically *ay* is changed to *ey*, in °*valeya*° (ll 2, 19), *taneyam* (l 28), and *abheyan* (l 28). The prothesis of *y* in *yaupāsan-āgm* (l 62) is noteworthy, so is the spelling *Āśvayya* (l 66), which is the first step to the modern vernacular pronunciation *Āśvīya* The ancient *l* has not been preserved it has been changed to *l* in *negal*° (*passim*), *līlt*° (l 18), *elvinam* (l 30), and to *r* in *ērvvarum* (l 26), °*arvvu* (l 30), *negardda* (l 39, prose), *negarda* (l 43, prose), with loss in *eppattuman* (l 56) *V* is changed to *b* in -*brāta*°, ll 4, 14, -*braja*°, l 47, -*byūha*°, l 50, -*bratyy*, l 51, -*svayambaram*, l 57 The change of *p* to *h* occurs in the verse portion only in *Hoysalana* (l 32) and *Torahanam* (l 33, but *Torapa*° in the prose titles, l 63), and in the prose in *Hirya* (ll 67, 71, 73), *hamneradu* (l 70), and *hola*° (ll 71-72, 78-79), by the side of *paduva* (l 71) and *paduvalu* (l 78), both in prose The *upadhmanīya* appears in *amtahpura*° (l 40) On the lexical side we may note *prōṅṅimbhita* (l 9), *ānamna* (l 12), the list of technical names of towns and villages (*patlana*, l 14, *sambhūna*, l 14, *lhēḍa*, l 14, *lharovaḍa*, l 14 f, *madamba*, l 15, *drōṅā-mulha*, l 15), and *lambi* (ll 71 f, 78 f, also found in the Ālūr inscr of Śaka 933, above, Vol XVI p 27) Part of the text, viz the passages from *Anu sogayysuva* on l 6 to *Kuntal-ōrvvī-māsum* on l 13 and from *Vilusitam* on l 21 to *emdale* on l 24, together with vv 14, 16, 19, 20, and 21, occur also in No. L of the inscriptions of Sūdi published above, Vol. XV, pp. 109 ff.

The record, after the opening verse, proceeds to extol the ocean (ll 2-6), Jambū-dvīpa (ll 6-8), Mount Mēru (ll 8-10), Kuntala (ll 11-16), and the king of Kuntala, the Kalachuriya Sankama, to whose reign it formally refers itself (ll 16-21). It then mentions the province of Kisukādu (ll 21-22) and the Mahāmandalēśvara ruling it, the Sinda Vikramāditya, also known as Vikkayya or Vikramāditya (ll 22-23),¹ giving the pedigree of the latter as follows (ll 23-49) —



This differs in some slight details from the pedigree given in the Sūdi record above, Vol. XV, p 109. It moreover supplements it by adding the mention of Bammarasa and by stating that Āchugi II conquered the Male or Highlands of the Ghūts, defeated the king of Dāhala (Chēdi), sacked Uppina-katte, and killed the Ganga of Kadāra (on which see below), and that Permādidēva captured the Hoysala king's elephants and treasure-waggons as well as the Toraha² himself (vv 13, 15). Next, we are introduced to Bācheya-Sāhani, a distinguished Master of the Horse general, and *bīhallaṭṭa-nyūgi* or 'holder of seventy-two offices' in the service of the Sinda Vikramāditya (ll 49-55), it was on his petition that the present grant was made. The occasion of it was when Vikramāditya, having been moved by hearing a sermon on the text Manu VIII 15, was making a number of charitable endowments and gifts in honour of his late father (ll 55-70), and the trustee was Gurubhaktadēva, a Śaiva divine of the Parvata³ school of the Kālāmukha church, the beneficiaries being the local sanctuaries of Chāmēśvara and Mālēśvara. A specification of the boundaries of the land then follows (ll 70-74), with a concluding verse (ll 74-75) and some supplementary endowments by Vikramāditya and his brother Bijjana or Bijjala (ll 75-80).

¹ On the Sinda dynasty see above, Vol. XIV, pp 268-270, and *Dyn. Kan. Distr.*, p 572 ff.

² Apparently the head of some hostile tribe of that name, cf. the title *Toripī-kul-āmlalar*, "slayers of the Torapa race," applied in the present record, l 63, to the burgesses of Rōn, and the reference in the Hūli inscription above, Vol. XVIII, p 200.

³ As this name shows, the school was derived from Kashmir. Cf. *Ep. Carn.* VII: Sk. 114, etc.

The date is given in l. 66 as Śaka 1102 (current), Vikāri, the new-moon day of Āvayuja, Monday. This is not perfectly regular. The *tithi* mentioned corresponded to Tuesday, 2 October, A D 1179, on which day it ended 13 h 28 m after mean sunrise (for Ujjain) ¹

The places mentioned are Kuntala (ll 13 f, 16, 21 f), Kisukādu (ll 22, 67) and the Kisukādu Seventy (l 56), Dāhala (l 29), Uppina-katte (l 29), Kadāra (l 30), Erambarage or Yerambarage (ll 57 f, 61), Rōna (ll 63, 68, 71, 78), Hiriya Maniyūr (ll 67, 71, 73, 78 f) Chikka Maniyūr (l 72), Mudīyanūr (ll 72, 77, 79), and Maniyūr (l 76). On Kisukādu see *Ind Ant*, Vol XXX (1901), p 259 ff. Dāhala is the kingdom of Chēdi. Kadāra, evidently the same as the Kidāram or Kadāram of several other records, is rather difficult to locate. Mr. Venkayya (*S I I*, Vol II, p 109) and Dr Hultzsch (above, Vol IX, p 231) seem to be right in placing it on the western coast of Burma or thereabouts in regard to other records, but here it is rather hard to believe that the arms of the Sindas could reach so far. The words *Kadāra-Gamga* in l 30 must mean a Ganga prince ruling in Kadāra, and suggest that there was a place of that name in or near the territory of the Gangas in India, from which a colonial Kadāra on the other side of the Bay of Bengal might have taken its name. Erambarage is Yelburga, situate in Lingsugur District of the Nizam's Dominions, in lat 15° 37' and long 76° 3', we here learn (l 57) that it bore the title of *Lakshmī-svayamvara*. Rōna is the modern town of Rōṇ. Hiriya Maniyūr, given as "Hire-Manur" on the Bombay Survey sheet No 332 and as "Heereh Munnoor" on the Indian Atlas sheet 41, is in long 75° 42' and lat 15° 42½'. Chikka Maniyūr, the "Chik-Manur" of the Survey and "Chika Munnoor" of the Atlas, lies in long. 75° 42½' and lat 15° 40½'. Maniyūr may possibly denote these two towns collectively. Mudīyanūr may perhaps have some connection with the modern village of Mudengudi ("Moodiangoodie" on the Indian Atlas), which lies in long 75° 43' and lat 15° 44½', the former name is to be analysed as *Mudīyana ūr*, "the elder's village," and the latter as *Mudīyana kudī*, "the elder's homestead" (or perhaps *gudī*, "temple")

TEXT.²

[Metres —vv 1, 25, 26, *Anushtubh*, vv 2, 24, *Utpalamālā*, vv. 3, 5, 6, 8, *Mahāśragdharā*; vv 4, 13, 15, 17-21, *Mattēbhavikrīḍita*, vv. 7, 9, 11, 12, 14, 16, 22, 23, *Kanda*, v 10, *Champakamālā*]



Śrī [1*] Namas-tumga-śiraś-chumbi-chamdra-chāmara-chāravē [1*] traīḷōkya-nagar-


ārambha-mūla-stambhāya Śambhavē || [1*] Vṛitta ||

2 Svasti samasta-bhū-va[le(la)ya-vēshatitam-uḷj]*]vala-mauktik-ādī-sad-vastu-vī(vi)kīrṇrav-
uchchalī(lī)ta-tumga-taramga-sa-

3 hasra-māhikā-nyasta-viyat-taḷam sogayis-irppudu bhāvīsī nōḍe nāḍe lōka-stutam-āgi
ma-

¹ Mr R. Sewell has informed me that practically the same result is reached if we follow the *Siddhānta-śrōmaṇi*, which gives as *tithi* index 9809, as against the 9810 of the *Arya-siddhānta*. He also points out an interesting fact in this connection. As the *amāvāsyā tithi* (ba 15) ended shortly after sunset on Tuesday, the preceding Monday night was the Dipāvalī festival, see Kielhorn's list of "Festal Days" in *J A*, Vol XXVI, 1897, p 184. Kielhorn there says that the "principal day" of the festival was the one in which the moon was in the *nakṣatra* Svātī. Mr Sewell's new table XLVIII A however shews that the moon entered Svātī, according to the equal space system, 17 h 7 m after mean sunrise on Tuesday, hence Tuesday was the "principal day" of the Dipāvalī in A D 1179, though apparently the festival at any rate began on Monday night while the *amāvāsyā tithi* was current. The *Siddhānta-śrōmaṇi* also given a similar result.

² From the ink impression.

- 4 tsa-makar-ōtkara-samsthita-ghūnnit-ārnavam || [2*] Jala-hasti-brāta-hast-āhatiyin-
ogedu nun-muttugaḷu sūse tīra-sthaḷiyolu
- 5 mey-verchoḷi mēgamng=ogedu teraḷe nūmkutte śubhr-ābhramam nirmmaḷa-
kallōl-aughadimdam gagana-taḷake tūm-
- 6 t-iṭṭa vōl=īkshisalu kan-golukum bhūgōlamam sutt=irid=atulatara-dhvānav=ambhōnī(ni)-
dhānam || [3*] Vachana || Antu sogayi-
- 7 suva munnire mērey=āgi nī(ni)khiḷa-dvipa-kula-kudhara-kuhara-kumja-ramjitamum
asēsha-dōsh-āpaharana-
- 8 pari(rī)nata-prabhāva-sukshētramum=enī(ni)sī sogayisuva Jambū-dvīpada natta-
naduve || Vri || Sura-kāmtā-rata-kūjita-pra-
- 9 tirava-prōjrimbhitam¹ kimnari-vara-gīt-ārava-mōhita-dvipa-kulam siddhi-āmganā-pāda-
pamkaruḷa-prāmchita-kum-
- 10 kuma-sthagī(gi)ta-chamchach-chandra-kāmt-ōpaḷam karam=opp-ippudu ratna-kūta-
ramanlyam Mēru-dhātrīdharam || [4*] Ā Kām-
- 11 chan-āchaḷada dakshina-dig-bhāgadoḷu Bharata-kshētram=embud=irppud=adaḷolu ||
Polan²=ellam gamdha-śāḷi-prakara-pa-
- 12 rīvri(vri)tam namdana-śrēniy=ellam phaḷa-bhār-ō(ā)namna-chūt-āvanī(ni)ja-lavalayitam³
dirghik-ānikam=ellam daḷi(l)i-t-āmbhōjāta-
- 13 rēnu-sthagita-lalitam=ūr-ūrggaḷ=ellam prajā-samkuḷa-gō-dhānya-prakīrnn-āmchitam=enal-
esegum Kumtaḷ-ōrvvī-viḷasam || [5*]
- 14 Ā Kumtaḷa-dēśadolū || Palavum grāmamgaḷim pattana-nīkaradī(de) samvāhana-
brātaḍim pēsha(śa)ḷa-khēda-vyūhadim kha-
- 15 rrvada-nagara-madamb-aughadim kūḍe cheluvam taḷeda drōṇāmukha-śrēniy=eśeva
nadī-jāḷaduḷ bhūri-bhū-mamḍa-
- 16 ḷadolū kang-ēddam=āg-irppudu ruchrateyīm madhya-dēśam viśēśham || [6*]
Tatu-Kumtaḷ-ādhipatī bhāsvat-kīrtti-viḷasan=udhdhat-ārā-
- 17 ti-mahibhri(bhri)t-Kuḷśa-damdan=adata chamatkāram śauryya-śāḷi Samkamadēvam ||
[7*] Ā dēś-ādhiśvarana bhujā-
- 18 pratāpam=emt=emdade || Baḷavad-vidvishta-bhūpāḷakaran=urade kīṭ=ikkī tadd-rājya-
chihnamgaḷan=udyad-dēśa-kōśamgaḷan=a-
- 19 vayavadim komḍu sal-līleyimdam jaḷadhi-vyāvēśtit-ōrvvī-vale(ḷa)yav=anitumam
tāḷidam tamna dōr-mmamḍa-
- 20 ḷadolū nīśamka-Lamkēśvaran=amaḷa-yaśam Samkama-kshōmpāḷam || [8*] Ant=
enisida Kalachuryya-chakravartī(rti) Samkama-dēvarasa-
- 21 ra rājyam=uttar-ōttar-ābhivri(vri)dhdhi-pravardhdhamānam=ā-chamdr-ārka-tāram
saluttam-ire ||  Viḷasitam=enipa Kum-
- 22 taḷa-dēśadolū bahu-phaḷa-dhānya-dhēnu-dhana-pūrṇnav=enisuv=ūrggaḷa neḷe nādu
Kisukāḍu || Ā nādan=āḷvan=artthi-jaṇ-ānam-

¹ Read *prōjrimbhitam*² The first *ḷa* is superfluous³ The *prīsa* is imperfect, *ḷ* rhyming with *l*, in verses 5 & 6.

- 23 dha(da)m Simda-mamḍaḷika-tiḷakam tējō-niḍḍi Valakramadēvarā Śrī-namdanan-
eseye tamna lalit-ākāram || [9*] Ā jagadu-
- 24 vīran=anvay-āvatāram=emt=emdaḍe || Para-nrī(nṛi)pa-marḍḍanam subhaṭan=Ācharasārā
kalī Nākī=bhūmipam suruchira-kīrtti Simha-
- 25 vī(vi)bhuv=aggada Dāsama-mamḍaḷēsvaram narapati Dāma-bhūmipati śauryya-
dhanam vinutam Chauvumda¹-bhūvaran=enō mūrtti
- 26 Chāma-nṛipan=emba sahōdha(da)rar=ādar=ērvvarum || [10*] Avar-olag-Āchugi-
bhūpamg=avirala-śi(sī)ta-kīrtti puttīdam Bammarasam bhuva-
- 27 na-jana-stutyam pārtthiva-Pārttham Simda-vamśa-chūḍaratnam || [11*] Ātanoda-
vuttidam vikhyāta-yaśam Simha-bhūmipā-
- 28 ḷana tane(na)yam pātī(tī)ta-rīpu-nrī(nṛi)pa-varggam bhūtaḷadoḷu negaḷdan
abhe(bha)yan=Āchugi=bhūpam || [12*] Maleyam
- 29 sādhisī Dāhaḷ-ādhipatīyam bem-komḍu muk-irdda dōr-vvaladimḍ=Uppina-
kadde(tte)yam kavardhdu(rdu) samgrām-āgradoḷu sam-
- 30 ḍa mey-galiy=āg-irdda Kaḍāra-Gamganān=agurv=arv=īḷvīnam komḍu bhūtaḷa-
doḷu tām=esedh(d)-irddan=Āchugi-nrī(nṛi)pā-
- 31 ḷam Simda-vamś-ōttamam || [13*] Ā negaḷd-Ācharasaxgarā mānīnī² Mā-
dēvīarasigam puttīdan=urvī-nuta-vibhavam satya-
- 32 niḍḍānam Permmāḍi-dēvan=apratīma-yaśam || [14*] Ghana-bāhā-baḷadimḍe
Hoysalana matt-ēbhamgālam vastu-vāhenamam kom-
- 33 ḍ=atadhīranam Torahanam bem-komḍu tūld=cydī mutṭi neram-bārade katti
tamdu chaladhi(di)m Chālukya-rāyamge kottan=anūna-pra-
- 34 baḷa-pratāpa-vibhavam Permmāḍi-bhūpāḷakam || [15*] Ene negaḷda Permma-
bhūbhujan=anujam vidviṣṭa-mamḍaḷēsvara-kāmṭā-
- 35 jana-karnna-patra-vichchēḍanan=apratīma-pratāpī Chavumda-nrī(nṛi)pam || [16*]
Vara-hōm-āgnīta(ya) vāji-māmsaman=alampim melva mātamga-bhī-
- 36 kara-kumbha-sthita-rakta-pānaman=arutt=ānamdadim pīrvva nishthura-nī(nī)strimśa-
nī(nī)j-āsiyoḷu neredu Dēvi-samgaram sādhipar=dhḍhurado-
- 37 ḷu chitram=id=alte śatru-mahipar=Chēhāvumda-bhūpāḷanīm || [17*] Kula-śaḷam
rajat-ādriyam ḷaladhi dugdh-āmbhōdhryam vāhūnī-
- 38 kuḷam=Imdhr(dr)-āpageyam tamāla-taru kalp-ōrvvijamam Viṣṇu nī(nī)rmmaḷe
Gamgāḍharanam ḍamam³ nereye pōlt-irpp=a[m]negarā parvvitt(t)=u-
- 39 j[^{*}]vaḷa-kīrtti dyuti-līleyi[m^{*}] trijagamam Chāvumḍa-bhūpāḷanam(na) || [18*]
Ant=enisī negardda śrīman-mahāmamḍaḷēsvaram sāhas-ō-
- 40 ttunga-Vīra-Chāvumdarasa-dēvan=arddh-āṁga-Lakshmi patta-mahādēviy=amtahpura-
mukha-darppaṇe Śrīyādēvi-
- 41 yarasiy=anvay-āvatāram=emt=emdaḍe || Naranāth-āgranī Bijalam Kalachuri-
kaḥmāpālan=ayyam gun-ākare-
- 42 y=ād=Ēchaladēvi tāyī nrī(nṛi)pa-varam śrī-Vajradēvam sahōdaran=atyumnata-
Simda-vamśyan=ādhipam Chāvumdan=emdamde
- 43 ḍaku Śrīyādēviy-ol=ār=eraḷ-kuladoḷam sampūjeyaru rānyaru || [19*] Ant=enisī
negarda Śrīyādēviyara-

¹ To be scanned *Chavumḍa*.² Read *mānīnī*.³ Perhaps an error for *disūm* or something of the kind.

- 44 sigam Chāvumda-mamdalēśvaramgam puttīdar-ad-ent-ēmdaḍe || Dhareyam
pālisal-ēmdo Gaurige Gajāsyam Shanmukham Sīteg-u-
- 45 dhdhura-tījaṁ Lava-bhūbhujam Kuśī-nri(nri)pam śrī-Dēvakī-dēvig-ādaradimdam
Bala-Kri(Kri)shnar-udbhavipa volu lō-
- 46 k-ōttamar-pputtīdar-Ssriyādēvig[^{o*}] Vīra-Bijjala-nri(nri)pam Vīdkayyan=emba
ātmaru || [20*] Avar olage || Prajeyam pāl(hi)-
- 47 si dharmamamaṁ nī(ni)li si(śi)shita-vrātamaṁ kād-ari-brajamaṁ sōdu niramtaraṁ
vipula-lakṣmī-dhāman-ādam mahibhu-
- 48 ja-chūdīmanī Simda-vamśyan-ajitam śrī-Vīdkramādityan-āpta-jan-ōdyam-nidhi mam-
dalēś-tilakam Chāvumdadēv-ātmaru || [21*] Khyātam bālyadoḷam Mām-
- 49 dhātam tām-eni(ni)si mēmdalika-Mimdbātam bhūtalamaṁ pālisidam nūtana-Baliy-
enisī Vīdkramāditya-nri(nri)pam || [22*] Tatu-pāda-padma-ōpa-
- 50 jīrī || Āhava-dhīrana vidyu(dvi)d-byūha-bhayaṁl arana Vī(Vi)dkramādityana
samnāham tām-ene Bācheya-Sāhani śaran-āgat-aika-rakṣhāmaṁ-
- 51 yam || [23*] Satya-parākkramam para-hita-bratiy-ent-Erakāti Vīdkramādityana
bīdinoḷu negalḍan-amte jagam-nuta-vīra-Vīdkramāditya-
- 52 na bīdinoḷu negalḍan-ī śu(su)bbat-āgrany-ēmdu bannikūḥ bhri(bhri)tya-nidhāna-
nam negalḍa Bācheya-Sāhaniyam jagaj-janam || [24*] Ant-akhamdi-
- 53 ta-dōr-ddamda-pratāpanum²-av amdhya(mdhya)-l ōpanuṁ rana-ranga-simhanum
vimala-kīrti-latā-kandanum vijaya-lakṣmī-kāntanum-eni-
- 54 sīda mahā-pradhānam s'nādhipati bāhattara-niyōgi mamdalika-sāhani-śrōmaṁ
śrīmatu-Bāchayya-Sāhani-
- 55 ya binnapadrī || Svasti Samadhiyata-pamecha-mahā-śabda-mahāmamda[ēśvaram
uddamda-mamdalika-ripu-Madana-Mahēśvaram Simda-Gōvīdamnuy³-udātta-Rā-
- 56 manum vairi-mamdalika-śrō-Vajra-damdanum-enisīda śrīmanu-mahāmamda[ēśvaram
Vīra-Vīdkramādityadēva-rasam Kisukāḍ-eppattu-
- 57 man-āḷdu dushta-nigraha-śiṣṭa-parip[ī]anadim tribhōg-ābhyamtara-siddhīyimd-āḷdu
Lakṣmī-svayambaram-enisīda nija-rājadhāniy-app-E-
- 58 rambarageya nele-vīdinoḷu sukha-samkathā-vinōdadim rājyam-geyyuttam-irddu
dharmma-prasamgaḷu ||
- 59 Dharmma cva hatō hamti dharmmō rakṣatī rakṣitah [1*] tasmād=dharmmō na
hamtavya[^{a*}]sarvv-aśvarya-pha[⁴]csubhīḥ || [25*] emba subhāśi(śhī)ta-
vachanamgaḷam kēḷdu tām
- 60 sājadim dharmma-buddhiy-appudamdam tamma bappaṁ śrīman-
mahāmamda[ēśvaram Chāvumdarasa-dēvargge parōksha-vinayam(ya)-prā-
- 61 yaśchitta-nimuttam Yorambarageyalu bhū-dāna-grī(gri)ha-dāna-gō-dāna-suvarṇa-
dānamgaḷam māḍuttam-irdda tat-kāladoḷu || Svasti Ya-
- 62 ma-niyama-svādhyāya-dhyāna-dhārana - mō(mau)n - ānushṭhāna - parāyaṇa - japa - samādhi-
śi(śi)la-sampannam yau(au)pāsan-āgni-hōtra-
- 63 dvija-guru-dēva-pūjā-tatpararuṁ mārtaṁd-ō[j*]va[^a]kīrti-yutayam Torapa⁴-kul-
ānatakarum-appa śrīman-mah-āgrāhāram Rōṇaḍa

¹ Read -ōpajīva-² Read -Gōvīdamnuy.³ Read -pratāpanum=⁴ The scribe seems to have actually written -aśvarya phra[^a].

- 64 nūra-nālvā=aśēśa(sha)-mahājanamga|a samnidhānadā|-alliya Kalla-maṭhad-
āchāryya-Gurubhaktadēvargge || Avara guru-ku|am=cmt=emdaḍe Kū|ā-
- 65 mukha-Parvvat-āvali-tapō-nī(ni)shthā-parar=enisi nega|da Koppina Vakhkhānadēvar=
avara śiśhyam Rudraśaktidēvaru avara śiśhya[m*] Jānāśaktidēvar=ava-
- 66 ra śiśhyam Gurubhaktadēvargge Sa(Sa)ka-varsha 1102neya Vikāri-
samvatsarada Āśvayī(yu)|ad=amavāso Sōmavāradaṁdu tamma
- 67 Kīśukāda nāda ba|iya bāḍam Hīriya Maniyūra samasta-guṇa-viśēś(śh)-ōmnatar=
app=ūr-[o*]deya-mukhyamv¹=al[|*]iy=aṣuvatt[|*]-okka-
- 68 lum samasta-prajegalu sahitam Rōṇada Kalla-maṭa(tha)da Chāmēśvara-dēvara
nitya-pūjā-naivēdya-gamdha-dhūpa-dīpa-Chaitra-pavitram naḍev=amt=ā-
- 69 giy=alhy=āchāryya Gurubhaktā-dēvara pāda-prakṣhālanam-geydu dhārā-pūrvvakam
māḍi rāja-dattiy=āgi sarvva-na-
- 70 masyam māḍi kotṭa keyi mattaru hamneraḍu alliya Mā|ēśvara-dēvara
naivēdyakke kotṭa keyi mattar=eraḍu || Amt=ā vṛi(vṛi)ttige stha-
- 71 |av=āvud=emdaḍe Hīriya Maniyūra mūḍaṇa holadim kaḍeyalu Rōṇada
paduva-volada kambī-
- 72 vodduge temkalu Chukka Maniyūra holadim baḍagalu kambī-vodduge baḍagalu
Mudiyānūra holadim temkalu kambī-vodduge am-
- 73 tu nālkum deseyalu kavileya kallam nattu kotṭaru || Imt-ī dharmmamam
Hīriya Maniyūra vūr-oḍeyanum samasta-
- 74 prajega|um sadharmmadim pratipālisuvaru || Dānam vā pālanam v=āpī dānāch-
chhrēyō=nupālanam [|*] dānāt=svarggam=avāpnōti pā-
- 75 lanād=achyutam padam || [26*] Vīra-Bijjanadēvanum Vikkarasanum keṛege
mattar=eraḍu aṣavat[|*]gege mattar=eraḍu amtu
- 76 bitta mattaru 4 Maniyūra ūr-oḍeyarum aṣuvatt=okkalum pratipālisu-
varu || ☉
- 77 Mattam Vīra-Bijjanadēvarasanum Vikkara[sa*]num Kalla-mathada
Chāmēśva(śva)ra-dēvarige bitta keyi Mudiyānūra
- 78 he(ho)lad=olage mattaru 6 Rōṇada he(ho)lada kambiy-oddugey=āgi paḍuvalu
Hīriya Ma-
- 79 niyūra he(ho)lada kambiy-oddugey=āgi baḍagalu Mudiyānūra ūr-oḍeyarū
aṣ[u*]va-
- 80 tt=okkalum pratipālisuvaru ||

TRANSLATION.

(Verse 1) Homage to Śambhu lovely with the yak-tail fan that is the moon kissing his lofty head, the foundation-column for the construction of the city of the Threefold World.

(Verse 2) Hail! surrounded by the ring of the whole earth, abounding in goodly treasures of brilliant pearls and the like, decking the face of the sky with garlands of thousands of upspringing lofty waves, the tossing Ocean tenanted by crowds of fishes and dolphins, when one gazes in meditation, is fair to the sight, being exceedingly praised by the world.

(V 3) When, swelling up on its shores, rising aloft, beating against the bright sky, it rocks about so that fine pearls arising from the blows of the trunks of troops of water-elephants are showered around, the Ocean, most incomparable in its thunders, surrounding the globe of the world, attracts the eye as one gazes, as though it were driving holes in the face of the heavens with its floods of stainless billows

(Ll 6-8) In the very middle of Jambū-dvīpa, which, with the ocean thus resplendent as its bound, is brilliant in being adorned with grotto-bowers in the principal mountains of all the continents and in being a blessed land richly endowed with power to remove all guilt—

(V 4) Conspicuous indeed is Mount Mēru, charming with jewelled peaks, which is full of echoes of the murmurs of celestial damsels' amorous dalliance, where the tribes of birds¹ are fascinated by the sounds of Kinnaris' sweet songs, and where brilliant moonstones are besmeared with lustrous saffron from the lotus-feet of Siddhas' wives

(Ll 10-11) On the south of this Golden Mountain is the land of Bharata in it—

(V 5) All the fields are encompassed by lines of fragrant rice-crops, all the series of parks encircled by mango-trees bending with the weight of fruit, all the multitudes of pools charmingly powdered with pollen of bursting lotuses, all the towns splendidly abounding in crowds of people, kine, and grain thus appears the bright aspect of the land of Kuntala

(L 14) In this land of Kuntala—

(V 6) With many villages, with numbers of market-towns, with crowds of store-places, with multitudes of elegant hamlets, with abundance of *khavada*-villages, towns, and *madamba*-villages, together, with a series of beautiful *drōṇā-mukha*-towns,² with the multitude of rivers, the central province is unique amidst the realms of the vast earth in-charming the eye with its loveliness

(V 7) The lord of this Kuntala is the heroic king Sankama, brilliant with lustrous glory, a Thunderbolt-wielder [Indra] to the mountains, haughty foes, a miracle of valour.

(Ll 17-18) As regards the splendour of the arm of the lord of this land —

(V 8) King Sankama, an intrepid Lord of Lankā,³ stainless of glory, unceasingly tearing up and destroying puissant hostile monarchs, winning, member by member, their emblems of royalty (and) the treasures of their noble lands, in fine sport has supported on the circle of his arm the whole ring of the ocean-encompassed earth.

(Ll 20-21) While the reign of the Kalachurya emperor thus described, Sankama-dēvarasa, was advancing in a course of successively increasing prosperity, (to endure) as long as moon, sun, and stars —

(Ll 21-22) In the bright land of Kuntala is Kisukādu, a province containing towns that are full of abundant fruit, grain, kine, and money.

(V 9) The ruler of this province is a delight to the needy, an ornament of Sinda Mandakhas, a treasure of splendour, Vikramadēva, a child of Fortune,⁴ whose own charming form is conspicuous

(Ll 23-24) As regards the lineage of this world-hero —

(V 10) There were seven brethren, to wit, the warrior Acharasa, who crushed hostile monarchs, the valiant king Nāki, prince Simha most brilliant of fame, the excellent baron Dāsama, king Dāma, lord of men, the famed person, rich in valour, known as king Chāvunḍa, (and) king Chāma

¹ [The text (p 229, l 9 above) has *dvīpa* which means 'elephant' Perhaps *dvīpa* is meant —Ed]

² Definitions of the terms *grāma*, *paṭṭana*, *saṃvāhana*, *khēḍa*, *khavada*, *ṇagara*, *madamba*, and *drōṇa-mukha* are to be found in the *Kāṃikāgama* XX. 4-10 and *Yugādi-dēśanā* V. 50, cf. my translation of *Anlagada-dasā*, p 45 n.

³ A variation of the commoner title *nissanka-Rāma*

⁴ *Śrī-nandana*, a play on the name of his mother *Sriyādēvi* (see below)

(V 11) Among these, there was born to king Āchugi, Bammarasa, possessing abundant bright fame, lauded by the folk of the world, a Pṛithū's son (Arjuna) among monarchs, a crest jewel of the Sinda race

(V 12) The son of his (Āchugi's) full-brother the renowned king Simha, the fearless king Āchugi (II), who laid low troops of hostile sovereigns, was illustrious on earth.

(V 13) Overcoming the Highlands, driving into flight the lord of Dāhala, with exceeding strength of arm sacking Uppina-katte, slaying in the forefront of battle that worthy man of true valour the Ganga of Kadāra when his awful power of destruction was at its height, king Āchugi, best of the Sinda race, was in turn illustrious on the earth

(V 14) To this distinguished Ācharasa and his high-spirited consort Mādēviyarasi was born Permādīdēva of world-renowned majesty, a treasure of truthfulness, incomparable in glory

(V 15) By the strength of his robust arm winning the Hoysala's fiery elephants (*and*) treasure-waggon, driving into flight the very bold Toraha, pursuing, approaching, coming into touch, binding (*him*) with none coming to aid, king Permādī, splendid in perfect puissant majesty, boldly carried (*him*) off and handed (*him*) over to the Chālukya king

(V 16) The younger brother of this distinguished king Perma was king Chāvunda (II), who plucked away the leaves in the ears of hostile barons' mistresses, incomparable in majesty

(V 17) On meeting with the blade pertaining to (*his*) grim sword, which devours splendidly the flesh of horses (*destined as it were*) for noble oblation-fires, (*and*) stabbing drinks joyfully draughts of blood lodged in the terrible temples of elephants, enemy kings, strange to say, do verily in battle fulfil the vow of the Goddess by means of king Chāvunda ¹.

(V 18) The brilliant fame of king Chāvunda has spread through the triple world with the sport of its lustre, so that the central mountains become verily like to the Silver Mountain (*i e*, Vaitādhya), the ocean to the Sea of Milk, the series of rivers to Indra's stream, the *tamāla* trees (*Xanthochymus pictorius*) to the Tree of Desire, Vishnu to the stainless Bearer of the Ganges (Śiva).²

(Ll 39-41) As regards the lineage of Siriyādēviyarasi, the Fortune forming half the body of the Mahāmandalēśvara king Vira-Chāvundarasa exalted in valour who was thus illustrious, his royal consort, the mirror to the face of the scraglio.—

(V 19) Seeing that her father was the Kalachuri monarch Bijjala, foremost of lords of men, her mother Ēchaladēvi, a mine of virtues, her brother the blest Vajradēva, best of kings, her husband Chāvunda, scion of the most exalted Sindas, what queens forsooth in the two races were so highly honoured as Siriyādēvi?

(Ll 43-44) As regards the (*sons*) born to this illustrious Siriyādēviyarasi and the Mandalēśvara Chāvunda.—

(V 20) As to Gaurī, for the protection of earth, were born the Elephant-faced (*i e*, Ganēśa) and Shanmukha, as to Sītā king Lava immense of splendour (*and*) king Kuśa, as to the blest lady Dēvakī by act of grace were born Bala and Krishna, (*so*) were born to Siriyādēvi as sons, best of the world, king Vira-Bijjala (*and*) Vikkayya

¹ The meeting of the enemy kings with Chāvunda's sword is compared to the union of devotees of Kālī with the hierophant Chāvunda's sword destroys their horses and elephants, as the priest's knife slaughters the victims presented by worshippers before they are burned in the fire

² The whiteness of his fame makes every dark-coloured object appear to be of a brilliant white hue The rhetorical figure is *tad guna*

(L 46) Of these (*two sons*) —

(V 21) Guarding (*his*) subjects, establishing religion, protecting men of culture, driving away foes, the blest **Vikramāditya**, crest-jewel of monarchs, scion of the **Sindas**, invincible, an exalted treasure to friends, an ornament of barons, son of king **Chāvunda**, has been everlastingly a seat of abounding fortune

(V 22) King **Vikramāditya**, renowned even in boyhood as a very **Māndhātā**, has protected the earth, a **Māndhātā** among barons, known as a new **Bali**.

(Ll 49-50) One who finds sustenance at his lotus-feet—

(V 23) **Bācheya-Sāhanī**, a unique protective gem for seekers of his protection, known as the very armour of **Vikramāditya** stout in the fray (*and*) terrible to hosts of foemen —

(V 24) “As flourished in the palace of **Vikramāditya**, **Erakātī** true in valour (*and*) devoted to the weal of others, so there has flourished in the palace of the world-famed hero **Vikramāditya** this most eminent of warriors” thus the people of the world extol the illustrious **Bācheya Sāhanī**, a treasure to dependents

(Ll 52-55) On the petition of **Bāchayya Sāhanī**, the High Minister, General of the Forces, holder of seventy-two offices, head-jewel of princely Officers of the Stables, who is thus styled ‘majestic with invincible rod-like arm, not to be baulked in wrath, lion on the stage of battle, root of the creeping-plant of stainless fame, beloved of the Fortune of victory’—

(Ll 55-61) Hail! While the **Mahāmandalēśvara** who has obtained the five great (*musical*) sounds, the **Mahāmandalēśvara Vikramāditya-dēvarasa**, who is styled “a **Mahēśvara** to the Love-god haughty hostile barons, a **Gōvinda** of the **Sindas**, a **Rāma** among the noble, a Thunderbolt-wielder to the heads of opponent barons,” administering the **Kisukādu Seventy**, and governing it so as to suppress the wicked and protect the cultured, with internal authority over the three forms of enjoyment,¹ was reigning with enjoyment of pleasant conversations in his capital city the standing camp of **Erambarage**, which is styled **Lakshmi's Svayamvara**, in the course of a religious address he heard the following moral verses “Religion when harmed harms, religion when guarded guards, therefore religion should not be harmed by those who desire fruits of paramount lordsh.p”² As he himself was naturally of a godly spirit, he dispensed in **Erambarage** gifts of lands, houses, kine, and gold in pious memory of his father the **Mahāmandalēśvara Chavundarasa-dēva** and for the lustration (*of his soul*), and in the course thereof —

(Ll 61-64) In the presence of all the Hundred-and-four **Mahājanas** of the Great **Agrahāra of Rōna**, who are—hail!—devoted to the performance of the major and minor disciplines, scriptural study, meditation, spiritual concentration, and practice of silence, observant of prayer and absorption, attentive to libation in the domestic fire and to reverence of **Brāhmanas**, elders, and gods, having glory brilliant as the sun, destroyers of the race of the **Toṛapas** —

(Ll 64-66) To **Gurubhakta-dēva**, prior of the **Kalla-Matha** (=Stone monastery) of that place —As regards his spiritual lineage. **Koppina Vakhkhānadēva**, renowned as being devoted to the ascetic practice of the **Parvat-āvalī** (=Mountain-school) of the **Kālāmukhas**, his disciple **Rudrasakti-dēva**; his disciple **Jhānasakti-dēva**, to his disciple **Gurubhakta-dēva**—

(Ll 66-70) On Monday, the new-moon day of **Āśvayuja** in the cyclic year **Vikāri**, the 1102nd year of the **Śaka (era)** (*the Mahāmandalēśvara Vikramādityadēva*), in company with the local sixty households and whole population of **Hirya Maniyūr**, a town forming part of

¹ See *Ind Ant*, Vol XIX, p. 271.

² *Manu* VIII, 15

his province of *Kisukād*, headed by the mayor, who are eminent for all excellences of virtue, did with laving of the feet of the local prior *Gurubhaktadēva* and pouring of water make over as a royal gift on *sarva-namasya* tenure a field of twelve *mattar* for the maintenance of the regular worship, oblations, fragrances, incense, lamps, and *Chaitra-pavitra*¹ of the god *Chāmēśvara*, in the *Kalla-Maṭha* (stone monastery) of *Rōṇa*, (and) a field of two *mattar* for the oblations of the local god *Māḷēśvara*

(L 70-74) Now as regards the area comprised in this endowment: on the four sides, to wit, at the side by the eastern field of *Hiriyā Maṇiyūr*, the *kambī*-junction of the western field of *Rōṇa*, on the south the *kambī*-junction on the north of the field of *Chikka Maṇiyūr*, on the north the *kambī*-junction on the south of the field of *Mudīyanūr*, they set up stones (engraved with the figure) of a cow. Thus the mayor of *Hiriyā Maṇiyūr* and all the population shall maintain this pious foundation according to its rule.

(V. 26 : a standing Sanskrit formula.)

(Ll. 75-76) The 4 *mattar* which *Vira-Bijjaṇa-dēva* and *Vikkarasa* granted, namely two *mattar* for the tank (and) two *mattar* for the alms-booth, the mayors of *Maṇiyūr* and the sixty Households shall preserve.

(Ll. 77-80) Moreover, the field granted by *Vira-Bijjaṇa-dēvarasa* and *Vikkarasa* to the god *Chāmēśvara* of the Stone-monastery, 6 *mattar* within the field of *Mudīyanūr*, on the west forming a *kambī*-junction of the field of *Rōṇa*, on the north forming a *kambī*-junction of the field of *Hiriyā Maṇiyūr*, the mayors of *Mudīyanūr* and the sixty Households shall preserve.

NO 39—TWO HARSOLA COPPER PLATE GRANTS OF THE PARAMARA SIYAKA OF V S 1005

By K N DIKSHIT, M A AND D B DISKALKAR, M A

The two grants published here are in the possession of a *Visanagarā Nāgar Brahman* named *Bhatt Magan Motiram* of the village *Harsola* in the *Parāntij* taluka of the *Ahmadābād* District of *Gujarāt*. *Rao Bahadur Keshavlal H. Dhruva* of *Ahmadābād* first obtained information about them and tried his best to secure them for the preparation of impressions. The owner was unwilling to part with them for any consideration. He, however, allowed *Rao Bahadur Dhruva* to have them photographed and lent them for a few hours for personal examination. The *Rao Bahadur* kindly placed the photographs at our disposal for the purpose of deciphering and publication. Subsequently through the kind efforts of *Mr. Dayabhai P. Derasari*, Bar-at-law of *Ahmadābād*, the *Brahman* lent to us the plates for a few days for taking impressions from which the accompanying facsimiles have been prepared.

The grants, herein called A & B, consist of two plates each, engraved only on the inner side. All the four plates were most probably joined together by means of a ring passing through a small hole in the centre at the bottom of the first and third and the top of the second and fourth plates. *Mr. Dhruva* informs us that two of the plates were found joined together by a ring, the remaining two being loose. From the presence of the *Gartuḍa* symbol on only one of the sets of the plates it, however, seems probable that all the four plates were originally joined together, the grants being issued by the same king on the same day to two *Brahmans*, related to each other as father and son. For the sake of convenience the father's grant has been designated in this article as grant

¹ See *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XXXVIII, p. 52.

A and the son's, as B At the left hand bottom of the second plate of grant A is incised the figure of flying Garuda holding a snake in his left arm The Garuda symbol is found on some of the Rāshtrakūta records, the newly discovered Ahmadābād grant of V S 1026 of Siyaka himself¹ and the plates of the Paramāra princes Vākpati-Muñja and Bhōja, the son and the grandson, respectively, of Siyaka of these grants.

The grant A has 27 lines of writing, 16 being written on the first and 11 on the second plate In grant B, there are 29 lines, 13 in the first plate and 16 in the second The first plate has been more carefully engraved The writer of the grant B began with bold letters and had to compress the concluding few lines within a short space, the penultimate line being incised practically on the edge and the last word written vertically on the right hand margin.

The characters used in the plates belong to the northern class of alphabets prevalent in the 10th century A D and generally resemble the letters of contemporary inscriptions, e g, the Parīāgarh inscription² of the time of the Pratihāra Mahēndrapāla II, dated Samvat 1003 The use of the archaic as well as the advanced forms of letters in these two grants would indicate that the alphabet employed in them was undergoing a change during the period to which they belong A few examples may be given to illustrate this point Initial *a* is found in at least three different forms, (cf *a* in *adṛṣṭa*, in grant A, line 19 and grant B, line 21 and in *anumantavyah*, in grant B, line 25) In grant A, the initial *ē* is a triangle with the apex at the bottom (line 8) Of the consonants, *lha* occurs in grant A in the older form with loops to the left of each of the two verticals, while in grant B it approximates to the modern Nāgarī form (see *kha* in l 3) In grant A, *ta* occurs more frequently in the earlier form in which the top vertical is straight and the lower limb consists of two curves, the one on the right being at times longer In grant B, the modern form of *ta* where the right curve is merely the continuation of the top vertical, is more predominant The letter *pha* occurs in grant A in a rare form resembling the Greek ϕ

Regarding orthography, it may be noted that no distinction is observed between *va* and *ba*, as in most of the inscriptions of the period Dental *sa* is substituted for *śa* in *vsāla* (line 11) The *ha* of *simha* is changed into *gha* in two places (ll 1 and 6) The use of the *anusvāra* is generally preferred to that of the class nasal, in some cases both the *anusvāra* and the class nasal are used (cf *avalambita*, grant A, line 11) Some mistakes are repeated in both the grants, e g, *trina* is written as *trina* in *trināgra* (grant A, line 16, grant B line 17). With *r*, the following *ka*, *ja*, *na*, *ma* and *va* and the preceding *t* are generally doubled

The language is Sanskrit Except for the opening verse in honour of the Man-lion incarnation of Vishnu, the three verses describing the pedigree of the donor and the two imprecatory verses at the end, the documents are in prose throughout

The grants open with an invocation of the God Vishnu in his Nṛsiṃha incarnation Then follows the mention of the two kings *Amoghavarsha* and *Akālavarsha*, with the epithets *Paramabhātāraka*, *Mahārājādhirāja*, and *Paramēśvara* The latter, who is mentioned as meditating on the feet of the former, has the two additional epithets *Prthivīvallabha* and *Śrīvallabha-narēndra*.

¹ Above Vol. XIX, p 177

² Above Vol. XLV, pp. 176 & 183.

Now, there cannot be any doubt that the two kings here mentioned¹ are the well-known sovereigns of the Rāshtrakūta dynasty of Mālkhed, either Amōghavarsha I and Kṛishna II whose combined reigns extend over about a century (814-911 A D) or Amōghavarsha III and Kṛishna III (934-961 A D). Possibly some portion of the original draft is missing here through the engraver's oversight for, immediately after this, follows a verse which mentions that 'in that family' was born the famous king Bappaiparāja whose son was Vairisimha. The expression 'in that family' presupposes the mention of the family, but the immediately preceding expression is the genitive case-ending *narēndra-pādānām*, which is hardly appropriate. Then occurs a verse in praise of Vairisimha, which is followed by another, mentioning that the king Siyaka was born to him. In the subsequent prose eulogy of Siyaka, we find that he is called a *Mahāmandahka-chūdāmani* and *Mahārājādhrāja-pati*. The grants are mentioned as having been made at the instance of the ruler of the Khētaka-mandala (corresponding roughly to the modern Kaira District). The records say that on his return from a successful expedition against Yōgarāja, the king was encamped on the banks of the Mahī, where, after offering worship to Śivanātha (most probably at the shrine of Sarnāl, a place of considerable repute) he gave away the villages of Kumbhārōtaka and Sihakā in the Mōhadavāsaka-*viśaya* respectively to Lallōpādhyāya, son of Gōvarḍhana and Ninā Dikshita, son of Lallōpādhyāya, Nāgara (Brahmans) of Ānandapura, belonging to the Gōpālī-gōtra. The *dāpaka*² or person who caused the grants to be given, probably the officer who was entrusted with the duty of issuing the grants, was the *Thakkuna* Śrī-Vishnu. The grants were written by the *Kāyastha* Guṇadhara. The last line in both grants contains the sign-manual of the king Siyaka.

The date of the grants is given as 'Samvat 1005, Māgha v(b)a dī 30, Budhe' which corresponds to *Wednesday, the 31st January, 949 A D*, thus showing that the year was a *Kārtikādi*³ expired year and the month was *amānta*. The occasion for the grant was the *chandrārkkha-yōga-parva*, which may mean simply an *amāvāsyā* and not necessarily an eclipse of the sun. There was no solar eclipse on the date.

The grants are of great historical interest, as they are the earliest records of the Paramāra dynasty and as such have considerable bearing on the history of Gujarāt. In regard to the details of the last years of Chāvdā rule, especially the period from 940 A D to 960 A D, the Jain Chronicles are hopelessly at variance. The late Dr Bhagvanlal Indraji says in his history of Gujarāt,⁴ "The period of Chāvdā rule at Anahilavāḍa is likely to remain obscure until the discovery of contemporary inscriptions throws more light upon it than can be gathered from the confused and contradictory legends collected by the Solanki historians, none of whom are older than the twelfth century." In dealing with the period when the Rāshtrakūtas of Mālkhed

¹ The identical expression *paramabhaṭṭāraka mahārājādhrāja-paramēśvara-śrīmad Amōghavarshadēva pādānūdhyāt paramabhaṭṭāraka mahārājādhrāja paramēśvara-śrīmad Alilavarshadēva Prithivīvallabha Śrīma vallabha narāndradīva*, is used to denote Kṛishna III in the Karhāda plates of Kṛishna III dated Śaka 880 (*Ep Ind.*, Vol IV, p 278ff) and with the addition of *paramamūh śvara*, in the Dēoli plates of the same king dated in Śaka 862 (*Ep Ind.*, Vol V p 188ff). The date of the present inscription (equivalent to Śaka 870) is just intermediate between the Dēoli and Karhāda inscriptions. It is possible that Kṛishna III was at this time the overlord of Siyaka and his name may have therefore been given the place of honour. The epithet *mahā-maṇḍalīr-chūdāmani* is in consonance with this view. But other indications may seem to favour the view that the expression ending with *narēndra-pādānām* in the present plates refers to the Rāshtrakūta King Kṛishna II.

² See above Vol. XIX, p 178 f n 1.

³ See above Vol. XVIII, p 321.

⁴ *Bombay Gazetteer*, Vol I, Part I page 155.

held sway over Gujarāt, he admits¹ that no materials exist for fixing how long after A D 914, Gujarāt belonged to the Mānyakheta Rāshtrakūtas, and ventures the suggestion that probably they continued until their destruction in A D 972 by the Chālukya king Taila or Tailapa. The present grants, I think, would go to supply the required information to a large extent. It is possible that the Yōgarāja of the present grants was a chief of the Chāpōtkata or Chāvdā dynasty of Anahilavāda-Pātan (if the account of some Jain *prabandhas* that the Chāvdā rule ended in V S 1017 instead of in V. S 998 is correct), or of the Chālukya dynasty of Southern Kāthiāwār.² As Siyaka when returning from his expedition against Yōgarāja was encamped (near Sārnāl) on the banks of the Mahī, it follows that Yōgarāja's principality must lie somewhere to the west of the Mahī and of the Khētaka-mandala, which was in his own possession. The Chāpōtkatas of Pātan and the Chālukyas of South Kāthiāwār acknowledged the overlordship of the Pratihāra kings of Kanauj and Siyaka's intimate connection with the Rāshtrakūtas, the enemies of the Pratihāras, explains why he attacked Yōgarāja.

The Siyaka of the present grants is no doubt Siyaka II, the father of Vākpati-Muñja, whose date in his Dharampuri copper plates being 974 A D³ was 25 years later than the date of the present records or, just the period of a generation. In fact Mabel Duff⁴ actually gives 950 A D. as the date of Siyaka II, the Paramāra, probably working backwards from the known dates of Vākpati-Muñja. He is also identical with the Siyaka of the Ahmadābād grant of V S 1026. Siyaka's father's name is Vairisimha in this, as well as in all previously known Paramāra records. The Vākpati-Muñja grants give the name of the father of Vairisimha as Kṛishna, who may be identical with Bappaiparāja of the present grant and with Vākpati I of the *Navasāhasānlacharita* of Parimala and the Udayapur *Prasasti*.⁵ It may be noted that Bappa is a good Prākṛit equivalent of Vākpati.

The Udayapur *Prasasti*⁶ further mentions two forbears of Vākpati I, viz, Vairisimha I and Siyaka I, but as no historical fact is recorded regarding them except that they followed each other in the direct line of succession, we can assume that they had not established their power,⁷ and the first prince of the family who assumed importance was Bappaipa or Vīkpati or Kṛishna.

We find no mention in the present records of the mythical ancestor Paramāra, born of the sacrificial fire on Mount Abu. Mr C V Vaidya in his article⁸ on the exploded myth of Agnikulas mentions that of the four supposed Agnikula families only the Paramāras seem to trace their descent to Agni, from their Udayapur inscription. At least the present records, which are earlier than any other record of the Paramāras, are silent on this point.

The presence of the *birudas* *Amōghavarsha* *Prithvīvallabha* and *Śrīvallabha* among the titles of Vākpati-Muñja have never been explained before, but on the basis of the relationship of the Paramāras with the Rāshtrakūtas revealed by the present grants, it is now possible to do so. From the fact that only Amōghavarsha I and Akālavarsha (Kṛishna II) are mentioned in the plates, it seems that these two princes were held in special esteem by the early Paramāras. What exactly the relation between the two families was it is difficult to say, but possibly the Paramāras were descended from a Rāshtrakūta prince.⁹ As some of the Vākātaka¹⁰ plates begin with a

¹ *Bombay Gazetteer*, Vol. I, Part I, page 131

² Above Vol IX, p. 2f.

³ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. VI, p. 48f

⁴ *The Chronology of India*, p. 92. See also *Journal of Indian History*, Vol. IV, p. 80

⁵ Above Vol. I, p. 233

⁶ Or their names might have been repeated in the genealogy through mistake. See *Proceedings of the Madras Oriental Conference*, p. 303ff. and *History of Medieval Hindu India* by C V Vaidya, Vol. II, p. 118

⁷ *J. B. B. R. A. S.*, Vol. XXVI, p. 110.

⁸ Above Vol. XV, p. 39 and *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. LIII, p. 48

description of the Gupta Emperors, from whom queen Prabhāvatī was descended, so the Paramāras may have been descended from the Rāshtrakūta kings Amoghavarsha and Akalavarsha through a Rāshtrakūta princess, and, therefore, the present record opens with the names of the two Rāshtrakūta sovereigns. It is also possible that Bappaiparāja was a general of Kṛishṇa II Akalavarsha at the time of the latter's invasion of Gujarāt and annexation of the domains of the local branch of the Rāshtrakūtas sometime about 900 A D. He or his son Vairisumha may have crossed over from Gujarāt to Mālwā and laid the foundation of the rule of their family in that province. From the present records, it seems possible that Siyaka's capital was in Mālwā, as he was marching to the east of the Mahī, possibly through the modern Pāñch Mahāls and the Jhābua State. In Gujarāt, Siyaka still had possession of the Khētaka-maṇḍala at any rate. The lord of Rādūpātī or Rudrapātī, who, the *Navasāhasāṅkacharita* tells us, was conquered by Siyaka, may possibly have been the Yōgarāja of the present grant. If Siyaka was at the time of these inscriptions subordinate to some overlord, possibly the Rāshtrakūta king, it is apparent from the statement of the Udayapur inscription that he later on fought with and defeated the Rāshtrakūta king Khotṭiga (about 970 A D).

The connection of the Paramāras with Gujarāt, after the date of these plates, no doubt lasted at least up to V. S. 1026, the date of Siyaka's Ahmadābād grant, although Mūlarāja, the founder of the Aṇhilvāḍa Chaulukyas, consolidated North Gujarāt under his rule and the Paramāras must have lost to him some portion of Northern Gujarāt which they had held. It seems that in the time of the successors of Siyaka-Vākpati and Sindhurāja, the Paramāras had ceased to hold the portion of Gujarāt under their sway. For in 975 A D we see Mūlarāja fighting with Bārappa, the Chālukya general or ruler of Lāṭa, i. e., Southern Gujarāt. Thus he could not have done had the Paramāras been holding on their territory which lay between the Aṇhilvāḍ kingdom and Lāṭa. From the Tilakvāḍa plates¹ of V. S. 1103 of the time of Paramāra Bhōja it seems, however, that Bhōja seized again a portion of Northern Gujarāt since his power was acknowledged by a king ruling over the modern Sankheḍā mahāl of the Baroda State.

It is not known when exactly the connection of the Paramāras with Mālwā began. The Partābgarh inscription² of V. S. 1003 of the time of the Pratihāra sovereign Mahēndrapāla II shows that Ujjain was then governed by an officer of Mahēndrapāla named Mādhava. Though this fact cannot be totally inconsistent with the occupation of Dhār by the Paramāras the country round about Ujjain was obtained by them not before the latter part of Siyaka's reign or the early part of Vākpati-Muñja's reign.

A king of Khētaka maṇḍala is mentioned in the grants as a subordinate chief of Siyaka. But unfortunately neither his name nor that of the family to which he belonged is given. From the Kapaḍvanj grant³ of Ś. 832 (A D 910) we know that Prachanḍa of the Brahmavāk family had gained the principality of Khētaka-maṇḍala by the favour of the Rāshtrakūta sovereign Akalavarsha and was ruling at Harshapura, modern Harsola, where our grants were discovered. The ruler of Khētaka-maṇḍala, who was the contemporary of Siyaka was probably the successor of this Prachanḍa. From our Harsola grants and the Kapaḍvanj grant it seems that the Rāshtrakūta sovereign Akalavarsha had allotted certain portions of his territories in Gujarāt to his nobles who would check the attacks of the Pratihāra enemies.

Of the localities mentioned, Khētaka-maṇḍala is roughly equivalent to the modern Kaira and parts of Ahmedābād District. Mōhaḍavāsaka must be the same as modern Mōhāsā or

¹ *Proceedings of the Poona Oriental Conference*

² Above Vol. XIV, p. 177.

³ *Bom. Gaz.* I : p. 129.



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LATE GOVERNMENT EPIGRAPHIST FOR INDIA, 1920—1925

BORN 16th September 1870
at Hoskote,
Bangalore District

Died 8th February 1928
at Bangalore

Modāsa in Prāntij *taluka* of the District of Ahmadābād The villages granted viz, **Kum-bhārōṭaka** and **Sihakā** can be identified with the present Kāmroṭ and Sikā situated at a distance of 13 miles to the east and 8 miles to the south of Modāsa, respectively **Śivanātha**, the shrine on the Mahī, which was the place of the king's encampment, can be identified¹ with Sarnāl, lying near the place where the Mahī is now crossed by the Anand-Godhra Section of the B., B & C I Ry It is still looked upon with sanctity in the neighbourhood and has an ancient Śiva temple named Gaṭeśvara which is now a protected monument. It is near the village of Janod owned by a Thākur in the Ṭhāsra *taluka* of the Kaira District, and can be approached by the railway station Angadī on the Anand-Godhra line. **Anandapura** was the original home of the Nāgara Brāhmanas and is now represented by Vadnagar, a town in the Kherālū *taluk* of the Kadi *prant*, Baroda State. It is noteworthy that these documents give us the earliest known epigraphical mention of the Nāgaras though Brāhmaṇas hailing from Anandapur are mentioned in some Valabhī inscriptions.

TEXT.²

Grant A

Grant B

- 1 ōm³ [I*] Vidyuch-chakra-kaḍāra-kēsara-satā-bhūm⁴-ām⁵v(b)uda-śrēṇayah śōnam nētra-hutāśa-dam⁶v(b)ara-bhritah simgh-ā.⁷
- 2 kṛtēh Śārṅgaṇah | viṣphūrjad-galagarjji-tarjūta-kakun-mātanga-ḍarp-ōdayāh samrambhās=sukhayamtu vaḥ khara-na-
- 3 kha-kshumna⁷-dvishad-vakshasah || [1 ||*] Parama-bhattāraka-mahārājādhirāja-paramēśvara-śrīmad-**Amōghavarsha-dēva-pād-ā**
- 4 nudhyāta-parama-bhattāraka-mahārājādhirāja-paramēśvara-śrīmad-**Akālavarshadēva-prithvīvallabha-śrīvalla-**
- 5 bha-narēndra-pādānām | Tasmin=kuḷe kal-masha-mōsha-dakshē |⁸ jātaḥ pratāp-āgni-hut-āri-pakshah | **V(B)appaipa.⁹**
- 6 **rāj**-ēti nṛpaḥ prasiddhas=tasmāt=suto=bhūd=anu **Vairisihghah¹⁰** | [2 ||*] Dṛipt-āri-vanūtā-vaktra-chandra-v(b)umv(b)akalār-

- 1 ōm³ [I*] Vidyuk-chakra⁴-kaḍāra-kēsara-satā-bhūm⁵-ām⁶v(b)uda-śrēṇayah śōnam nētra-hutāśa-ḍam⁶v(b)ara-bhṛitaḥ simgh⁷-ā-
- 2 kṛtēh Śārṅgaṇah | viṣphūrjja[d]-galagarjji-tarjūta-kakun-mātanga-ḍarp-ōdayāḥ samrambhāḥ su-
- 3 khayamtu vaḥ khara-nakha-kshumna.⁷ dvishad-vakshasah || [1 ||*] Parama-bhattāraka-mahārājādhirāja-paramēśvara-śrī-
- 4 mad-**Amōghavarshadēva-pād-ānudyāta-parama-bhattāraka-mahārājādhirāja-paramēśvara-Śrīmad-Akā-**
- 5 **lavarshadēva-prithvīvallabha-śrīvallabha-narēndra-pādānām** | Tasmin=kuḷe kal-masha-[m]ōsha-dak[shē] jātaḥ
- 6 pratāp-āgni-hut-āri-pakshaḥ | **V(B)appai.⁹ parāj**-ēti nṛpaḥ prasiddhas=tasmāt=sutō-bhūd=anu **Vairisihghah¹⁰** [2 ||*] Dṛipt-

¹ We are indebted to Mr R. D. Banerji, M A, for this suggestion. See *Ann. Rep. Arch. Surv. W. C.* for 1920 21, p 61

² From the photographs and the original plates.

³ Expressed by a symbol. [I would read Siddham instead —Ed.]

⁴ Read *Vidyuch-chakra*

⁵ Read *bhūm*

⁶ Read *si:mgh*

⁷ Read *kshumna*

⁸ Daṇḍa is superfluous

⁹ [Facsimile gives V (B) appaiya. See p 239 above —Ed.]

¹⁰ Read *Vairisihghah*

- 7 katā [*] nō dhautā yasya kīrty=āpi
Hara-hās-āvadātayā || [3*||] Durvvāra-
ripu-bhūpāla-rana-ramg-aika-nā-
- 8 yakah | nripah śrī-Siyakas=tasmāt=
kula-kalpa-drumō=bhavat || [4 ||*] sa
ēvamvidhah pranata-sakala-sāmamta-
- 9 śrōmani-marīchi-ramjita-charana-yugalāh
śrī-Khētaka-mandal-ādhipatī-pratipatti-
prativ(b)iddha-trukti (?) -
- 10 satūryā-rava-samttast-ānēka-ripu-samūhah
anēka-śamkha-dhvanī-v(b)adhūrta-pam-
cha-varnna-patākā-rājī-virā-
- 11 jita-viśāla-vaksha[s*]-sthal-āvalamv(b)ita-
kamuda-v(b)āndhavah atula-dāna-sam-
pādan-aika-kalpa-drumah mahā-mam-
da-
- 12 loka-chūdāmani-mahārājādhirāja-patī-śrī-
SĪYAKAH, sva-bhujyamāna-Mōhadav-
vāsaka-vishaya-samv(b)addha-Kum-
- 13 bhārōtaka-grāmah³ | samasta-rāja-purī-
śbān=prativāsi-janapadānś=cha v(b)ōdh-
ayat=astu⁴ vah yathā Yōgarāja-⁵
- 7 āri-vanītā-vaktra-chandra-v(b)umv(b)a-ka-
lamkatā [1*] nō dhautā yasya kīrty=āpi
Hara-hās-āvadātayā || [3*||] Durvvāra-ri-
- 8 pu-bhūpāla-rana-ra[n*]g-āika-nāyakah
nripah śrī-Siyakas=tasmāt=kula-kalpa-
drumō=bhavat || [4* ||] Sa ēvamvi-
- 9 dhah pranata-sakala-sāmamta-śrōmani-
marīchi-ramjita-charana-yugalāh śrī-
Khētaka-mandal-ū-
- 10 dhīpatī-pratipatti-prativ(b)addha-trukti (?)
sat[ū]ryā-rava-sa[m*]ttast-ānēka-ripu-sa-
mūhah anēka-śamkha-dhva=
- 11 ni-v(b)adhūrta-pamcha-varnna-patākā-rājī-
virājita-viśāla¹-vaksha[s*]-sthal-āvalam-
v(b)ita-kumuda-v(b)āndha-
- 12 vah atula-dāna-sam[p]ādan-aika-kalpa-
drumah mahā-mamdaika-cū²lāmani-
mahārājādhi-
- 13 rāja-patī-śrī Siyakah sva-bhujyamāna-
Mōhadavāsaka-vishaya-samv(b)a-
ddha-Sihakā-grā-

Second Plate

- 14 sy=ōparī yātrā-samaya-samsid-
dha-kāry-ānamtera-vyāghutitaur=Mahī-
nadī-tata-nivāsibhī=asmābhī=chamdr-
ā-
- 15 rika-yōga-parvvanī Śivanītham sama-
bhya[r]chy-āva[dhī]rya || Vāt-ābhra-
vibhramam-idam vasudh-ādhipatyam=
āpāta-
- 16 māttra-madhurō vishay-ōpabhōgah |
prānās=trin⁶-āgra-jala-vindu-samā na-
rānām⁶ dharmmah sakhā param=
ahō-
- 14 rah³ | samasta-rāja-purī śbān=pra-
tivāsi-janapadānś=cha v(b)ōdhayat
astuvah⁴ yathā Yōgarā-
- 15 jasy=ōparī yātrā-samaya-samsiddha-kāry-
ānamtera-vyāghutitaur Mahī-nadī-tata-
nivāsibhī-
- 16 r=asmābhī=chamdr-ā[r*]ka-yōga-parvvanī
Śivanītham samabhyarchy=āvadhārya
| Vāt-ābhra-vibhramam=idam vasu-

2nd Plate

- 17 para-lōka-yānē || [5*] Iti jagad=anītyam
sakalam=avadhīry=ōparī-likhitō
grāmah sa-sīnā-tīma-gōchara-pa[r]y-
am-
- 17 dh-ādhipatyam=āpāta-māttra-madhurō
vishay-ōpabhōgah | prānās-trin⁶-āgra-
jala-vindu-samā narānām dharmā-

¹ Read *Viśāla*² The phrase *sva-bhujya*³ Supply *amūdi'a* after *vah*⁴ Read *trig-*⁵ Read *chūdāmani*⁶ *grāmah* is grammatically unconnected with the preceding or following word⁷ *Punctation* is not needed

A

i

[illegible]*ii*

- 18 ta[h*] sōparakarah¹ sarvv-ādāya-samō(u)-
pētah śrīmad-Ānamda-puriya-Nāgarāya
Tryārshēyāya Gōpālī-sa-
- 19 gōttrāya Gōvarddhana-sūnave Lall-
ōpādhyāyāya mātā-pitrōr=atmanas=
cha punnya-yasō²-bhivṛddhayē ad-
rīṣhta-pha-
- 20 lam-amgīkrity=ā-chamdr-ārkk-
ārnnava-kṣhiti-sama-kālam parayā bha-
ktyā śāsanēna udaka-purvvakam
pratipādita :
- 21 ti || Tam-nivāsi³-janapadair=yathā-dīyamāna-
bhāga-bhōga-kara-hirany-ādi-sarvvam=
ājñā-śravana-vidhēyair=bhūtvā
- 22 tat-puttra-pauttr-ādibhyah samupanēta-
vyam | iti vudhvā⁷ asmad-vamsa⁸-
jair=anyair=apī bhāvi-bhōktrībhīh
mat-pradatta-dha-
- 23 rmma-dāyō=yam manumamtavyah¹⁰
pālaniyās=cha | Uktam cha | V(B)ahu-
bhīr=vvasudhā bhuktā rājabhīṣ=Śaga-
r-ādībhīh | Yasya
- 24 yasya yadā bhūmis=tasya tasya tadā
phalam || [6 || *] Yān=īha dattāni purā
narēn-drair=ddānāni dharmm-ārttha-
yāsaska-rāni | ni-
- 25 rmmālya-vānta-pratimāni tāni kō nāma
sādhuh punar=ādadita || [7 || *] Samvat
1005 Māgha v(b)a di 30 Budhē dāpa-
- 26 kō=ttra Thakkurah śrī-Vishnuh | Rāj-
ājñayā likhitam Kāyastha-Gunam-
dharēpa¹³ || Svahastō=yam śrī-Siyaka-
- 27 sya || 8 ||
- 18 s=sakhā param=ahō para-lōka-yānai² ||
[5 || *] Iti jagad=anityam sakalam=
avadhāry=ōparī-likhitō-
- 19 grāmah sa-sīmā-trina-gōchara-paryamta[h*]
sōpara¹karah sarvv-ādāya-
samō(u)pētah śrīmad-Ānamda-
- 20 puriya-Nāgarāya Tryārshēyāya Gōpālī-
sagō[trā]ya Lall-ōpādhyāya-suta-
Ninā-Dikṣhitāya
- 21 mātā-pitrōr=ātmanas=cha punya-yasō⁴-
bhivṛddhayē adrīṣhta-phalam=
amgīkrity=ā-chamdr-ārkk-ārnnava-
- 22 va-kṣhiti-sama-kālam parayā bhaktyā
śāsanēna udaka-purvvakam prati-
pādita iti || ta-nivā⁵=
- 23 si-janapadair=yathā-dīyamāna-
bhāga-bhōga-kara-hirany-ādi-sarvvam=
ājñā-śravana-vidhiyair⁶=bhū-
- 24 tvā tat-putra-pautr-ādibhyah samu-
panētavyam [1*] Iti vudhvā⁷ asmad-
vamsajair⁸=anyair=apī bhāvi-
bhōktrībhīh⁹ mat-pra-
- 25 datta-dharmma-dāyō=yam anumam-
tavyah pālaniyās=cha | Uktam
cha | V(B)ahubhīr=vvasudhā bhuktā
rājabhīṣ=Śagar-ā-
- 26 dībhīh yasya yasya yadā
bhūmis=tasya tasya tadā phalam |
[6 || *] Yān=īha dattāni pura
narēmdrair=ddānāni dharm-ārttha-
- 27 yaśaskarāṇi | nrmālya¹¹-vānta-pratimāni
tāni kō nāma sādhuh punar=
ādadita [|| 7 || *] Sa[m*] 1005 Māgha
v(b)a 3[0*]
- 28 [Budhē] dāpakō=tra Thakurah¹² śrī-
Vishnuh[1*]rāj-ājñayā likhitam Kāyas-
tha-Gunadharena | svahasto=yam
- 29 śrī-Siyakasya |

¹ Read sōparīkarah.² Read yasō³ Read buddhō⁴ Read yam=anumantavyah⁵ Read Gunadharena⁶ Read yānē⁷ Read tan-nivāsi⁸ Read vamsajair.⁹ Read nrmālya-vānta.¹⁰ Read yasō.¹¹ Read vidhēyair¹² Read bhōktrībhīh¹³ Read Thakkurah.

ABRIDGED TRANSLATION.

(Verse 1) Invocation to the man-lion form of Viṣṇu

(Lines 3-5) Of the revered king P M P. the great lord, lord of the earth, lord of wealth, the illustrious Akālavarsha, who meditated on the feet of the illustrious lord P. M. P Amōghavarsha

(v 2) In that family, skilful in removing sin, was born a famous king named Bappai-parāja, who sacrificed his enemy's forces in the fire of his valour, to him was born a son, Vairi-simha who succeeded him

(v 3) His fame, though white like the god Śiva's laugh, could not remove the spots from the moon like faces of the wives of his proud enemies

(v 4) To him was born king Siyaka, the desire-yielding tree of his dynasty, who was the sole hero on the stage of battle between him and the hostile kings.

(ll 8-20) He, whose feet were tinged with the rays of the crest-jewels of all the feudatories rendering obeisance, who had invested Trukṭi (?) at the request of the lord of the Khētaka Division, terrorized many enemy hosts by the (very) sound of his trumpets (in battle), and deafened (the enemies) by the sound of his conch, (whose army was) shining with the rows of penta-coloured banners on whose spacious breast was a pendent moon, who was the sole desire-yielding tree in bestowing unrivalled gifts, the crest jewel of the great feudatories, the lord, the overlord of kings, the illustrious Siyaka, thus commands all the officers and neighbouring villagers of the village of Kumbhārotaka (grant A), Sihakā (grant B) comprised within the district (*viśhaya*) of Mōhadavāsaka.

Be it known to you that at the time of our invasion against Yōgarāja, while returning after having accomplished our object, we were encamped on the bank of the river Mahī, after worshipping the Lord Śiva at the time of the conjunction of the sun and the moon, and reflecting that 'the sovereignty of this world is but the play of the wind and clouds, the enjoyment of sensual objects is sweet only at the outset, the life of man is like a drop of water on the tip of a blade of grass, but Dharma is the only companion on the journey to the other world,' also remembering that the whole of this world is evanescent, we have granted with great devotion the above-mentioned village, together with a charter and accompanied by (a libation of) water, as enclosed within its boundaries, along with the pastures and cattle-grazing lands, with the claim to all the dues and taxes—to the Nāgara (Brāhmana) hailing from Ānandapura, of the Gōpālī-gōtra owning three rishis (as the Pravaras of his gōtra) by name Lallopādhyāya son of Govardhana (grant A), Ninā-Dikshita son of Lallopādhyāya (grant B), for the enhancement of the religious merit and the fame of our parents as well as of ourselves The gift shall continue as long as the sun, the moon, the ocean and the earth endure

(ll 21 ff) So the inhabitants residing in that (village) being prompt in attending to our orders, shall offer him and his sons and grandsons, etc, in due succession, all the dues as are now paid such as the shares (of produce) royalties, taxes and gold, etc

Future rulers of our own dynasty as also the other princes enjoying (the sovereignty of this land) knowing this (to be our wish) should concur in and continue this grant made by us in (the cause of) religion and (it) has been said,—[Here follow two usual verses] Dated Monday the 30th day of Māgha dark half of the year 1005 Thakkura Viṣṇu was the officer who caused this to be granted, written by Kāyastha Gunadhara under the king's orders Sign manual of the illustrious Siyaka

 No 40—A THIRD LOST PLATE OF THE NIDHANPUR PLATES OF BHASKARAVARMAN.

By M. M. P. PADMANATHA BHATTACHARYYA, VIDYAVINODA, M A.

When writing on the "Two Lost Plates" of the Nidhanpur plates, I stated, "the rumour goes that a third missing plate is in the possession of a Musalman and efforts are being made to get it from him"¹ Not having been successful in recovering the plate through other means, I myself went to Nidhanpur (in Sylhet) in April 1926 and purchased this third missing plate from its possessor. From the enquiries I made in this connection, I have come to know that seven plates strung with the ring attached to the seal were found, about 2½ feet below the surface of the plinth of a whilom house, and that the discoverer (Masharraḥ) sold the plates to different persons. Of these, three along with the seal fell to the lot of Babu Pavitrānath Das, a local zamindar, who, being an educated gentleman, realised their value and so sent them to Silchar to his friend Rai Saheb Dinanath Das from whom I got them in 1913² Other purchasers who were illiterate people thought that the plates would some day be conducive to some lucky bargain and kept them hidden until they came to know that the three which were sold to Pavitra Babu revealed nothing but some sort of information quite unprofitable to them and then sold them off one by one at whatever they could make out of them. I purchased the present plate for Rs 20

The present plate enumerates altogether 63½ shares belonging to 86 persons of 24 *gōtras* of which 19 are new *gōtras* not found mentioned in the plates already dealt with. As the total of these shares amounts to 166½, evidently there must be at least one more plate to complete the set, otherwise, the fraction will be inexplicable.

Whether the plate under consideration is the fourth or the fifth one of the set, it is very difficult to decide. The third plate ends with the complete record of a share and the penultimate plate also opens with an independent record, so that none of these plates has any dependence on a subsequent or a preceding one, respectively. The present plate, as it has been read and written here, also begins in such a way as it may be considered to be in continuation of the third plate or of the missing plate if that one ends with a complete record of share, like the third plate. I have, however, a suspicion that this plate was inscribed in a wrong way, i.e., what is the first side as shown here was inscribed after the inscription of what is shown as the second side. The first record of share in the second side of the plate does not give the proper name of the donee, which is not found even at the end of the first side. Again, the name of the last donee mentioned in the second side, viz., Gōmināga, ends in "nāga" which also occurs in the first name recorded in the first side of the plate. Generally we observe that the names whose latter halves or component parts are similar (e.g., ghōsha, dāma, kunḍa, pālita, sōma, etc.) are put down in close proximity to one another. In these circumstances it would appear that the proper name missing in the beginning of the second side (which may really be the first side) of this plate must be at the end of the plate not yet discovered. In that case, the missing plate will be the fourth, and the present one the fifth plate of the set that is said to have consisted of seven plates.

This document—viz., the copper-plate grant as renewed by Bhāskaravarman—has a special bearing on the ancient history of Kāmarūpa. The genealogy recorded in the first and the second plate gives the names of the kings (with their queens) who ruled

¹ See above, Vol XIX, p 116

² *Supra*, Vol XII, p 65.

over that province prior to Bhāskaravarman. As the grant recorded in these plates is a renewal of what was made by Bhāskaravarman's great-great-grandfather Bhūti-varman as noticed in the third plate, it is proved that in the 5th or 6th century after Christ, i.e., long before Bhāskaravarman, the kingdom of Kāmarūpa had, even in one village, a very large number of Brāhmins of different *gōtras* and Vēdas. The village mentioned in it was situated in a place lying very close to the kingdom of Gauda, between the rivers Teestā and Karatōyā which was the western boundary of Kāmarūpa,¹ and now forms part of the district of Rangpur in Northern Bengal. Thus, the story that Ādiśūra, a king of Gauda, had to import five Brāhmins from Kaṇauj on account of the paucity of Brāhmins in the locality or vicinity would appear to be groundless, especially when it has not yet been confirmed by any reliable document. Further, the Sāmpadāyika Brāhmins of Sylhet with the ten *gōtras* including Kātyāyana, were all along asserting that they had come from Mithilā or still further north west, but the discovery of this copper-plate in the very place Pañchakhanda—Nidhanpur forms a part of it—where they say they settled originally, would prove that they came there from Kāmarūpa. The inscription mentions all the ten *gōtras*, and as it calls Manōratha-svāmin of Kātyāyana *gōtra* Paṭtakapati, it is evident that these plates came to Pañchakhanda with a (Kātyāyana) descendant of Manōratha-svāmin. It may be stated further that there might have been other villages like this Mayūrasālmālā-grahāra teeming with Brāhmin population. In fact, the ancient kingdom of Kāmarūpa appears to have been a refuge of the Brāhmins of the neighbouring kingdoms where Buddhism flourished. So far no ancient remains of Buddhism have yet been discovered there; and as the tide of Buddhism began to subside, the Brāhmins of Kāmarūpa also began to spread westward, and, it may be, that most of the Brāhmin families in the neighbouring province of (modern) Bengal are the descendants of those Brāhmins from Kāmarūpa. These copper-plate inscriptions, therefore, possess a special value as they throw much light on the social history of the Brāhmins of this part of India.

TEXT.

Middle Plate First Side

- 1 Pravarabhā(nā?)ga-svā² chaturtha-bhāga-h[ī]nō 'nśa[h] || Āpanāga-svā anśa[h] ||
Tōshanāga-Hampināga-svāmibhyā[m]
- 2 anśāch-chaturchō bhāga[h*] || Kāśyapō Vājasanēyī Managhōśha svā anśa[h] ||
Vaishnavriddhiś=Chhāndōgō
- 3 Sarppini(?)svā anśa[h] || Janārdana-svā anśa[h] || Kauśikō Y(B)āhvrichya
Arka-svā [a*]dhy-arddh-ānśa[h] || Śraddha-dāsa-
- 4 svā arddh-ānśa[h] || Gautamō Vājasanēyī Sanātana-svā anśa[h] ||
Harshaprabha(bhō) gōtrēna saha ardh-ā-
- 5 nśa[h] || Kautilyō Vājasanēyī Khandasōma-svā [a*]dhy-arddhānśa[h] || Śrēyaskara-
Gati-Gauri sōmēbhyah
- 6 anśa[h] || Vakulasōma-svā arddh-ānśa[h] || Dhritisōma-Su(m)ha-yo(sō)ma-
svāmibhyām=arddh-ānśa[h] || Kṛishnā-
- 7 ttrēyō Vājasanēyī Bhāyaśa[h]-svā [a*]dhy-arddh-ānśa[h] || Yajña-svā pād-
ābhy-adhukō 'nśa[h] || Daiva-

¹Supra, p 117, fn 2

²Śvā stands for Svāmī and anśah is almost always spelt as anśa [For '[h]' read '[h*]' throughout—Ed.] So no amendment has been made as the correct form is apparent.

First Side

2 4 6 8 10 12 14

2 4 6 8 10 12 14

1

2

4

6

8

10

12

14

Second Side.

Handwritten text in a cursive script, likely a historical form or document, covering the majority of the page. The text is arranged in approximately 15 horizontal lines. A large circular hole is visible near the top center of the document.

2 4 6 8 10 12 14

2 4 6 8 10 12 14

- 8 svā pād-ābhy-adhikō 'nśa[h] || Darddi-svā arddh-ānśa[h] || Pradyunna(mna)-
svā [a]-dhy-arddh-ānśa[h] || Vriddhi-svā dvir anśa[h] ||
- 9 Divākara-Hari-Adbhuta-Tvashtṛ-Tōsha-nāgēbhyō anśa('nśa)[h] || Kavcstarō
Vājasanēyī
- 10 Mēdha-svā anśa[h] || Māndavyō Vājasanēyī Dhṛiti-svāmī(i) gōtrēna saha
anśa-chatu-
- 11 rtha bhāga[h*] || Kāśyapō Vājasana(nē)yī Kēśava-svā anśa[h] || Bhāradvājō
Vājasanēyī Gaurī svā
- 12 anśa[h] || Sucharita-svā arddh-ānśa[h] || Bhāradvājō Vājasanēyī Vappa-
svā¹ anśa[h] || Kaundinyō Bāhvrichyō(chyah)
- 13 Karhadatta-svā anśa[h] || Bhāradvājō V[B]āhvrichyō(chya) Udayana-svā
anśa[h] || Vāsishtho Bāhvrichya[h*] Mērudatta-svā
- 14 anśa[h] || Agnīcētyō Vājasanēyī Narīndra-Rēnul hūti svā[m*] bhyām anśa[h] ||
Mēdhabhūti svā ardh-ānśa[h] ||
- 15 Sākrityāyana[ś*=] Chyī(Chā)rakyō(kyās)=Chandrapaksha-svā anśa[h] || Yāskō
V(B)āhvrichya[h*] Kālī svā anśa[h] ||

Middle Plate Second Side

- 1 (?)svā [a*] dhy-arddh ānśa[h] || Bhatti-Mahēśvara-svā ardh-ānśa[h] || Pārāsaryō
V(B)āhvrichyō Gōpālanaud'-svā anśa[h] || Bhārggavō
- 2 Viśvabhūti-svā anśa[h] || Surakshita Sucharitā[hyā[m*]arddh-ānśa[h] ||
Bhāradvājas-Taittirī(i)ya[ś*=]Śivagana-
- 3 svā anśa[h] || V(B)āhvrichya[h*] Kātyāyana (nō) bhrātṛ-trayēna Vasuśrī-svā anśa[h] ||
Kauśikō Vājasanēyī
- 4 Virabhūti-svā anśa[h] || Vishnubhūti-svā arddh-ānśa[h] || Pramōdabhūti svā
anśa[h] || Bhāradvājō Vāja-
- 5 sanēyī Vishnudatta-svā anśa[h] || Kaundinyō Vājasanēyī V(B)rihaspati-svā
anśa[h] || Yāskō
- 6 V(B)āhvrichya(ō) Harshadēva svā anśa[h] || Jātūkarnna(ō) Vājasanēyī Mēdha-svā
anśa[h] || Kṛishna svā anśa[h] ||
- 7 Mādhava-Haribhyām(m) anśa[h] || Bhāradvājas=Chhāndōgō Janārdnadēva-svā
anśa[h] || Maudgalyō
- 8 Vājasanēyī Vishnusōma svā ardh-ānśa[h] || Gārgyas=Chārakyō Dhanasēna-svā
anśa[h] || Pramō-
- 9 dasēna-Ghōshasēnābhyām(m) anśa[h] || Sōmasēna-svā anśa[h] || Gautamō
V(B)āhvrichya(chyō) Bhāskara-
- 10 mittra-svā anśa[h] || Madh[u]mittra-svā anśa[h] || Sādhārana-mittra-Sādhu-
mittrābhām(bhyām) anśa[h] || Dhṛiti-
- 11 mittra-svā arddh-ānśa[h] || Bhāradvājō V(B)āhvrichya(ś*=)Sukrabhava-svā
anśa[h] || Pautrimūshyō(?) V(B)āhvrichya[s*=]Sudarśś(rś)ana-
- 12 Dhanēśvara-svāmibhyām(m) arddh-ānśa[h] || Śāndilyō Vājasanēyī Ravi-svā
anśa[h] || Madhu-svā anśa[h] ||

¹ The name being a Prākṛit word (probably from Skt *Vapra*) it has been spelt with B, [ṛ and ṛ have the same form in these Kāmarūpa inscriptions]

- 13 Mahidhara-svā anśa[h] || Pauṇṇō(Paurṇō?) V(B)āhvīchya(ō) Bhaṭṭi Mahīśvara-svā
anśa[h] || Bhaṭṭi-Māṭṭi-svā arddh-ānśa[h] ||
- 14 Rudrabhatti-svā arddh-ānśa[h] || Kauśikaś-Chhāndōgō Adri('dri)-vilēpana-svā
anśa[h] || Sāvārṇi-
- 15 ka-sagōtrō Vājasanēyī Gōmināga-svā anśa[h] ||

The shares enumerated in the text given above may be tabulated thus —

Serial No ¹	Vēda, etc	Gōtra	Name	Share
1	Bāhvīchya ²	Vārāha	Pravara(nā)ga svāmin . .	$\frac{1}{2}$
2	Do	Do .	Āpanāga svāmin . .	1
3—4	Do . .	Do .	Tōshanāga and Hampināga svā mins	$\frac{1}{2}$
5	Vājasanēyī	Kāśyapa	Managbhōsha svāmin	1
6	Chhāndōga	Vaishṇa vṛiddhi	Sarppīṇi svāmin .	1
7	Do .	Do .	Janārdana svāmin	1
8	Bāhvīchya	Kauśika	Arka svāmin . .	$1\frac{1}{2}$
9	Do	Do .	Śraddhadāsa svāmin	$\frac{1}{2}$
10	Vājasanēyī	Gautama	Sanātana-svāmin . .	1
11	Do .	Do .	Harshaprabha with his gōtra	$\frac{1}{2}$ ³
12	Do	Kauṭilya	Khaṇḍasōma svāmin	$1\frac{1}{2}$
13, 14, 15	Do .	Do .	Śrīyaskara, Gati, Gauri, -sōma (svāmins)	1
16	Do .	Do	Vakulasōma svāmin .	$\frac{1}{2}$
17—18	Do	Do	Dhṛitisōma, Śrīhasōma (svāmins)	$\frac{1}{2}$
19	Do	Kṛishnātrēya	Bhāyāśaś svāmin	$1\frac{1}{2}$
20	Do	Do	Yajña svāmin . . .	$1\frac{1}{2}$
21	Do .	Do	Daiva svāmin .	$1\frac{1}{2}$
22	Do .	Do	Dardhi svāmin . . .	$\frac{1}{2}$
23	Do .	Do	Pradyumna svāmin . .	$1\frac{1}{2}$
24	Do	Do	Vṛiddhi svāmin . .	2

¹The serial number does not exist in the original

²The third plate ends with "Vārāhō Bāhvīchyō Nara(?) svā anśa[h]" The Vēda and the gōtra are repeated here (vide footnote 3 on page 120 above, Vol. XIX), on the supposition that the present plate may be the fourth one. See remarks above.

³This seems to render questionable the correctness of my interpretation of 'gōtrāśaś' in foot-note 6 p. I am now inclined to think that gōtrāśaś, wherever it occurs, should mean 'gōtrasahśō' mśaś, i.e., one share with his gōtra, where gōtra does not mean 'clan' (as apparently others of his 'clan' get shares separately mentioned) but (loosely) 'family' or 'progeny'—much as in Pāṇini IV-1-162 (anāyām-pautra-prabhṛitḥ gōtram). On this new interpretation the serial Nos 18, 23 and 79 in the list of donees, as recorded in the third and the penultimate plates, should get $\frac{1}{2}$ a share less each. The total of shares awarded in these plates should therefore be $102\frac{1}{2}$ instead of $104\frac{1}{2}$ as stated in the preceding article.

Serial No	Vēda, etc	Gōtra	Name	Share
25, 26, 27, 28, 29	Vājasanēyin	Kṛishṇāttreya.	Divākara, Hari, Adbhuta, Tvashṭri, Tōshanāga (svāmīna)	1
30	Do	Kavestara .	Mēdha svāmīn .	1
31	Do .	Māṇḍavya	Dhṛiti svāmīn with his gōtra	½
32	Do .	Kāśyapa .	Kēśava svāmīn	1
33	Do	Bhāradvāja .	Gauri svāmīn	1
34	Do .	Do .	Sucharita svāmīn .	½
35	Do .	Do .	Bappa svāmīn	1 ¹
36	Bāhvrichya .	Kaundinya . .	Karladatta svāmīn .	1
37	Do .	Bhāradvāja .	Udayana svāmīn	1
38	Do .	Vāishṭha .	Mērudatta svāmīn .	1
39, 40	Vājasanēyin .	Agnivēśya .	Narēndra Rēpubhūti svāmīna	1
41	Do .	Do .	Mēdhabhūti svāmīn	½
42	Chārakya	Sāṅkṛtyāyana	Chandrapaksha svāmīn	1
43	Bāhvrichya .	Yāska . . .	Kālī svāmīn	1
44	Do .	Do . . .	svāmīn	1½ ²
45	Do .	Do .	Bhatti Mahēśvara svāmīn . .	1
46	Do .	Pārīśarya . .	Gōpīlanandi svāmīn	1
47	Do .	Bhārggava .	Viśvabhūti svāmīn	1
48, 49	Do	Do	Surakshita, Sucharita-svāmīna .	½
50	Taittiriya . .	Bhāradvāja .	Śivagaṇasvāmīn	1
51, 52, 53, 54	Bāhvrichya .	Kātyāyana	Vasūri svāmīn with three brothers	1
55	Vājasanēyin .	Kauśika	Virabhūti svāmīn	1
56	Do	Do . . .	Viśvabhūti svāmīn .	½
57	Do .	Do .	Pramōdabhūti svāmīn .	1
58	Do .	Bhāradvāja	Viśvudatta svāmīn .	1
59	Do .	Kaundinya . .	Bṛhaspati svāmīn . . .	1
60	Bāhvrichya .	Yāska . .	Harshadēva svāmīn . .	1
61	Vājasanēyin	Jātūkarṇa .	Mēdha svāmīn .	1

¹ Here the insertion of Vēda and gōtra is redundant as the nearest preceding Vēda and gōtra are exactly the same as here (vide footnote 2, p. 248)

² Vide the prefatory remarks in this connection. The proper name that is missing here may have its mention in the missing plate, along with the record of Vēda and gōtra. If the record is really in continuation of the last line in the other side, then the name has been dropped through mere oversight and Vēda and gōtra are what belong to the last donee recorded in that side

Serial No	Vēda, etc	Gōtra	Name	Share
62	Vājasanēyin .	Jātūkerṇa	Kṛishṇa svāmīn .	1
63, 64	Do. .	Do .	Mādhava Hari svāmīn .	1
65	Chhāndōga	Bhāradvāja	Janārdana svāmīn .	1
66	Vājasanēyin	Maudgalya .	Vishṇusōma svāmīn .	$\frac{1}{2}$
67	Chārakya	Gārggya	Dhanasēna svāmīn .	1
68, 69	Do	Do	Pramōdasēna, Ghōshasēna (svāmīn)	1
70	Do	Do	Sōmasena svāmīn .	1
71	Bāhvṛicha	Gautama .	Bhāskaramittira svāmīn	1
72	Do .	Do .	Madhumittira svāmīn .	1
73, 74	Do . .	Do	Sādhārānamittira, Sādhumittira (svāmīn)	1
75	Do .	Do . .	Dhṛitmittira svāmīn .	$\frac{1}{2}$
76	Do .	Bhāradvāja .	Śukrabhava svāmīn	1
77, 78	Do . .	Pautrimāshya	Sudarśana, Dhanēśvara svāmīn	$\frac{1}{2}$
79	Vājasanēyin	Śāṇḍilya .	Ravi svāmīn .	1
80	Do .	Do .	Madhu svāmīn . .	1
81	Do .	Do .	Mahīdhara svāmīn .	1
82	Bāhvṛichya	Paurṇa . .	Bhaṭṭi-Mahēśvarasvāmīn .	1
83	Do .	Do .	Bhaṭṭi-Māṭṛi svāmīn	$\frac{1}{2}$
84	Do . .	Do .	Ruḍrabhaṭṭi svāmīn . . .	$\frac{1}{2}$
85	Chhāndōga . .	Kauśika	Adṛivīlēpanasvāmīn . .	1
86	Vājasanēyin . .	Sāvarṇṇika .	Gōmīnāgasvāmīn . .	1
TOTAL				63 $\frac{1}{2}$
Total shares in other plates				102 $\frac{11}{12}$ ¹
GRAND TOTAL .				166 $\frac{1}{2}$

¹ Vide footnote 3 p. 248 above

No 41 — A NEW ASOKAN INSCRIPTION FROM TAXILA

By DR E HERZFELD

[The inscription which is published below was discovered at Taxila by Sir John Marshall who gave a facsimile of it in the *Annual Report* of the Archaeological Survey of India for 1914-15¹ as well as in his *Guide to Taxila*². In both these publications he has recognised the special bearing it has on the origin of the Kharōṣṭhī alphabet. That it was a new inscription of Asōka, the great Mauryan Emperor, was not known till recently when its contents were deciphered by Dr Herzfeld, who communicated his interpretation of it to Sir John Marshall in the following letter. To place this discovery before scholars, his letter is published as it is, though it is not in the usual form of an article. Even the transliteration has not been disturbed — Ed.]

DEAR SIR JOHN,

While trying to decipher the Aramaic inscription of Darius which I had discovered in 1923 on his tomb at Naqsh-e Rostam, I gathered all the Aramaic material accessible to me here in Teheran, where I am almost deprived of all books, and thus I came once more upon the squeeze of the Taxila inscription which you had been kind enough as to send me long ago, and which accompanies me on my various travellings. Having even not your "Guide to Taxila" nor the publication in the *Ind Arch Surv* at my disposal, I am unable to quote the work of deciphering that has already been done, nor can I take the great advantage of making use of such work. Moreover, having no sort of Aramaic glossary at my hand, the only thing left to me is just to let you know my reading of the letters, as far as I am able to read, being no Aramaist at all. Nevertheless, the little I can do, may prove useful to other scholars, and in spite of its unsatisfactory condition, I thought it worth not to keep it back entirely.

The following is a transcript of the inscription in Hebrew and Latin characters —

1	ות.	ut
2	לכמירתי על	l ^d /kmyrty 'l
3	כינותא על	kynvta 'l
4	אכיו שכינותא	a ^r /k/ n zv škynvta
5.	ולאבוהי הוה	v labvhy huh
6	הופתיחתי זנה	hvptyχty znh
7	וד בהוונרה	zk bhvv d/n/ r rh
8	הובשתורוי הות	hvbšt ^k /rzy hut
9	מראן פרידר	mrān prydr
10	ה לכותה	h lk ^v th
11	ואף בנוהי	vap bnvhy
12	למראן פרידרש	lmran prydrš

Fig 1 is a drawing of the inscription, exactly reduced to a quarter of its natural size. Fig 2 gives an analysis of the Aramaic alphabet. These two drawings claim to be perfectly exact, as they are made directly from the squeeze by an extraordinary fine instrument.

¹ P 25 ff² Pp 76 76

which I use for similar purposes the reduction scale is, of course, always the same, and also the position of the single letters in regard to the neighbouring ones, their inclination and height above or below the average, is exact

The letters g 𐤂, t 𐤃, s 𐤄, s 𐤅, and q 𐤆 don't occur in the inscription, x 𐤇 only once. Most of the letters are well shaped and clearly distinguishable. But n 𐤈 and r 𐤉 are varying, as in most Aramaic inscriptions, to such a degree, that, as a matter of fact, palæography alone does not furnish the means of fixing their value, and etymology must decide. Fig 2 shows, that, moreover, d 𐤊 and k 𐤋 can assume a shape so closely resembling r 𐤉 or n 𐤈, that you will understand, why in several words that I am unable to explain, I have given, in the transcription, the various possibilities of reading. The true reading can only be reached at by the etymology of the whole word.

The surviving slab being unfortunately only a fragment of the inscription, a continuous text and translation is far beyond my capability to give. I must confine myself to some remarks.—

Line 1. I do not venture to restore the word, although this seems not impossible to me. Its ending in 𐤌 indicates a fem plur in the stat indetermin.

Line 2: The first word has the prep. 𐤍 "to" and the termination of a fem noun with encl. pron of the 1 pers. The noun itself shows the pa'il form of a root כמר (priest), or of מר. The second word is the prep על "unto". It is worth remarking that the 𐤍 in this preposition assumes already a distinct shape, the horizontal stroke being pronouncedly longer than in the other examples of 𐤍. This development, not unusual to Aramaic, leads through Pârsik to the Avestic letter for o.

Line 3: First word is a fem plur in the stat determ either from the root 𐤍 "to exist," hence כִּנָּה "essence, nature," or more probable, the same word as in the following line, the missing first letter 𐤍 to be supplied at the end of the preceding line. The second word is the prep על, as before.

Line 4. The first word seems to be a verb, at least, its termination in 𐤌 is a common verbal termination. A root 𐤌 exists, e.g. in Arabic, but I have no means to ascertain whether it is also found in Aramaic or not. Possibly, as the word stands at the beginning of the line, it might be incomplete, the preceding letters may have been at the end of the foregoing line. The second word is the stat determ. fem plur ending in 𐤌 of the noun שְׁכִינָה, pa'il of the root שכן "to dwell," hence "the dwellings."

Line 5. Begins with the copula 𐤅, preposition 𐤍 (dat) and the noun 𐤍, to which is attached the encl. pron of the 3 pers, hence "to his father." The second word is the auxiliary verb 𐤅 "to be," the third letter partly destroyed, but certain.

Line 6. The first word does not look much like an Aramaic one. In taking the first letter 𐤍 as the last one of the word preceding at the end of the foregoing line, and the second letter 𐤅 as the copula, the word might be reduced to Aramaic dimensions, and become derived from the common root פתח, as a pa'il fem with pron pers of the 1 pers. But this is rather a forced way, and there are in the following lines three more words that look not only non-Aramaic, but resist every attempt of explaining them as Aramaic. They, too, begin with, or contain at least the same 𐤅 at the beginning, which is well known to me from OP and Greek, and, hence, must exist in Indian. Therefore, I prefer to leave the explanation of these words to Indologists. The hu-, Gr εὖ, if this interpretation be right, shows that the words in question belong to a moral sphere of ideas, I mean something like the Zoroastrian "good thoughts, good words, good deeds," to which there is probably something corresponding in Buddhism. The second word of line 6 seems to be, although its second letter is somewhat misshaped, the pron dem 𐤍 "this."

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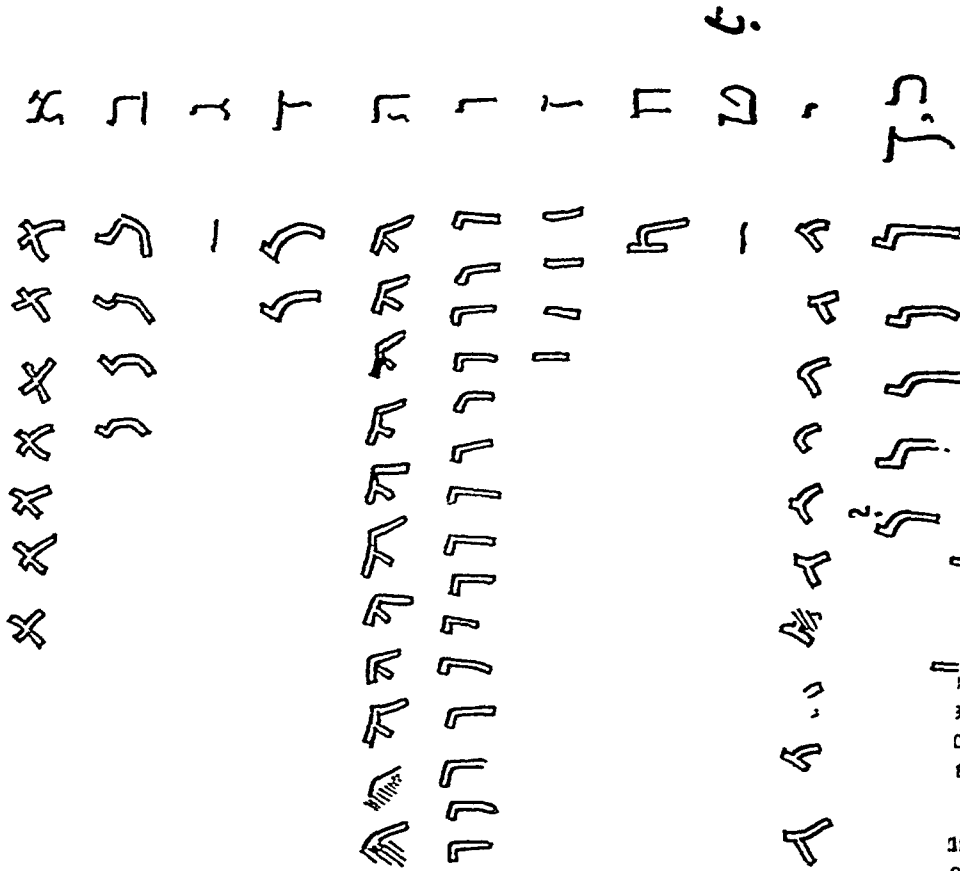
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Fig II




No. 42.—THE PULIBUMRA PLATES OF THE EASTERN CHALUKYA KING JAYASIMHA I (C 632-63 A. D.).

By V. RANGACHARYA, M.A., KUMBAKONAM.

The following copper plate grant was brought to the notice of the Assistant Archæological Superintendent for Epigraphy, Madras, in 1914, by M R Ry Jayanti Ramayya Pantulu Garu. It is registered in the *Epigraphical Report* for 1913-14 as No 5 of Appendix A, and a summary of it appears on p 85 of the same *Report*. I edit the record here with the kind permission of the discoverer of the plates. The ink impressions of the plates were kindly furnished by the Government Epigraphist.

The inscription is engraved on three plates, which measure slightly below six inches by two and are strung together through ring-holes, measuring one-fourth of an inch in diameter. Regarding the seal which must have originally secured the ends of the ring I possess no information. The plates are numbered, though the figure on the first plate alone is clear. The engraving is distinct though at the end of lines 7, 13 and 18 there are erasures.

Excepting the imprecatory stanza (*Bahubhīr etc*) which comes at the end, the record is written in **Sanskrit prose**.

The alphabet and orthography do not call for any special remarks. Compared to the Timmāpuram plates of Vishnuvardhana I Vishamasiddhi and the Pedda-Maddāli plates of this very king (Jayasimha I), we, no doubt, find a few differences in the way some of the letters are written but they are too minor to be noticed in detail. The final *t* which in the Timmāpuram plates is placed on the top of the succeeding letter and in the Pedda-Maddāli plates sometimes comes as a full circle, is here written as a separate letter (l 1). The final *m* is here shown, though only once, like  (l 2). The Timmāpuram plates give it as a dot but the Pedda-Maddāli plates put it both as a dot and as a curve. The doubling of consonants after *r* is to be seen here also, e.g., *parākram-ōpārṇita* (l. 7) or *karmma* (l 18). Though the record is rather free from the grammatical blunders which characterise the grant portion of the Timmāpuram plates, yet it contains errors like the wrong use of *usarga* in *Manuhriva* (l 9) and of *anusvāra* as in *bhuvanam mandala* (l 3).

The inscription records a grant made by the Eastern Chālukyan king Jayasimha I, who ruled from about 632 to 663 A. D. Only one record of this king had been discovered before 1914, namely, the Pedda-Maddāli plates¹. It is dated in his 18th year and distinguishes him by the title *Sarvasiddhi*. It was issued from the city of Udayapura, which has not yet been identified. From a number of inaccuracies in the language its genuineness has been questioned, but I think the faults are due to the composer and the record is authentic. According to it Jayasimha was the son of *Vishamasiddhi* Kubja-Vishnuvardhana I and grandson of Kirtivarman, the Chalukyan king who ruled from circa 550 to 567 A. D. The number of his epithets would show that he was a pious and successful sovereign.

The present record (ll 12-13) calls him Prithvī-Jayasingha-vallabha, not Jayasimha as the other records do. The term² *Prithvīvallabha*, it should be noted, was a title of Kirtivarman I.

¹ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XIII, p. 137. It is registered as Kt 337 in my *Topographical List of Inscriptions of the Madras Presidency*. Fleet's paper has been reproduced, without any alteration and without plates, in Burgess and Natesa Sastri's *Tamil and Sanskrit Inscriptions* (*Arch. Surv. South India*, Vol. IV), pp. 166ff. See also *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. X, p. 243-4 and Sewell's *List of Copper Plates* No. 3 for shorter notices of the record.

² *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. IX, p. 101.

as well as of his son Pulakēśin II, the paternal grandfather and the uncle respectively of the Eastern Chālukyan king Jayasimha I. We have, therefore, to infer that the title was inherited by the Eastern Chālukyas from their ancestors of the West-Deccan. The record describes Jayasimha as a conqueror of the world of chiefs by his ever-growing puissance, as a valiant soldier whose fame shed lustre in all directions, as a man whose trident-like triple-might pierced through the stout hearts of all the forces of hostile kings, as a Brihaspati in diplomacy, a Manu in modesty, a Yudhishtira in the love of *dharma*, an Arjuna in invincibility and a scholar versed in the truths of the teachings of the *śāstras*. It further tells us that he gave the village of Pulibūmra (Pulibūru) in the Guddavādi-*viśhaya*, to Rudraśarman, a Brahman of Asanapura, who was of the Gautama-*gṛā*, was learned in two Vēdas, belonged to the *Taittirīka*¹ school and was the son of Śivaśarman and grandson of Dāmaśarman. The endowed village was, we are told, made into a tax-free *agrahāra* called *sarvasiddhi-datti*. The executors of the grant were Hastikōśa and Virakōśa².

Guddavādi has been identified by Dr Hultsch³ with Gudivada, the headquarters of the taluk of the same name in the Kistna District. The late Mr Sewell⁴ has described the Jain and Buddhist antiquities of this place, besides the large numismatic finds of the Andhra period un-earthed here. They would indicate that the place must have been very prominent before the Chālukyan advent in the time of Kubja-Vishnuvardhana. Pulibūmra (Pulibūru) may be identified with Polamūru in the Bhīmavaram taluk. Asanapura which seems to have played an important part in the cultural history of this period, I am unable to identify. Might it be Annavaram of the same taluk?

So far as the reign of Jayasimha is concerned, we are enlightened by a few other records. The Bezwada plates⁵ of Chālukya-Bhīma I tell us that Kubja-Vishnuvardhana, the father of Jayasimha I and the founder of the dynasty, ruled for 18 years. The Chīpurupalli plates⁶ of Vishnuvardhana I, dated in the 18th year of his reign, give a date which was equated by Fleet and Kielhorn with 7th July A.D. 632. It is clear from this that Vishnuvardhana I (who came to the Eastern Chālukyan throne, as proved by Fleet between 21st March and 19th April 615) ruled till at least July 632. We do not know when exactly Jayasimha was anointed king. It might have been any month after July 632. Nor are we aware of the length of his rule for the records do not agree in this point. The Bezwada plates of Chālukya-Bhīma I and almost all other plates⁷ give him a reign of 33 years. But the British Museum plates⁸ of Amma II (Vijayāditya VI) give him only 30 years. As this record stands alone in its statement, Kielhorn preferred to accept the version of the other records and decided that Jayasimha ruled for 33 years. According to Fleet,⁹ "the statement of the minority is certainly the correct one" and "from no point of view can a reign of 33 years be allowed to him." It seems to me, however, that both versions are inaccurate and must be considered to

¹ [Read *Taittirīya*. *Taittirīka* would mean 'one who catches partridges'—Ed.]

² [For these names and for the date see *Annual Report on Epigraphy, Southern Circle*, 1913-14, p. 85, para. 7 and No. 5 of Appendix A—Ed.]

³ See *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. IV, p. 34. The place had various names, e.g. Gudrāvāra (*Ep. Ind.*, Vol. V, 123), Gudrahāra (*Ind. Ant.*, Vol. VIII, p. 76), Gudrāra (*Ep. Ind.*, Vol. IV, p. 34). This Gudivada ought not to be confounded with Guddavadi in Ramachandrapur taluk referred to in the Pithāpuram inscription of Manmasatya II (*Ep. Ind.*, Vol. IV, 83 ff.).

⁴ *Lists of Antiquities*, p. 52.

⁵ This is Kt. 91 in my *Topo. List* and No. 557 in Kielhorn's *Southern List*. See *Ep. Ind.*, V, pp. 127-31.

⁶ See Vg. 16 in my *Topo. List*, *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XVI (1891), p. 15 ff., besides *S. Ind. Palaeography*, Plate 27.

⁷ E.g. Kt. 4, Kt. 320, B.M. 6, Kt. 8, etc., in my *Topo. List*.

⁸ B.M. 7 *Ibid.*, p. 1722 (Vol. III).

⁹ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XX, p. 11, footnote 15.

be only general and vague statements regarding the duration of his reign. My reasons are these. The Nellore District plates¹ of Jayasimha's nephew and successor Vishnuvardhana II distinctly tell us that he made a grant on Wednesday, 13th March, A D 664, in the second year of his reign. This shows that he must have come to the throne before 13th March 663. Similarly, the Mattewāḍa plates of the same² king record a grant on February 17, A D 668, which is said to be his 5th regnal year. It is clear from this that Vishnuvardhana II must have been anointed as king before February 17, A.D. 664, which date would fall in the first year of his reign. From a study of these records we are able to infer that Vishnuvardhana's accession took place before 13th March, A.D. 663 but not earlier than 17th February, 663 A.D., as 17th February, A.D. 664, according to the Mattewāḍa plates, fell within the first year of his rule. It is obvious from this that Vishnuvardhana II ascended the throne between 17th February and 13th March, 663 A.D. Fleet³ also, after calculating a number of dates, concluded that his accession took place between 14th February and 24th March, A D 663. This is only another way of saying that the reign of Jayasimha I ended then. It is true that between Jayasimha and Vishnuvardhana II there was his son Indra-Bhattāraka, but he ruled only for seven days. If Jayasimha came to the throne after July, 632 A.D. and if his reign ended between 17th February and 13th March, 663, A.D. it is clear that he ruled for 30 years and a few months. Though Fleet brought his accession⁴ down to March, 663 A.D. and assigned to him exactly 30 years, yet, I think he ruled for a space of 30 years and a few months—from some time after July 632 to about February-March, A.D. 663.

TEXT.

First Plate

- 1 स्वस्ति [१*] श्री विजयस्कन्धावारात् मातृगणपरिरक्षितानां मानव्यसगोत्राणां
- 2 हारि^५तिपुत्राणाम् अश्वमेधयाजिनां चतुर्व्यानां कुलजलनिधि-
- 3 समुत्पन्न^६राजरत्नस्य सकलभुवनंमण्डलमण्डितकीर्तिः^७ श्री-
- 4 कीर्तिवर्मणः पौत्रः अनेकसमरसंघट्टविजयिनः प[र]नर-
- 5 पतिमकुटमणिमयूखावदातधरणयुगलस्य श्रीविष्णुवर्धन-
- 6 महाराजस्य प्रियतनयः प्रवर्द्धमानप्रतापीपनतसमस्त-

Second Plate, First Side

- 7 सामन्तमण्डल. स्वबाहुबलपराक्रमोपार्जितस[कल]यशो-
- 8 विभासितदिगन्तरः स्वशक्तित्रयविशूलावभिन्नपर[न]रपति-
- 9 सकलबलचेतनः बृहस्पतिरिव नयश्चो मनुरिव^८ विनय-
- 10 न्नः बुधिष्ठिर इव धर्मपरायणः अर्जुनवदपरमर-

¹ B.M. 2 (p 1721) in *Madras Topo List* Also *Ind Ant*, Vol XX, p 7

² B.M. 3; *Ibid*, p. 9

³ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XX, p 40.

⁴ *Ibid*, table on p 12.

⁵ Read हारिदि°

⁶ Read न्न

⁷ Read न्न

⁸ There is a *visarga* wrongly engraved before रि

2
4
6

2
4
6

11a

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10
12

8
10
12

11b

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16
18

14
16
18

11c

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22
24

20
22
24

11d

- 11 पतिभिरनभिलंघित¹पौरुषः अनेकशास्त्रार्थतत्त्वज्ञः² पर-
12 मन्त्रज्ञश्च मातापितृपादानुध्यातः श्रीमि³थिवीजयसिद्धव-

Second Plate , Second Side

- 13 क्षममहाराजः गुह्वादिविषयि⁴ विषयमह⁵ . कारपु-
14 रूपांश्च इममर्त्यमाज्ञापयत्यस्ति⁶ विदितमस्तु वीय[म]स्त्राभिः [1*]
15 गुह्वादिविषये पुलोच्चूरन्नामग्रामः [1*] वेदवेदाग-
16 विदो दामशर्मणः⁷ पौत्राय स्वपितुरधिकगुणगणाधि-
17 वासस्य शिवशर्मणः पुत्राय तैत्तिरिक⁸सन्नज्ञचारिणे वेद-
18 ह्यालकृतशरि(री)राय गोतमसगोत्राय स्वकर्म[ानुष्ठा]न-⁹

Third Plate , First Side

- 19 पराय¹⁰ पूर्वाग्रहारिकरुद्रशर्मणे असनपुरस्थानवस्तुव्याय¹¹
20 श्रीसर्वसिद्धिदत्ता सर्वकरपरिहारेणाग्रहरोक्त्य सम्प्रतः [1*]
21 तथा भवज्ञिरन्ये¹² धर्माधिगतबुद्धिभिः¹³ परिपालनोयः [1*]
22 न कैश्चिद्वाधा करणीया [1*] आज्ञसिरत्रहस्त्रिकोश¹⁴ वीरकोश [था¹⁵]-
23 संगीता¹⁶ [1*] बहुभिर्वसुधा दत्ता बहुभिश्चानुपालिता [1*] यस्य यस्य
24 यदा भूमिस्तस्य तस्य तदा फलमिति [11*] सं 17
[11*].

TRANSLATION

(1 1) Hail ! From (his) victorious camp—the grandson of Śrī-Kirtivarman¹⁸ whose fame adorned the circle of the whole world, who was a royal gem sprung out of the ocean like

¹ Read प [The form पौरुष needs no correction.—Ed]

² The *usarga* is cut twice

³ Read पृ

⁴ [What the author has taken to be the *c* sign is only a crack in the plate The *c* sign is clearly marked by a curve to the left of the first vertical line of *ya* as in *vā* (l 15) —Ed]

⁵ [In place of the dots read °साराधि° —Ed]

⁶ [स्ति is superfluous —Ed.]

⁷ *Dāma* might be a shortened form of *Dāmōdara*

⁸ [See f n. 2 on p 255 above —Ed]

⁹ The letters are much erased here

¹⁰ There is a dot before प

¹¹ Read वृ

¹² For न the engraver had cut प

¹³ In न we find the inside stroke of न wrongly inserted

¹⁴ Read कोशौ

¹⁵ The letter था is indistinct, the lower part alone being clear It is further beneath the punctuation mark and not separate

¹⁶ [Evidently °गीत was intended for only one verse is given श्लोक is understood —Ed]

¹⁷ For these 5 symbols see *Annual Report on Epigraphy, Southern Circle* for 1913-14 p 85 and No 5 of Appendix A.—Ed.]

¹⁸ See *Dyn Kan. Dist* The epithet given to Kirtivarman is repeated with slight variations in all Chalukyan records

family of the Chālukyas who were the performers of the *śvāmēdha*-sacrifice, who were Hāritiputras, who belonged to the *gōtra* of the Mānavyas (and) who were protected by the group of the *Mātris*,

(L 4) the beloved son of *śrī*-Viṣṇuvardhana-Mahārāja who was a victor in many a battle-assault,¹ whose two feet were brightened by the rays of the gems of the crowns of other kings,

(l 6) Śrī-Prithivī-Jayasīṅgha-vallabha whose ever-growing valour reduced the circle of the *Sāmantas*, whose fame, acquired by the strength of his arms, lit all the directions, the trident-like triad² of whose power split the heart of all the forces of hostile kings, a diplomat like Bṛhaspati; disciplined like Manu, righteous like Yudhishtira, who, like Arjuna, had a manliness unsurpassed by that of other kings, a knower of the truth of the meanings of many *śāstras*; the very pious one, who meditated on the feet of (his) mother and father,

(l 13) orders, the people and (officers ?) of Guddavāḍi to this effect Let this be made known to you that we have granted by the gift called *sarvasiddhi* the village of Pulibūmra (lying) in the Guddavāḍi-*vishaya*, after making it an *agrahāra*, free from all taxes, to the *pūrvāgrahārīka* Rudraśarman, who is a resident of *Aśanapura*, belongs to the *Taittirika*³ (school), whose mouth (literally, body) is adorned by the two *Vēdas*, who belongs to the *Gōtama gōtra*, who is intent on the performance of his duties and is the son of Śivaśarman who surpassed his father in virtues, and who is the grandson of Dāmaśarman, the knower of the *Vēdas* and the *Vēdāṅgas*

(l 21) Therefore, by yourselves and by others, who are virtuously disposed, let this be protected. Let no violation be done by anybody The executors (*are*) Hastikōśa⁴ and Virakōśa

(ll. 23-24) Vyāsa says [The usual imprecatory verse]

NO 43 — THE PEDDA-VEGI PLATES OF THE EASTERN CHALUKYA KING JAYA SIMHA I

By V RANGACHARYA, M.A., KUMPAKONAM

These plates were brought to my notice by a relative of mine several years ago. The plates were, I was told, found two or three feet below the surface of the earth during some excavations near Pedda-Vēgi in the vicinity of Ellore. They are registered in the *Madras Epigraphical Report* for 1917-18, as No 11 of Appendix A. A review of the record appears on p 130 of the same report

¹ The king was known as *Viśva-siddhi* in consequence of his daring achievements. cf. *चनेकरिपुङ्गवप्रभुः* of the Pedda Maddū plates

² That is *Aimālakti*, *Prabhālakti* and *Uśālakti*

³ [See L n. 1 on p 255 above — Ed.]

⁴ The word *kōśa* has different meanings in Tamil classical literature. Dr. Krishnaswami Aiyangar identifies the *Kōśa* who invaded the Pāṇḍya kingdom with the vanguards of the Vambā or later (or illegitimate) *Mājavās* and connects them with the *Kōśakāra* of Assam referred to in the *Rāmāyana*. The *Kōśas* seem to have been not only a particular tribe but (1) soldiers in general, (2) followers or relatives of kings corresponding to the *Sarvāt* Pāṇḍyas; (3) officers of justice in village courts, etc. In the present record the word seems to mean, as the Govt. Epigraphist points out, an officer. [See L n. 2 on p 255 above — Ed.]

The inscription is engraved on three plates, the first side containing nothing and the last a single line. The plates were hung on a ring which carries a fixed circular seal engraved in relief with the title *Śrī-Sarvasiddhi* and measure about $7\frac{3}{4}$ inches in length and $2\frac{1}{4}$ inches in breadth. The ring is about $3\frac{1}{2}$ inches in diameter. The engraving is on the whole clear, but the ends of lines 16 and 17 in plate 2 and of 19 and 20 in plate 3 are very much defaced.

The language of the grant is **Sanskrit**. The characters are identical with those employed in the Pulibūmra as well as the Niduparu plates which have been noticed above. No special remarks are necessary regarding the alphabet and orthography of this grant. The Dravidian *r* occurs in ll. 13 and 14 and the *upadhmanīya* in ll. 18 and 25. The final *t* and *m* have also been used. The former occurs as a separate letter in l. 24 and the latter is generally written in the form of a dot but in l. 23 is represented by a hook.

The contents of this grant have already been noticed by the Assistant Archaeological Superintendent for Epigraphy. The identification of the place names has also been discussed by him. All this need not be recapitulated here. The donee was **Sōmaśaraman**, son of Śivaśarman and grandson of Dēvaśarman who was a resident of Kukkanūr, belonged to the Gārgya-gōtra and was a pupil of the Taittiriya school of the Yajur-vēda. The grant was made for the increase of the *dharma* of the donor and of his parents on the full-moon day of Kārttika which was a *viśuva-dina* or the day of the equinox.

THE TEXT¹

Plate I

- 1 नमस्सवित्रे ॥ स्वस्ति [1*] श्रीमतामनन्धसाधारणगुणाधारभूतानां स्वविक्रमाक्रा-
- 2 त्सकलमहीभुजान्मानव्यसगोत्राणां हारीतिपुत्राणां शक्तिधरप्रसादो-
- 3 घनतसमस्तवसुमतीराज्यानाम्मातृगणपरिप[1]लितानाम-
- 4 श्वमेधावभृयस्नानपरिध्वंसितैर्नसामनुष्ठितवर्णाश्रमस्थितीनाम्
- 5 मातापितृपादानुद्गमतानाञ्चालुब्धानामन्ववायसुन्नमयतो नृपतिगु-
- 6 णसामग्रसन्निवासस्य कुशलजनकी[र्त्ति]तकीर्त्तः कीर्त्तिर्वर्म्मेण[.] तस्यप्रिया-

Plate II-A

- 7 त्वजस्य कनीयसः कारणविष्णोरिव विष्णुवम्भणः² स्वभुजबलविजितारिस³हतेस्स-
- 8 कक्षा⁴दिगङ्गनावदनविशेषकार्यमानयशसस्तस्यानन्द इव विग्रहवान्सुतः स्वगुण-
- 9 गणातिशयितपूर्वजः शक्तिबलवशीकृताशेषरिपुबलस्सकललोकत्रया-
- 10 चार[.1*] सर्वसिद्धिरपि च ॥ ⁵इन्दु रुचा सुरगुरुश्च धिया सिताश्रं शौर्ये-
- 11 ण वारिधिमगाधतयात्महृत्तैः [1*] धर्म्मात्मज रविजमीहितदानशक्त्या क-
- 12 न्दर्प्यमाहिततनं⁷ वपुष्पातिशेते ॥ एवविधाभिरामिकगुणः श्रीज-

¹ From ink impressions

² Read न्

³ Read श्व

⁴ Read ल

⁵ The letters मानय are cut in smaller size below the line

⁶ Vasantatilaka metre

⁷ The *anuvāra* sign is not above नृ but between नृ and व

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ABSTRACT OF CONTENTS.

Hail ' Jayasimha-Vallabha-Mahārāja (l 12), surnamed Sarvvasiddhi (l 10),—the son of Vishṇuvarman (l 7), the youngest son of Kīrtivarman (l 6),—of the family of the Chālukyas (l 5), orders thus the residents of the village named Kombaru (which lay in the district (*viśaya*) of Kanthēruvātī at (a distance of) a *gavyūti* to the south of Vlētūru (ll 13-15)

' This village (Kombaru), having been made into a tax-free *agrahāra* (l 20), has been given by us to Sōmaśarmman (l. 19), who is a resident of Kukkanūr, belongs to the Taittirīya school and Gārgya-*gōtra* (l 17), the son of Svāmīśarman and grandson of Dēvaśarman (l. 5), on the *viśvavādina* of Kārttika-Pūrṇimā (l 19)' Sōmaśarmman is stated to have been a very learned scholar and hospitable and one who regularly performed his daily duties

The executor (*ājñapti*) of this (grant) is stated to have been the beloved preceptor of king Sarvvasiddhi, polity incarnate as it were, the learned and noble Narasimhaśarman (l 25-26)

No 44 —THE BARWANI COPPER-PLATE INSCRIPTION OF MAHARAJA SUBANDHU;
THE YEAR 167

By R R HALDER, RAJPUTANA MUSEUM, AJMER

This inscription comes from the Barwāni State in Central India, and has briefly been noticed in the *Annual Report* of the Rājputānā Museum for 1924-25

It is engraved on a copper-plate measuring about 8"×3 2" and is well preserved The sign manual of the king, viz, Śrī-Subandhōh is written on the left margin The charter was granted by Mahārāja Subandhu

The characters belong to the ' box-headed ' variety of the southern class of alphabets, and may be ascribed to about the fifth century A D The box-shape of the tops of the letters is scooped out hollow and is almost rectangular The letters are more or less like those of the Chammak copper-plate inscription¹ of the Mahārāja Pravaraśēna II of the Vākātaka family.

The language is Sanskrit prose throughout, and is generally correct It contains no benedictory or imprecatory verse, but merely records the grant as ordered by the donor, i e, prince Subandhu

As regards orthography, the following points may be noted —

- (1) Consonants are generally doubled when combined with (i) a superscript *r*, as in -*garṭtāpathakah*, l. 1, and -*chandrārkkārnnava*-, l 4 and (ii) with a subscript *r*, as in -*paddrakē*, l 2.
- (2) the combination of *ta* and *tha* with a superscript *r* in *punyāpyāyatārṭha*-, l 4,
- (3) the wrong use of *i* instead of *ī* in *Māhishmatī*, and *kusālī*, l 1
- (4) *Sandhi* is not observed in *kusālī udumbara*-, l. 1, etc

Other mistakes and irregularities are pointed out in the foot-notes accompanying the text.

¹ Fleet's *Gupta Inscriptions*, plate 34.

The present inscription is one of Mahārāja Subandhu, and the grant recorded in it is issued by him from the city called Māhishmatī. It is dated the seventh day of the bright half of Bhādrapada of Sam 167. The object of the inscription is to record the grant of a piece of land at the village (*padraha*) Sōhajanā in the Udumbaragartā district (*pathaka*) to a Brāhmaṇa named Shashthisvāmin for the spiritual welfare of the donor and of the donor's parents. The *dūtaka* is Guhadāsa. The date of the grant is given in symbols of 100, 60 and 7 (=167), and should be referred to the Gupta era. It would, then, correspond to 486 A.D. The Subandhu of this charter is apparently a new figure. That he is styled as a 'Mahārāja' would show that he was a vassal-chief. Possibly, like Surāsmichandra,¹ he was a subordinate of Budhagupta, who, as shown by the Eran² Pillar and the Sārnāth³ Buddha Image inscriptions, and by his coins⁴, flourished about that time.

The fact that Mahārāja Subandhu was connected with such an ancient and famous city as Māhishmatī is noteworthy.

As to the places mentioned in the document Māhishmatī⁵ is apparently the homonymous town of epic fame, which is, in all probability, now represented by Mahēśvara, though scholars like Pargiter would identify it with Māndhātā⁶ on the Narmadā.

The other two places namely, Sōhajanā and Udumbaragartā, I am unable to locate.

TEXT.⁷

- 1 श्री⁸ स्वस्ति [1*] माहिष्मतिनगरः⁹(रात) महार[1*]जसुवन्तुः कुशलि¹⁰ उदु-
स्वरगर्त्तापयकः(के)
- 2 सोहजनापट्टके खानायुक्तकादीन्समाज्ञापयति यदत्र सातिपरिभुक्तक-
- 3 चेत्र तन्मयास्मै ब्राह्मणषष्ठिस्वामिने भरद्वाजसगोत्राया¹¹ वादिस-¹²
- 4 नेयसब्रह्मचारिणे मातापित्रोरात्मनश्च पुण्याप्यायतार्थमाचन्द्रार्कार्णव-¹³
- 5 कालीनं पुत्रपौत्रान्वयभोज्य ब्रह्मदेयमतिष्ठ [1*] विदित्वायदिवसादार-
भ्योपि(चि)-

¹ Fleet's *Gupta Inscriptions*, p. 89.

² Fleet's *Gupta Inscriptions*, p. 88.

³ [See *Arch. Surv. of India*, 1914-15, p. 125 —Ed.] Also, *Bhandarkar Commemoration Volume*, p. 203.

⁴ John Allan's *Coins of the Gupta dynasties*, coin no. 617.

⁵ It was founded by Mahishmat, a Haihaya chieftain, [*Viśṇu Purāṇa* translated by H. H. Wilson, Vol. IV, p. 54].

⁶ *J. R. A. S.*, 1910, pp. 445-6.

⁷ From the original plate.

⁸ Expressed by a symbol.

⁹ Read °स्मती°.

¹⁰ Read कुशली.

¹¹ Read °गोत्राय.

¹² Read वाजसनेय°.

¹³ त् is redundant! °यतार्थ° may be a clerical mistake for °यनाथ°.

6 तथा ब्रह्मदेयभुक्त्या भुजता¹ न व्यासेधव्य² × काव्य³ [1*] सं⁴ १०० ६० ७
 भ(भा)द्रपदे [ग]दि स[स] [1*]
 7 गुह्यदासदूतकः [1*]
 श्रीसुबन्धोः⁴

No 45—DHAULI CAVE INSCRIPTION OF SANTIKARA, THE [GANGA] YEAR 93.

By R D BANERJI, M A

Close to the boulder at Dhauli, on which the edicts of Aśoka are inscribed, is a lofty hill, the highest part of which rises about 1,000 feet above the surrounding ground level. It is surmounted by a ruined temple dedicated to Śiva. One side of this temple has disappeared entirely, and the gigantic *phallus*, enshrined therein, is thereby exposed to view. Below this temple, about a hundred yards to the east, on the southern face of the hill, there is a small cave. According to the *Puri Gazetteer* the " northern ridge culminates in a temple crowned peak, and at its western extremity are a number of caves, natural and artificial. To the east of the temple and at a lower level is a natural fissure, full of bats, and on a boulder at the top, near the entrance, is cut a small inscription in three lines " ⁵ I found the fissure and the bats, but could not get at the boulder or find the inscription of three lines. Close to the fissure, is an artificial cave, measuring 4' × 5' × 3½' approximately. There is a niche in the back wall of this cave, under which is inscribed *Jaya Śrī-Śrī (h)*, and on the right wall is a record in seven lines, which is being edited below. The letter *ta* occurs on the level of 1 1 at a distance

The object of the inscription is to record the construction of a temple (*matha*) of Āgnyakā-varāṇī by one Bhaṭṭa Lōyōmaka, son of the physician Nannata and grandson of Bhīmaṭa, who was born of the womb of Ijyā, an inhabitant of Virajō, in the year 93, during the reign of the illustrious Śāntikara-dēva. Śāntikara-dēva is known from another votive inscription in the Gaṇṇṣa-gumphā at Khaṇḍagiri, where Ijyā, Bhīmaṭa and Nannata are mentioned ⁶ The Gaṇṇṣa-gumphā inscription is not dated. We do not know anything yet about this king. A line of three kings with the suffix *Kara* in their names is mentioned in the Neulpur grant of Śubhakara ⁷ Except the resemblance in the names, we have no data on the basis of which we can establish any connection between them.

The chief importance of this record is its date, which supplies a datum for fixing the period of the dynasty. The adjectives in the Neulpur grant show that the dynasty was Buddhist in faith. The date of this inscription is 93. The form of the palatal *śa* indicates that it cannot be referred to the Harsha era (605-6 A D.) The situation of the inscription precludes a reference to the Newar era (880 A D.) The Chālukya-Vikrama era (1076 A D.) would be too late. The era of the Gangas, which was used in Kalinga in its first century, is most probably the reckoning to which this record is to be referred. According to Mr B C Mazumdar, the initial year of this

¹ Read भुजता

² Read न व्यासेधव्य × काव्य : *Jihvamuliya* is used here [But the symbol seems to represent *m*.—Ed.]

³ सं stands for संवत्

⁴ Is engraved on the left margin

⁵ *Puri Gazetteer*, pp 245-46

⁶ *Ante*, Vol. XIII, p. 167

⁷ *Ante*, Vol. XV, pp. 1-3,

era is equal to 772 or 778 A D,¹ and the date of the Bāmanghātī grant of Raṇabhaṣṭja of the year 288 is to be referred to the same reckoning. Thus, the date of this record would correspond to 865 A D.

A king named Śāntikara is also mentioned in the Kumuranga plates of Daṇḍī-Mahādēvi published by the late Mr Haranandan Panday of the Archæological Survey of India.² According to this inscription Śāntikara was the son of Laṭṭabhāra and the father of Śubhākara, whose consort Dandī-Mahādēvi issued the Kumuranga grant. According to the late Mr Panday, Śāntikara of the Kumuranga inscription is the same as Kshēmankara of the Neulpur plate.³ Both being Royal Charters embodying grants of land, it is extremely unlikely that Kshēmankara and Śāntikara were one and the same person. In fact, no other name except that of Śubhākara agrees in the two genealogies. It appears to me that the Kumuranga plate of Daṇḍī-Mahādēvi is much later in date than the Neulpur plate of Śubhākara. It is quite possible that some of the earlier names in the former inscription may be *birudas* of Śivakara, Kshēmankara and Śubhākara of the Neulpur inscription.

The characters of the inscription are much later than those of the Neulpur grant of Śubhākara and, therefore, it is probable that Śāntikara was a descendant or successor of Śubhākara. The following tentative genealogy of this dynasty may be accepted —

Kshēmankara-dēva.

Śivakara-dēva.

Śubhākara-dēva.

Śāntikara-dēva.

TEXT.⁴

- 1 Śrī-Śāntikara-dēva-rājya-[sa]
- 2 mvaṭ 90,⁵ 3 Ijyā-garbhajēna
- 3 Virajōvāstavya-Vaidya-Na[nnā-]
- 4 ta-putra Bhīmata-pauttra Bhaṭṭa-
- 5 Lōyōma[kō]n-Āghyakā-Varāṭi
- 6 math=ā(ō)yam dēyēbhya(?) kārīta-
- 7 [bā]raka

TRANSLATION.

(In) the year 93, (during) the reign of the illustrious Śāntikara-dēva, this temple of Āghyakā-Varāṭi was caused to be made as a (?) gift by Bhatta Lōyōmaka, son of the physician Nannata (and) grandson of Bhīmata, who was born of the womb of Ijyā (and was) an inhabitant of Virajō.

¹ *Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society*, Vol II, pp 361 62 [This requires verification. It is not unlikely that the era commenced much earlier — Fd.]

² *Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society*, Vol V, 1919, pp 564 70

³ *Ibid*, p 569

⁴ From photographs and impression taken by me

⁵ [The symbol though apparently damaged seems to be noteworthy — Fd.]



2

4

6

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No 46 — KONDEDDA GRANT OF DHARMARAJA

By Y. R. GUPTA, B.A., M.R.A.S.

The existence of the copper-plates, on which this grant is incised, was brought to notice by the late Mr T C Rath, B.A., when he was the District Munsif at Chodavaram in the Godavari district of the Madras Presidency. The late Mr G Venkoba Rao thus wrote a preliminary note on the grant in his *Annual Report on Epigraphy* for the year ending 31st March 1921, p 93 — "It is engraved on a set of three copper-plates hung together on a ring about $3\frac{1}{4}$ " in diameter. The plates measure $6\frac{3}{4}$ " long and $4\frac{1}{2}$ " broad. The circular seal set on to the ring has a diameter of $3\frac{1}{2}$ ". On its surface are cut in relief the figures of the crescent at the top and a seated bull in the centre and a line of letters at the bottom which is completely damaged."¹

I owe the opportunity of editing this record for the first time to the late Rao Bahadur H. Krishna Sastri, B.A., who kindly placed the ink-impressions of it at my disposal.

The alphabet is an early type of the Northern variety of Nāgarī. As regards orthography *ba* is not distinguished from *va*. The symbol for *na* (e.g., see *mrināla* l 1, *gunar* l 29 and *avigan-tatāyā* l 33) is also used for *ñ* when it forms the first part of a conjunct consonant, cf. *vāñchhāñ* l 8, *Krauñchārēr=va* l 32, *upabhuñjānasya* l 54, *uktañ=cha* l 55 and *lāñchhñ(t)am* l 60, but a different symbol is used for *ña* when it forms the second part of a conjunct consonant, as in *yaññair=* l 19. Such similarities of symbols are probably to be attributed to the faulty local pronunciations. The form of *pa* occasionally approaches that of *va*, cf. *gunin=āpi* l 5, the second *pā* in *pāp-āvatārair=* l 18, *pāyinaḥ* l 24 and *parivāritah* l 29. The guttural nasal is used instead of an anusvāra before *śa* as in the early Gupta records, cf. *ushn-āṣatējā[h]* for *ushn-āṣutējā[h]* l 21, *prabhās ṣṇsubhīh* for *prabhās-āṣubhīh* l 2, *prāṇsur=* for *prāṇsur=* l 3, *vanś=ētha* for *vamś=ētha* l 14. It is still traceable in the pronunciation of the Orīyas. The doubling of consonants after *r* except in the case of sibilants and the aspirate *ha* is common, cf. *manēr-ddigdha[h]* l 2, *-patir=mmahēbha-* l 17, *-āvatārair=nnūtām(tā)-* l 18, *ākārshatya-* l 23, *īrshayā* l 29, *yath=arhan (m)* l 50. The exceptions however are: *prān(m)sur=mahēbha-* and *Sambhōr=jatā[h]* (l 3), *patir=gari-yām (n)* (l 12), *-durlaliti(t-ā)śidhārā(rah)* and *kālēyair=bhūta-* (l 17), *-ākhilārēr=marud=va* and *dayālur=narapatir=* (l 21), etc. *N* is thrice wrongly replaced by an anusvāra marked on the preceding letter, cf. *prāptavām* for *prāptavān* (l 26), *lav(b)dh-ōnnatīm* for *lav(b)dh-ōnnatīm* (l 30), *asmim* for *asmīn* (l 47) and thrice *n* takes the place of an anusvāra, cf. *chitran* for *chitrañ* (l 26), *sarvan* for *sarvam* (l 36) and *yath=ārhan* for *yath=ārham* (l 50).

Of the initial vowels the text contains *a*, *ā*, *i*, *u*, *ē* and *ō*. In the Buguda plates *a* and *ā* are denoted by one and the same sign. In this record, we have a different sign for the length of *ā*, which is denoted by a cup-like addition on the proper left of the letter, cf. *a* in ll 24, 47, 51 and 53 with *ā* in ll 10 and 39. The initial *i* occurs in ll 1, 12, 14, 16, 25 and 27, *ē* in l 30 and *ō* in l 52. The initial *u* is found in l 55. For medial *u* we have two signs: the ordinary one, viz., a rounded curve to the reader's left, cf. *tantubhūr-* l 1, *pāntu* l 3, *prabhuh* l 9, *-kumbha-* l 17, *-tungād-* l 22, *turaga-* l 44, etc., and the perpendicular downward line with a straight small stroke to the left, cf. *pluti* l 3, *v(b) āhuh* l 4, *mumuda(ē)* l 13, *-patunā* l 20, etc. Similarly, *ū* is denoted by two signs, the first consisting of two rounded strokes, one to the right and the other to the left, cf. *śayambhūr=api* (l 8), *bhūmi-* (l 12) and *-bhūta-* (l 17), the other consisting of a downward horizontal stroke ending in a loop to the left as in the case of the Talēśvara copper-plates², cf. *sūnuh* (ll 12 and 27), *ripūn-* (l 30), *vidhūta(na)na* (l 38).

¹ Vide also No 3 of the Appendix A to the same Report.

² Ante Vol. XIII, plates facing pages 114 and 115.

and *pūjayati* (l 50) The division of verses in the text is not made in all the necessary places In some cases as in l 25 the engraver has marked the first half of a verse by a cursive stroke, which is also used along with two perpendicular strokes to indicate the end of a verse in several cases, as in l 15.

The language is Sanskrit Out of the first 11 verses in the Buguda grant of Mādhavavarman,¹ 9 are found in this record The inscription opens with a verse invoking the protection of the plaited hair of Śiva This is followed by the genealogy of the dynasty which starts with Pulindasōna as in the Buguda and Pārikud plates The construction of the first half of verse 5 of the Buguda plates, which comes as 4th in this record, was not clear to Kielhorn, evidently on account of the wrong text “*Śilāsakal-ōbhādē*” The reading in this grant and in the Pārikud plates clears up the point Here the text reads “*śilā-sakal ōbhādē*” which is to be construed with *prabhuh* in l 8 The purport of the verse in question is that Brahman created a ruler named Śailōdbhava ‘who split as under parts of a rock and was the founder of a dynasty’ The truth underlying this statement appears to be that the dynasty flourished originally in rocky regions The record next mentions Rāṇabhīta, who was born in the lineage of Śailōdbhava and who frightened many a time the wives of his enemies,² (as their husbands were sure to be killed in battles that were to be fought) To him was born Sainyabhīta, the king at whose successes, won by the strength of the impenetrable row of elephants in many a battle, the earth rejoiced (v 8). In his family was born Yaśōbhīta, who was also a great warrior His son was the benevolent ruler Sainyabhīta (Mādhavavarman II of the Buguda grant), who was a ‘lotus to the bees, viz, the eyes of charming women’ From him was descended Yaśōbhīta-dēva (II), whose surname was Madhyamarājadēva (v 11) His son was the king Dharmmarāja, who was proficient in all the sciences and whose character was unblemished King Mādhava, having obtained the kingdom by force and not being recognized (as a monarch), formed the evil intention of expelling from his province his elder relations, but was defeated in battle at Phāsikā by Dharmmarāja Thereafter he resorted for help to king Strīvara but was again defeated by him at the foot of the Vindhya (v 15) Dharmmarāja’s surname was Mānabhīta (v 16) He was pre-eminently a scholar and was, therefore, known as “*sakala-kāstra-viśēṣa-vēdī*,” i e, one who had a critical knowledge of all the sciences He is said to have spent his time in discussing religious matters in the assemblies of Brāhmins

The possible identification of Madhyamarāja with Yaśōbhīta II on the analogy of Dr. Hultzsch’s suggestion (which was accepted by Kielhorn) that Sainyabhīta was probably a surname of Mādhavavarman,³ was proposed by Mr R D Banerji in his article on the Pārikud plates,⁴ though in his opinion the exact relationship of Madhyamarāja with a former king was a matter of doubt Still, on the analogy of the Buguda plates, it may be presumed that Yaśōbhīta was the surname of Madhyamarājadēva.

The prose portion of the inscription records a grant of half of the village of Kōṇḍēdda in the district of Khūḍḍiṅgaḥāra to Bhatta Gōṇadēva-svāmīn, an *agnihōtrīn*, who belonged to the Kauśika-gōṭra and the Vājasaneyā-charana, and whose *Prataras* were Ō(Au)ḍalavat, Dēvarāta and Viśvāmītra.

I would ascribe the Buguda plates to the beginning of the 9th century A.D. although Kielhorn wanted to relegate them to the 10th century

According to Mr R D. Banerji, the Pārikud plates of Madhyamarājadēva, the father of the grantor of the plates under examination, are dated in the Harsha era The late Mr. Venkoba Rao

¹ Ante Vol III, pp 43-44

² Above, Vol VI, p 144

³ Verse 5

⁴ Above Vol XI, p 283

thought that they were dated in the Vikrama era But I would side with the late Mr V Venkayya in taking the numerical symbol as standing for the regnal year and read it as 10 or rather 30 The month can be made out with tolerable certainty but the actual *tithi* or date is a matter of considerable doubt though the traces of the symbol favour the reading 8

I am unable to identify the localities mentioned in the record Kōngōda has already been identified by Kielhorn with Kong-u-t'o (Kong-yu-t'o) of Huen-Tsiang ¹

TEXT ²

First Plate

- 1 श्री³ स्वस्ति - [॥*] इन्दोर्द्धैतमृणालतन्तुभिरिवः⁴ श्लिष्टाः करैः कोमलैर्व(र्ष)द्वा-
हेरव[णो]
- 2 तस्फुरत्फणिसरोर्द्धिग्धः(ग्धाः)प्रभासाङ्गु(सांशु)भिः [॥*] पार्वत्यासकचग्रहव्यति-
करव्यावृत्तव(व)-
- 3 म्वस्यथा गङ्गाऋभःपुतिभिन्मभस्मकणिका[ः*] शम्भोर्जटा[ः*] पान्तु वः ॥[१॥*]⁵
प्राङ्गु(प्रांशु)र्महेभक्कर-
- 4 [पी]वरचारुव(वा)ङ्गु[ः*] कृष्णाश्मसचयविभेदविशालवक्षा[ः*] राजीवकोमल-
दलाय-
- 5 [त]लोचनान्त[.] ख्यातः कलिङ्गजनतासु पुलिन्दसेनः ॥[२॥*] तेनेत्यगुणि
नापि सत्व-
- 6 [म]हता नेष्ट भुवो मण्डलं शक्नो यः परिपालनाय जगतः को नाम
स स्यादिति [॥*]
- 7 प्रत्यादिष्टविभु(भू)त्ववेन भगवानाराधितः शाश्वतस्तच्चित्तानुगुणं विधित्सु-
- 8 रदिशद्वाच्छां स्वयम्भूरपि ॥[३॥*] स शिलाशकलोद्भेदो⁶ तेनाप्यालोक्ष्य धो-
- 9 मता [॥] परिकल्पितसद्वद्भु(दंशः) प्रभुः शैलोद्भवः कृतः ॥[४॥*] शैलोद्भवस्य
- 10 कुलजो र[ण]भीत आसीद्येनासक्तकृतभियां द्विषदङ्गनानां~[॥*] ज्योत्स्नाप्रवो(वो)-
- 11 धसमये स्वधियैव सार्धमाकम्पितो नयनपद्मजलेषु चन्द्रः ॥[५॥*] तस्याभव-
- 12 दिवु(वु)धपान्नसमस्य स्रुतु[ः*] श्रीसैन्यभीत इति भूमिपतिर्गङ्गोद्या(यान्) [॥*]
य प्राप्य

¹ See Kielhorn's remarks above, Vol VI, p 136

² From ink-impressions

³ Expressed by a symbol

⁴ The *visarga* is superfluous

⁵ The second verse in the Pārikud plates praising king Mādhavēndra is omitted in this record

⁶ The reading in the Buguḍa plates of Mādhavavarmman (*Ep Ind*, Vol III, p 43) is शिलाशकलोद्भिदे, which Kielhorn corrected into शिलाशकलोद्भेदे For the interpretation of this reading see p 267, above.

- 13 ने(ने)कशतनाग¹घटाविघटलब्ध(व्य)प्रसादविजयं सुसुद(दे) धरित्री ॥[६ ॥*] तस्यापि
 14 वङ्गे(वशे)य यथार्थनामा जातो यशोभीत इति क्षितीशः [1*] येन प्ररुढोपि
 15 शुभैश्चरित्तैर्दृष्ट कलङ्क[1*] कलिदर्पणस्य ~ ॥[७ ॥*] जातोय तस्य तनयः

Second Plate, First Side

- 16 [सु]ज्ञातो समस्तसीमन्तिनीनयनपद्मपुण्डरीकः [1*] ओसैन्यभीत इति भूमिप-
 17 तिन्म(र्म्म)हेभकुभस्यलोदलनदुर्ललितो(ता)सिधारा(रः) ॥[८ ॥*] कालेयैर्भू-
 धाक्षीपति[-]
 18 भि[रुप]चित्तानेकपापावतारैर्नीतां(ता) येषां कथापि प्रलयमभिमत[1*] की-
 19 [र्त्ति]मालैरजस्र [1*] यज्ञैस्त्रैरश्वमेधप्रभृतिभिरमरास्तन्मितास्तृप्तिमुर्वी-
 20 मुद्गमारातिपक्षयकृतिपटुना औनिवासेन येन ~ ॥[९ ॥*] तस्योत्खाताखिला-
 21 रैर्मरुदिव जननीक्षास्त्रदुष्णाङ्गु(ष्णाशु)तेजा[1*] शु(शू)रो भानो दयालुर्नरप-
 22 ति^२रयशोभीतदेवस्तनूजः [1*] मातङ्गान्योतितुङ्गाह(न्व)हलमदमुच-
 23 श्वारुवक्त्रां(क्त्रान्) प्रचण्डा(ण्डान्) व(व)ध्वा कर्षत्यखिन्नः पुनरपि तयते
 यन्नत[1] [स प्र]-
 24 गल्भः ॥[१० ॥*] केचिच्छैलगुहोदरेषु नियता धूमावलीपायिनः अन्ये
 वायुफला-
 25 स्तु(स्तु)भक्षनिरता[1*] केचिन्निराहारका ~ [1*] इत्थं योगजुषो^३ विहाय वसतिं
 ध्यायन्ति [दिव्यं]
 26 पदं चित्त्रम्(चं म)ध्यमराजदेवगुणष्टद्राज्येपि^४ तन्नाप्तवां(वान्) ॥[११ ॥*]
 तस्याभवत्सकल[श]-
 27 क्षविशेषवेदी श्रीधर्मराज इति स्रनुरधीतशास्त्र[1*] तस्यातिनिर्मलय[शः]
 28 परिवर्द्धमान(नं) पादा हरैरिवनमा(भ)ञ्चि(ञ्चि)तमार्चि(न्नि)लोक्या[1] ~ ॥[१२ ॥*]
 निराश्रयैः प्रयत्नेन
 29 गुणैः स परिवारितः [1*] वैसुख्यादीर्षया चैव(व) सर्वदोषैर्विर्वर्जित[1] ॥[१३ ॥*]

^१From the plates published above, Vol VII, p 100 f, the reading °नान° appears to be certain. The reading रि° instead (ante, III, p 44, l 9) would look to be unjustifiable as also the one घटा which is only -घट ..

^२[The plate reads *narapatrayasōbhita*, thus showing that the name was *Ayasōbhita* (=one afraid of all fame) and not *Yasōbhita* (=afraid of fame) In the Pārikud plates also the reading in l. 15 can very well be *Ayasōbhitas*. In line 21, too, scanning shows that one letter is left out between *narapati* and *yaśō* and that letter is *ru*.—Ed.]

^३The Pārikud plates give योगजुषो which has been corrected into योगयुजी

^४The Pārikud plates read °द्राज्यपितप्राप्तवा Mr. Banerji's correction into पिनु, is not warranted. The intended reading appears to be °द्राज्येपि सत्प्राप्तवान् which is given in our plates. The idea conveyed by the expression seems to be that while others meditated upon it by practising austerities, Madhyamarāja got the दिव्यपद in his own kingdom

ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ १ ॥
 २ ॥ इति श्रीमद्भगवद्गीतायां अष्टादशोऽध्यायः ॥ २ ॥
 ३ ॥ श्रीकृष्ण उवाच ॥ धर्मक्षेत्रे कुरुक्षेत्रे समवेता
 ४ ॥ युयुत्सवः पाण्डवश्च द्रुपदश्चैव ॥ ४ ॥
 ५ ॥ सौम्यश्च भीमार्जुनसमश्चैव ॥ ५ ॥
 ६ ॥ युधिष्ठिरश्च भीमार्जुनसमश्चैव ॥ ६ ॥
 ७ ॥ युधिष्ठिरश्च भीमार्जुनसमश्चैव ॥ ७ ॥
 ८ ॥ युधिष्ठिरश्च भीमार्जुनसमश्चैव ॥ ८ ॥
 ९ ॥ युधिष्ठिरश्च भीमार्जुनसमश्चैव ॥ ९ ॥
 १० ॥ युधिष्ठिरश्च भीमार्जुनसमश्चैव ॥ १० ॥
 ११ ॥ युधिष्ठिरश्च भीमार्जुनसमश्चैव ॥ ११ ॥
 १२ ॥ युधिष्ठिरश्च भीमार्जुनसमश्चैव ॥ १२ ॥
 १३ ॥ युधिष्ठिरश्च भीमार्जुनसमश्चैव ॥ १३ ॥
 १४ ॥ युधिष्ठिरश्च भीमार्जुनसमश्चैव ॥ १४ ॥

१५ ॥ युधिष्ठिरश्च भीमार्जुनसमश्चैव ॥ १५ ॥
 १६ ॥ युधिष्ठिरश्च भीमार्जुनसमश्चैव ॥ १६ ॥
 १७ ॥ युधिष्ठिरश्च भीमार्जुनसमश्चैव ॥ १७ ॥
 १८ ॥ युधिष्ठिरश्च भीमार्जुनसमश्चैव ॥ १८ ॥
 १९ ॥ युधिष्ठिरश्च भीमार्जुनसमश्चैव ॥ १९ ॥
 २० ॥ युधिष्ठिरश्च भीमार्जुनसमश्चैव ॥ २० ॥
 २१ ॥ युधिष्ठिरश्च भीमार्जुनसमश्चैव ॥ २१ ॥
 २२ ॥ युधिष्ठिरश्च भीमार्जुनसमश्चैव ॥ २२ ॥
 २३ ॥ युधिष्ठिरश्च भीमार्जुनसमश्चैव ॥ २३ ॥
 २४ ॥ युधिष्ठिरश्च भीमार्जुनसमश्चैव ॥ २४ ॥
 २५ ॥ युधिष्ठिरश्च भीमार्जुनसमश्चैव ॥ २५ ॥
 २६ ॥ युधिष्ठिरश्च भीमार्जुनसमश्चैव ॥ २६ ॥
 २७ ॥ युधिष्ठिरश्च भीमार्जुनसमश्चैव ॥ २७ ॥
 २८ ॥ युधिष्ठिरश्च भीमार्जुनसमश्चैव ॥ २८ ॥

30 32 34 36 38 40 42 44

70 72 74 76 78 80 82 84

Text in Devanagari script, lines 30-44. The text is written in a dense, cursive style. There are two large circular holes on the left side of the manuscript page.

46 48 50 52 54 56 58

Text in Devanagari script, lines 46-58. The text is written in a dense, cursive style. There is one large circular hole on the left side of the manuscript page.

Second Plate, Second Side

- 30 काले हन्ति रिपून्महारणशतव्यापारलब्धो(ब्धो)द्धतोः(न्) काले स(भ)क्तिसुपैति
शुभ्र(ब्ध)-
- 31 चवि(रि)तैः शम्भोः कथाविस्तरैः [1*] काले धर्मविवेचनाय निरतो ब्रा(ब्रा)-
ह्मण्यमध्ये
- 32 स्थितः क्रौञ्चारेरिव यस्य चेष्टितमलं लोकः(कैः) समालोक्यते ~॥[१४ ॥*]
राज्यं लब्ध्वा(लब्ध्वा)व-
- 33 दर्पादविर्गणिततया माधवो ज्येष्ठभावां(वान्) देशादक्षादपास्तुं क्षतविषममति-
- 34 विग्रहे फासिकायां [1*] युद्धे क्षोभेण भग्नो नृपतिप(व)रसखी संश्रु(श्रि)-
त[:*] क्षीवराख्य(ख्यं)
- 35 पञ्चाक्षेनापि सार्धं पुनरपि विजितो विन्ध्यपादेषु जीर्णः ॥[१५ ॥*] शौर्यं
शौर्यौ[व]-
- 36 नं राज्यमेकैकं मदकारकं [1*] सर्व्वन्(र्व्वं) श्रीमानभीतस्य निर्व्विकारमुपस्थि-
- 37 त[म*] ॥[१६ ॥*] तुरगसुराभिघातविदलहरणीतलजं जयगजकर्णचाम-
- 38 रविधूत(न)नविस्फुरितं [1*] सुभटप्रसर्पणनिरुद्धककुब्ज(रुग्)गनं व(व)-
- 39 लरज एव यस्य जयति ह्रिपता ध्वजिनीं ॥[१७ ॥*] आरच्य प्रसभं
घटा गजगणैरश्वी-
- 40 यपादातकैः जित्वात्या(न्या)न्व(व)लशालिनो नृपवरानागत्य दृष्टेभुवं [1*]
युद्धे भीमप-
- 41 राक्षसेण विजिता निर्व्वृत्त्यदं प्रापिताः दृश्यन्ते भवनाङ्गणे प्रतिदिनं प्रातः
- 42 प्रणामार्थिन[:*]~॥[१८ ॥*] विजयसौम्यपुरवासकाच्छ्रीशैलोद्भवकुलतिलको
- 43 महामखवाजपेयाश्वमेधावसृष्टाननिर्व्वर्त्तितसूनुस्तनयो व(व)हुवि-
- 44 धमत्तवारणवरतुरगपदातिशयसंपातसंकुलो व(व)ह्वाहव-

Third Plate ; First Side

- 45 विनिहतशस्त्रनेकविक्रमाक्रान्तसकलभूमण्डलप्रथितयश(शा)वानुहन्ति[:]
- 46 संग्रामादसक्त(ल)लब्ध(व्य)प्रताप[:*] परममाहेश्वरो सातापितृपाद[1*]नुध्यात[:*]
श्रीध-
- 47 श्रीराजदेवः कुशलो ॥ अस्त्रिं(स्त्रिन्) कोङ्कोदमण्डले श्रीसामन्तमहा-
सामन्तम-
- 48 चाराजराज[1°]पकराजपुत्रान्तरङ्गदाण्डनायकदाण्डपात्रिकीपरिव[1°]स्तहिनि-

- 49 युक्तकव्यवहारि[ण]:¹ सकरणानन्याश्च ब्रा(ब्रा)ह्मणपुरोगादिद्वैषयिकजन-
 50 पदान्यथाहंनूपू(हं पू)जयति मानयत्याज्ञापयति च विदितमस्तु भवता(तां) स्त्रि-
 51 ङ्ङिह्वारविषयसम्ब(स्व)द्धकोण्डे ड्येग्रामार्द्धोयं अकरोक्तव्य
 52 [कौ]शिकसगोक्षाय वाजसनेयचरणाय श्रीदत्तवत्देवरात-
 53 विश्वामित्र(त्र)प्रवराय अग्निहोत्रो(त्रो)भट्टगोणदेवस्वामिने मातापितृरात्मनश्च
 54 पुण्याभिह्वये सलिलधारापुरस्सरेणाचन्द्रार्क² कालसुपमुञ्जानस्य ध-
 55 र्मगौरवान्न केनचिद्विघाते वर्त्तितव्यमिति ॥ उक्तञ्च धर्मशास्त्रे [१*]
 व(व)हुभिर्व्व-
 56 सुधा दत्ता राजभिः सगरादिभिः [१*] यस्य यस्य यदा भूमिस्तस्य तस्य
 तदा फ-
 57 लं ॥[१६ ॥*] स्वदत्तां परदत्तां स्वा(वा) यो हरत वसुन्धरां स्वविद्यायां
 कृमिर्भूत्वा पितृभिः[*]
 58 सह पच्यते ॥[२० ॥*] मा भूदफलशङ्का वः परदत्तेति पार्थिवा[*] स्वदाना-
 त्फलमा-
 59 [नन्त्यं] परदत्तानुपाल[नं] ॥[२१ ॥*] दूतकोक्षाधिकृतचरम्यदेव(वो) लिखितं

Third Plate, Second Side.

- 60 [सु..] दा[मोद[रेण ला [व्किंतं]. [टापल..
 61 उत्कोणं..]³ स्थविरावृद्धेनेति [॥] सम्ब(व)त् ३० वैशाख शु [८] [॥*]

ABRIDGED TRANSLATION.

Ll 26-42 His (Madhyamarājadēva's) son was the illustrious **Dharmmarāja**, who studied all the *śāstras* and who comprehended their characteristic differences, and whose very untarnished and increasing fame removed human sufferings as do the feet of Hari (Vishnu). He was possessed of excellent qualities and was free from all failings. At times he would kill foes who had risen to prominence in battle-fields and go into raptures over the tales of Śiva's radiant deeds, or he would devote himself to religious deliberations with Brahmans. His exploits were like those of the enemy of Krauñcha (i.e. Kārttikēya). King Mādhava, having obtained the kingdom by force, was defeated at Phāsikā for having formed the evil intention of driving away from the country his elderly relations. This king (Mādhava) then resorted for help to Strīvara, the king's enemy, but being later on foiled even when accompanied by him, fell at the foot of the Vindhya. Though bravery, prosperity, youth and sovereignty are ever singly sufficient to cause perturbation, yet all of them came to the illustrious king Mānabhīta without producing

¹ यवहारिश्च appear to have been subordinate officers appointed by the above mentioned higher officials for transacting actual business as compared with supervising

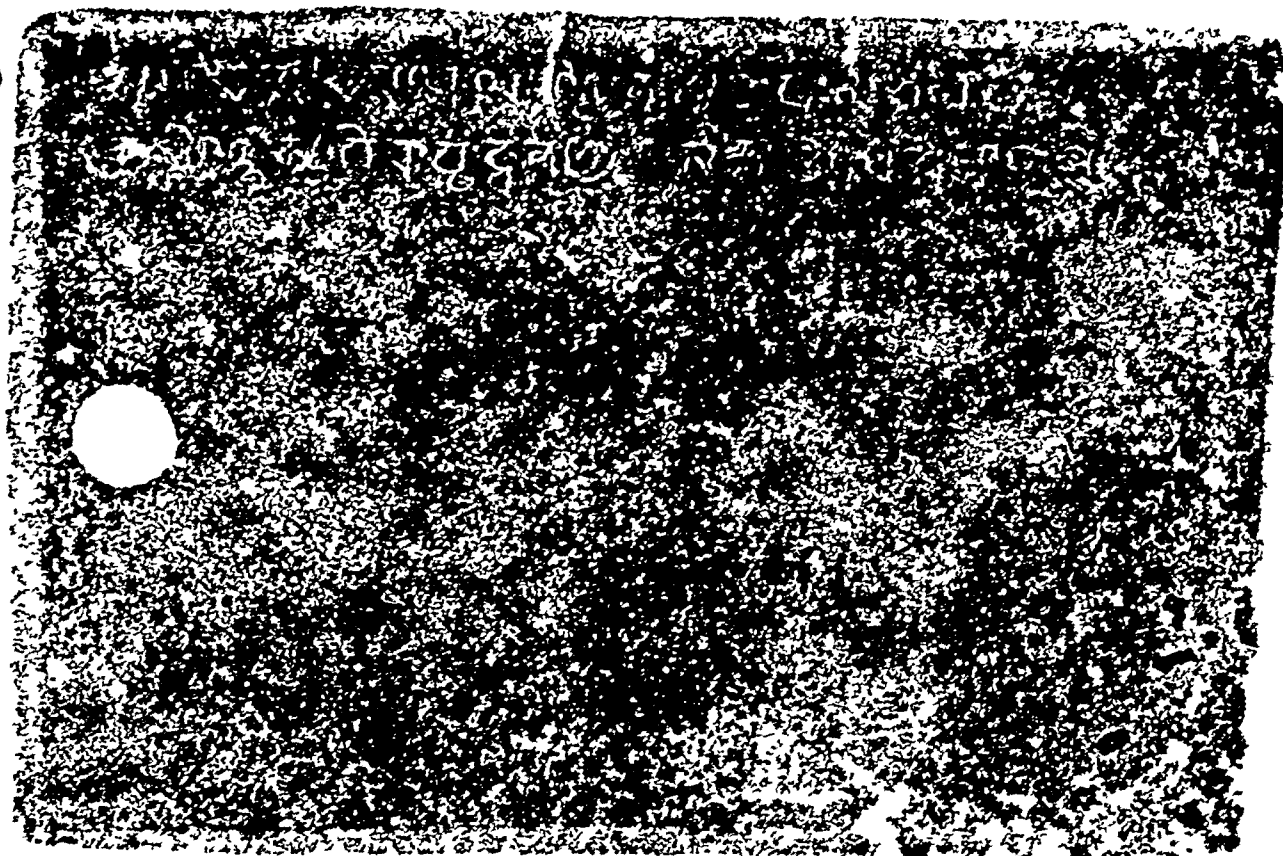
² [Something like दत्त यथा may be supplied after आचन्द्रार्क—Ed.]

³ The portion is much-damaged उत्कोणं, however, appears to be pretty certain

KONDEDDA GRANT OF DHARMARAJA

vib.

60



60

any change in him. The dust raised by his army alone conquers the bannered host of his foes—the dust which rises from the earth beaten at the trampling of the hooves of the horses, which is enlarged by the movement of the chowries in the form of the ears of successful elephants and screens the heaven and the quarters by the spreading caused by the shields of his great warriors. Having forcibly arrayed the troops with the multitudes of elephants, horsemen, and foot soldiers, he vanquished the rival kings. Others who were conquered by him, and who displayed formidable prowess in the battle-field, were brought to the place of bliss by his coming within their sight and were seen every morning in the courtyard of his palace ready to pay him their respects.

Ll 42-61 From his victorious camp located at Saumyapura the glorious **Dharmmarāja-dēva**, the jewel of the **Śailōdbhava** family, the son of one who had his body purified by the ablutions taken after the celebration of the **Mahāmukha**,¹ the **Vājapēya** and the **Āsvamēdha** sacrifice, who had a collection of proud elephants, excellent horses, and weapons of foot-soldiers of different kinds, who vanquished enemies in a number of battles, who is famous all over the world for his heroic actions, who is very liberal, who won laurels in many a battle, who is a great worshipper of **Mahēśvara** (Śiva), who meditates on the feet of his parents, in this province, called **Kōṅgōda**, honours, commands and worships,² as is befitting, the illustrious feudatory princes, great feudatory princes, great kings, royal personages, princes, superintendents³ over magistrates,⁴ police officers,⁴ and subordinate officers, appointed by them such as *karanas*⁵ and local persons, such as **Brāhmins** and citizens —“ Let it be known to you that in order to increase religious merit of our parents and ourselves, this half of the village, called **Kōṇ-dēdda**, included in the district of **Khiḍḍingahāra** rendered tax-free, has been bestowed with the libations of water on **Bhatta Gōnadēvasvāmīn** of the **Kauśika-gōtra**, **Vājasanēya-charana**, and of the **Audalavat(ha)**, **Dēvarāta** and **Viśvāmītra pravara**s, who maintains the sacrificial fire. While he is in the enjoyment of it, so long as the moon and the sun endure, no body should obstruct him, out of regard for religious merit. It has been laid down in the Code of Law. (Here follow the three of the usual benedictory and imprecatory verses.) The executive officer of this document is **Charampadēva** who is in charge (of such duties). This charter is written by **Dāmōdara**. It is sealed by **Tāpala**⁶ and engraved by **Sthavira Vṛiddha**. (Dated) the 8th day of the bright fortnight of **Vaiśākha** of the 30th (regnal) year ”

No 47 —THE ADDANKI STONE INSCRIPTION OF PANDARANGA.

BY THE LATE K. V. LAKSHMANA RAO, M A, MADRAS

This inscription was first published with an indistinct plate in the *Nellore Inscriptions*⁸ by Messrs. Butterworth and Venugopaul Chetty. It was not then thought that it contained any

¹ Mr R. D. Banerji in the *Parikud plates*, *Ep Ind*, Vol XI, p. 286, l. 38, reads °सुख. But here the reading is clearly °सुख. In the *Parikud plates*, too, I would read °सुख.

² पूजयति must be construed with **Brāhmins**.

³ दाण्डनायका, =magistrates

⁴ दाण्डपाशका, =police officers.

⁵ करवा correspond to *kulkarnis* of the Deccan.

⁶ The words following टापल excepting उरकीण, are not clear to me.

⁷ The symbol which I take as 30 may stand for 10, but not for 800. The king's reign was perhaps somewhat longer than an ordinary one.

⁸ Vol II, p. 896.

verse. While I was studying ancient Telugu inscriptions for an article on Telugu 'Philology' to be published in my *Telugu Encyclopædia*, it arrested my attention and I made a special study of it and came to the conclusion that the lines 3-7 contained a Telugu verse in the *Taruvōṣa* metre. I published my results in Telugu in my presidential address at the Fifth Session of the Telugu Research Society, Chitrāḍa (Godāvari Dist.) I requested the Assistant Archaeological Superintendent for Epigraphy, Madras, to supply me with a fresh estampage of this and some other inscriptions, which I suspected contained Telugu verses of the period of Paṇḍaranga and am now editing this inscription from the estampage kindly supplied to me by him.

This inscription is engraved on a stone now lying in a field at Addanki in the Ongole Tāluka of the Guntur district. The stone is broken at the top to the extent of three or four lines and also slightly at the bottom. As it is, all the letters of the first line are damaged, except the lower halves of the last two letters, which may be read as *pura*. The second line also is similarly mutilated except the last four letters which seem to form the last portion of a verse that must have preceded the extant one.

The alphabets are of the Eastern Chālukyan type of the time of Gunaga-Vijayāditya III to which the record belongs. There seem to have been two types of characters which were then current. One is found in the Masulipatam plates¹ of this king and another in his Uruvutūru grant². The first may be termed the round hand and the second square or angular hand. In this inscription which is in round hand, the upper portion of the consonant *ka* and the mark for the secondary *u* when added to *k*, are somewhat cursive, as compared with the same letters in the copper-plate grants of this king.

There is a difference between the secondary form of *e* as seen in this inscription and the one seen in the Bezwada pillar inscription³. In the latter, we find that the secondary sign of *e* is marked generally over the main letter and goes up from left to right like a tail, while in this inscription it is always placed at the left side of the main letter and is a small curved line with a downward bend. The letters *a* and *ā* are written almost alike in this record. The forms of the letters *ka*, *ba*, *ma*, *ya* and *ra* are more archaic, and the secondary symbols for *ā*, *ai*, *o* and *ō* are shorter and less ornamental here than in the Yaddhamalla inscription. The subscript *r* which is not common is employed in this inscription in *ivandṛeṇḍu* (l. 6) as in the Bezwada record, in *gondṛu* (l. 14). In one instance *d* is employed wrongly for *t* in *vudlu* (l. 10) for *vutlu*. The letter *ṣ* is used indifferently in many cases where we should expect *n* e.g., *banchina* (l. 5), *goni* (l. 6), *ḍ-āna* (l. 7) and *Kandukur* (l. 8). In two places *ś* is replaced by *s* in *Māhēśvarundu* (l. 9) and *asvamedha* (l. 11). This last feature is very common in Kannaḍa inscriptions.

The symbol representing the Dravidian sound *ḷ* is found in l. 6. This sound was represented by the same symbol in ancient Kannaḍa also. The existence of this sound in early Telugu was first revealed by the Yuddhamalla inscription³.

The language is Telugu. The first eight lines (except the broken ones) are in verse and the remaining lines are in prose. The language, being that of the ninth century A.D., is a little archaic, and the meanings of certain obsolete words are to be inferred from cognate words in other languages.

In orthography it resembles the Bezwada pillar inscription of Yuddhamalla. *Anusvāra* is used in several places. In some, it has the value of the modern Telugu *ardhānusvāra* (e.g., *prabhūm*-l. 4), in others, it serves as the class nasal (e.g., *garuvamb appaga*! 3 f and *lottambu* l. 6). For purposes of metre it has to be elided in some places in this inscription just as in

¹ Above, Vol. V, p. 122

² C.P. No. 3 of 1912-13. See also *Journal of the Telugu Academy*, Vol. I, p. 140.

³ Above, Vol. XV, p. 150

the Bezwada inscription. The absence of forms ending in *mu* or *mmu* and the frequent use of *mbu* instead would show that in early periods the latter was the only form adopted and that the former two are later developments of it. Scansion would require the elision of the basic *l* in *goḷelchīya* (l. 6), cf. *goragalā* in l. 10 of the Yuddhamalla inscription.

The metre *Taruvōja*¹ in which the verse is written is a group of eight *Dvipadas*, whose two feet form one *pāda* of it. The verse is transcribed below according to the modern Telugu orthography, showing the four feet separately, the *prāsa* (rhyming) letters are underlined and the places of *yati* (caesura) are shown by asterisk and the *ardhānusrāra* is represented by a semi circle (◌). This long metre did not find much favour with the Telugu poets. On the other hand, the *Dvipada* metre is a very popular one.

- 1 Pattambu (gattina* prathamambu nēndu* balagarvvam=oppaga (*baī lēchi sēna-
- 2 Pattambu gattimchi* prabhu (Bamdaramgu* bhanchina sāmamta* padu vasō bōya
- 3 Kottamul pamḍremdu* gonī Vēngi-nāmti (* goḷeḷchī ya Tribhuvanām*
kuśabāna nīpī
- 4 Katteputurgambu* gadu bayal chēsī Kamdukur-Bbejavāda* gāvimche mecheu

Pandaranga was the minister of Gunaga-Vijayāditya III of the Eastern Chālukya line. In almost every grant of Vijayāditya the name of Pandaranga is found as the executor (*ājñāpti*). This king ruled from A D 844 to 888. We are told in this inscription that Pandaranga was made the commander-in-chief of the army in the first year of the king's coronation. The date of the inscription therefore can safely be put as A D 844-5.

Pandaranga took twelve *kottams* of the Bōyas, established the flags (or sovereignty) of the kings of Vēngi-nāndu, and laid bare the fort of Katte (Kattepu-durgamu). He was a *Parama-Māhēśvara* (great worshipper of Śiva) and gave certain lands to the Āditya-Bhatāra (Sun-god) at Dammavuram.

This inscription is very important to the students of Telugu literature, as it furnishes a positive evidence of the existence of Telugu poetry in the middle of the 9th century A D. The oldest Telugu work now extant is the *Mahābhārata* of Nannaya-Bhatta, the Poet Laureate in the court of the Eastern Chālukya Rājārāja I (A D 1022-1063) of Rajahmundry. It was, therefore, believed by many Telugu scholars that the beginnings of the Telugu poetry could not go to a period earlier than the eleventh century of the Christian era. But the Bezwada pillar inscription of Yuddhamalla took it a century back. The present inscription takes it a century further still.

Of the places mentioned in this inscription Dammavurambu (ll 10 11) is the village of Dharmavaram which is not far off from Addanki and where two more stone inscriptions² of Pandaranga are to be noticed. The reading 'Kandukur-Bejavāda' in l. 8 is doubtful. But at Kandukur we have a stone inscription³ of Pandaranga, containing a Telugu verse in *Sisa* metre. Pandaranga claims to have conquered twelve *kottams* of the Bōyas. *Kōttam* is an ancient geographical and administrative division, generally met with in Tamil inscriptions. It was bigger than the *nādu* and smaller than the *mandalam*. We have Kōttām-sima in the Godāvāri district,

¹ Brown's *Grammar of the Telugu Language*, Book XI

² *Nellore Inscriptions*, Vol II, Ongole Nos 39 and 40. I believe these two inscriptions are also in verse.

³ *Ibid*, Vol II, p 544. Kandukur Nos 31 and 32. It is a matter for regret that the original stone of this inscription which was removed to the taluk office from Ramaswami mēda in Kandukur town by Mr Venugopal Chetty is now missing.

ADDANKI STONE INSCRIPTION OF PANDARANGA.



- 8 bayal-sēsi Kandukur¹-Bbejav[ā]da gāviñche meechhi [||*]
 9 Paṇḍaramgu parama-Mahēśvarundu² Āditya-batāram-
 10 ki icchhina bh[ū]mi enubodī vudlu³ aḍlu patṭu nāla Da-
 11 mmavurambuna dammuvulu vīni rakshīñchinav[ā]rīki asva⁴
 12 mēdambuna palamb[u] agu [||*]

TRANSLATION.

(Line 1) pura

(L 2.) The king

(Verse 1) In the first year after coronation, (*the king*) being proud of his army (or strength) and elated (*thereby*), having anointed (*i.e.* appointed) Pandaramga, the Sāmanta, to the command of the army and sent (*him*), he (*i.e.* Pandaranga) captured twelve *kottāms* belonging to one [Vasō]-Bōya. He reached (*i.e.* ascended and captured) the hill-top (*i.e.* forts on the top of the hill) of Vērhgi-nānda and planted the goad of Tribhuvanāmkuśa (*there*). He exposed fully (*i.e.* made bare after conquest) the fort of Katto. He liked and praised Kandukur and Bejavāda.

(Lines 9-12) Paṇḍaranga who was the best of the *Māhēśvaras* (*i.e.* the worshippers of Mahēśvara or Śiva) gave to (*the god*) Āditya-Bhātīra, land sowable with eighty *candies* of paddy. This is a charity at Dammavuram. Those who protect these charities will acquire such merit (as is obtained) by (*performing*) the *Asvamēdha* (*sacrifice*).

No 48 — A NOTE ON THE ADDANKI INSCRIPTION OF PANDARANGA.

By J. RAMAIA PANTULU, B A , B L

I am obliged to Dr. Hirananda Sastri for the opportunity of making a few remarks on this inscription which is so valuable from the point of view of the history of the Telugu language and literature. For the sake of convenience, I propose to group my remarks under the following headings, viz, 1 reading, 2 characters, 3 orthography, 4 grammar, 5 vocabulary and 6 interpretation.

Reading

The reading *garuvambooppaga* (lines 3 and 4) is correct as it is, but to make it grammatically correct, we must insert an *anuvāra* both before and after the final *ga*. The reading *banchina* (line 5) makes good sense, but I am afraid it has to be rejected on orthographical grounds. The combination *nch* is not merely a "mistake" (foot-note 4), but it is unknown to the author (or the engraver) of the inscription, for it is always *ñ*, *i.e.*, the last letter in the *ch* varga which is used in the inscription in conjunction with *ch* as it should be. The second consonant of the syllable under consideration must, therefore, be sought for in the *ḥ* varga but I am not certain what it should be. There is a Telugu verb *pannu* which becomes *pannu* in Kanarese and Tamil and it means 'to prepare' or 'make ready'—as an army—which is not a quite unsuitable meaning. Or is it possible that there was once the verb *panṭu* in Telugu which meant the same thing as *pañchu*, *i.e.*,

¹ The reading is again doubtful. If we read *Kandukur-Bbejavāda*, there comes the unnatural combination of *naḍḍ* (not *d*). This we shall have to consider to be the mistake of the writer. *Rēpha* is not very clear. Its existence is conjectural.

² Read *Māhēśvarundu*.

³ Read *vudlu*.

⁴ Read *atva*.

to 'order' or 'depute' ? The final syllable in line 6 must be read as *yā* with a long *a*. Here *yā* stands for the remote demonstrative pronoun *ā* 'that' and goes with *tribhuvanāmkūśa*. The reading *bāna* after *tribhuvanāmkūśa* (line 7) is incorrect. The exact reading is *bana* which, I think, should be corrected into *mbuna*, the syllable *na* being a favourite mistake with the author for *na*. The expression would then read as *tribhuvanāmkūśambuna*, meaning "with the *tribhuvanāmkūśa*."

Orthography

The use of the sign of *anusāra* is an interesting feature of the Telugu inscriptions. In Telugu proper, there is no *anusāra* strictly so called. It always stands for and has the phonetic value of the final nasal consonant of the *varga* to which the succeeding consonant belongs. Originally the nasals themselves were written in all cases. At a later stage, the *bindu* (dot or circle) was substituted for the nasal consonant, and was placed exactly where the consonant originally stood, viz., on the top of the succeeding consonant. Later on, its position was shifted slightly to the left in the same line and later still, it was brought down to a place exactly between the preceding and subsequent consonants. This last is its present position. Owing, perhaps, to this position, the *anusāra* is now regarded as forming part of the preceding consonant and not that of the succeeding one. In the Yuddhamalla inscription, the *anusāra* generally occupies the second of the positions described above, while in the present inscription, it generally occupies the first position, thereby showing that the present inscription is older than the Bezvada one. The intermediate position is also met with in the present inscription (as in *Pandaramga* in line 9) but it is rare. In *Vēṃginānti* (line 6) the *anusāra* is to the right of *gi* but this is evidently due to a slip of hand on the part of the engraver.

Grammar

Prathamambunēndu (line 3) is a compound of *prathamambu* and *ēndu*. The augment *n* as the connecting link between these two words is unusual and not in accordance with the accepted rules of grammar¹. *Asīamēdhambuna phalambu*—The augment *na* in cases like this is met with frequently in the writings of Nannaya-Bhatta and rarely in subsequent writers. The present inscription, like many other old inscriptions, shows that the grammatical rule that *ḷ*, *ch*, *t*, *ṭ* and *p* coming after a *kala* in *sandhi* became *g*, *ṇ*, *d*, *ḍ* and *v* respectively, was originally held to be compulsory (*ṇityam*) while it is only optional (*vaikalpikam*) now.

Vocabulary

Paḍuva means army and is cognate with the Tamil *paḍai* (?) and the Kanarese *pade*. It has gone out of use in Telugu as a separate word but lingers in such derivatives as *paḍaiālu* and *paḍaialamu*.

Goḷalchi. The exact meaning of this word is not clear but it cannot certainly bear the meaning attributed to it by Mr Lakshmana Rao. It seems to be used in the sense of 'having conquered' or 'having captured'.

Aḍlu. I do not think this word means 'paddy'. I rather think that it is the older form of *āḷlu* which is another name of *ārikalu*, a kind of inferior grain.

Interpretation

I am afraid I must differ from Mr Lakshmana Rao in one or two respects in the interpretation of the verse portion of the inscription consisting of lines 2 to 8. My interpretation² is as follows:—

The king, in the first year of coronation, being proud of his strength and elated (*thareby*), having appointed (anointed) Pandaramga to the command of the army and deputed him, he (*ṣe*),

¹ [Such *sandhi* consonants are known to Pāli and Prākṛit also—Ed.]

² [See also *Ep. Rep.* for 1923, pp. 97 ff.—Ed.]

Pandaramgu) having, with the (*help of the*) tributary army, captured the twelve Bōya principalities, having (*also*) wrested Vēṃgi nāṇḍu and kept it by (*means of*) the Tribhuvanāṃkuśa (weapon), (*and*) having utterly demolished the fort of Kattembu, (*he*) admired and made (?) Kandukur and Bejavāda

The concluding passage referring to Kandukur and Bejavāda is unintelligible. The verb *lāṛiṇche* (*ga* is due to *sandhi*) literally means 'caused to become'. The passage may mean that Pandaramgu caused Kandukur and Bejavāda to exist, *i e*, built them or that he caused Kandukur to become Bejavāda, neither of which interpretation is quite satisfactory. Is it possible that *lāṛiṇche* is used in the sense of *lāche*, *i e*, 'saved', in which case, the passage would mean that having destroyed the Kattepu Fort, Pandaramgu spared Kandukur and Bejavāda because he admired them?

No 49 —THE BHATERA COPPER-PLATE INSCRIPTION OF GOVINDA-KESAVADEVĀ
(C 1049 A D)

By PROF DR K. M. GUPTA, SYLHET, ASSAM.

This plate along, with another, was discovered in a mound called Itertillah in the village of Bhātērā, about 20 miles from Sylhet. Mr Luttman-Johnson, the Deputy Commissioner of Sylhet, in 1880, sent facsimiles of these plates to Dr Rajendralal Mitra, who published his reading of the texts along with his translations in the *Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, August 1880, pp 141-151. They are now in the possession of Mr Umesh Chandra Chaudhury who very kindly lent the above named document to me for examination. It has apparently suffered from fire, and as a result of it, one of its corners is damaged and some of the letters incised there have become mutilated. While examining the inscription, I found that Dr Mitra had read and interpreted some of its portions wrongly, and it is on this account, especially, that I am re-editing it here.

The plate bearing this inscription measures 12½" by 11" and except for the damage by fire just mentioned, is in a good state of preservation. There is no seal attached to it. It has 55 lines in all, of which 27 are written on the first and the rest on the second side. Lines 1 to 29 are written in Sanskrit. Of the rest, lines 29 to 51 are couched in local Bengali dialect and the remainder probably in Kuki. The characters are well cut and belong to about the 11th century A.D. and are generally like those used in the Gayā Krishna-Dvārikā temple inscription of the reign of Nayapālādēva,¹ the Tarpaṇḍighī grant of Lakshmanasēna² and the Tippera inscription of Raṇavankamalla.³

Some of the compound letters in the present record are different from those of the Tarpaṇḍighī grant and the Tippera inscription. 'Śrī' is like that given in Nayapāla-dēva's inscription, 'ku' is like that of the 11th century A.D., as given in Table V, Col XVIII, No 44 of Bühler's *Indian Palaeography*. The numerals used in the plate, however, seem to be earlier than those of the 11th century A.D. It may be noted here that the scribbled letters at the end of the reverse side of the plate, which presumably contains the date, do not resemble any of the letters in the main body of the document. There are a few letters which are recognisable as *da*, *pa*, *va* and *la*. Of these *da* and *pa* are of a later type. The numerals, however, mostly look like those of the plate.

¹ *Gauda lēkha-mālā*

² *Ep Ind*, Vol. XII, p 8

³ *Asiatic Researches*, Vol. IX, 1807 (p 402), [*Ep Ind*, Vol V, App, No, 365.—Ed.]

The inscription under examination tells us that the principality of Śrīhatta was very prosperous under the rule of a king whose name was probably Kharavāṇa and who had Gōkula-dēva for his son. The latter had Nārāyaṇa as his son. From him came Gōvinda-Kēśava-dēva, who was a great conqueror. This prince made a donation of 296 houses and 375 *halaṣ* of land herein specified to god Śiva in Bhattapātaka or Bhātapadā (modern Bhātērā). He also appointed different persons from subject races to attend on this God. Then follows a long description. At the end of the imprecatory verses in the document the date, which consists of 13 letters or rather groups of letters, seems to have been scribbled. Rajendralal Mitra read it as 'Pāṇḍava-kulādīpālāvda 4328' = 1245 A D.¹ But I do not think he was right. In the 10th group of letters I find four numerals, namely, 4, 1, 5, 1. For 5 c/ Ojha's *Prācīna Bhāratīyakhimālā* (plate LXXXVI), which represents a 5 of the 11th to the 12th century A D. I read the eleventh letter as 'je', the 12th as 'ta' and the 13th as 9. If this reading be correct then the date of the inscription would fall in 1049 A D, which is found by deducting 3102 B C (the beginning of the Kali era) from 4151.

If we assign, on the average, 25 years to each reign and treat the date 1049 A D as the middle of Gōvinda-Kēśavadēva's reign, then the time of the founder of the line falls roughly about 1000 A D. With regard to the name Kharavāṇa (or Naragīrvāṇa) it is doubtful if this at all represents a name, first because it is not consistent with the naming of his successors and secondly because the second Bhātērā inscription² omits it. I believe the name of the founder of the kingdom of Śrīhatta is purposely kept in a semi-mythical garb, as is too common in the genealogies of ancient Indian kings. He was probably a military leader only, as may be surmised from an epithet like *kharavāṇah*, and came of the Lunar dynasty of kings of Tippera or Cachar. The greatest of the line, as it appears from both the inscriptions, was Gōvinda-Kēśavadēva who seems to have been a versatile genius. The identification of some of the place-names goes to prove that Gōvinda-Kēśavadēva's rule extended over at least the modern *parganas* of Bhātērā, Vanabhāga, Baramchāl, Langlā, Itā, Chuāllis, Maurāpur, Tēngrā, Tarap, Kaudiya, etc., in Sylhet, and probably some portions of Hill Tippera and Cachar also.

Many of the place-names given in the inscription have still been retained though some of them are slightly altered; e.g.

Badagāma (line 30) is modern Badagāo (Po Bhātērā)

Mahurāpura (30) is modern Maurāpura, near Fenchuganj

Itākhālā (30) is modern Itākhālā near Bhātērā

Baḍapañcālā (30-31) is modern Baramchāl or Brahmachal (Ry station)

Āmatah (31) is modern Āmtail (*pargana* Langlā)

Kātākhālā (31) there is a river of this name in the Hailakandi sub-division (Cachar); there is also a Railway station (A. B. R.) of this name

Simhajara³ (31) is modern Simrājūr (*par* Bhātērā)

Bhāskara or Bhāsara-tengarī (31 & 37) is evidently a village in Tēngrā mouja.

Gudāvayī (31) is modern Gudābhai.

Ākhālikula (32) is probably modern Ākhāilkul in *par* Chuāllis. It may also refer to a piece of land on the river named Ākhālgāng in *par*. Itā

Parākōṇā (32) is modern Barakona (Po Bhātērā)

¹ See *P. A. S. B.*, August 1880, p. 143.

² *Ibid.*, pp. 152-153.

³ [The original and the transcript give *Simhaura* — Ed.]

Vālūsīgāma (33) is modern Bāūsīgāma in *par* Tarap

Śughara (33) is modern Śughara in *par* Tarap

Navahātī (33) is modern Noāhātī

Kaḍaḍiyā (34) is modern Kaudiyā (*pargana*) It may also refer to Kadāiyā in *par*. Itā.

Varuṇī (34) is modern Varuṇī in *par* Banabhāga (near P S Biswanāth) It may also refer to Varuṇāgrāma in *par* Chuāllis

Saramā (? 35) is modern Surma river on which Sylhet is situated

Kālyānī may be modern Kālān river near Kānīhātī on the border of Hill Tippera

Phōmpātīpā (36) may be a place within Hill Tippera

Salāchāpaḍā (38) may be modern Sālchāprā (Ry station, A. B. R., in Cachar district)

Sāgara (38) probably refers to the famous Hākālukī Hāor It should be noted that the word 'hāor' is a corrupt form of Sāgar or sāyara (lit sea)

Dhāmāyī (39) or Dhāma-nadī (42) now goes by the name Dhāmai.

Chengachohhuḍī (41) is modern Chenchhaḍī in *par* Baramchāl There is also a place of this name in *par*. Langla

Vāsudēvaśāsana is probably modern Vāsudēvapūr

Jaḍīgāṅg (43) is modern Judīgāṅg which flows by the Ry station Juri (A. B. R.)

Pōhāniyā (44) is probably the village of this name in *par* Chuāllis

Bōbāchadā (44) is the modern streamlet of this name near Bhātērā

Kararagāma (43-44) is modern Karērgām (*par* Langla).

The *hala* measurement of land still prevails in Sylhet

3 *krāntis* = 1 *ladā*

4 *ladās* = 1 *gandā*

20 *gandās* = 1 *pana*

4 *panas* = 1 *rēkhā*

4 *rēkhās* = 1 *ṣaṣṭhi*

7 *ṣaṣṭhis* = 1 *poā*

4 *poās* = 1 *kēdāra* or *kēyāra*

12 *kēdāras* or *kēyāras* = 1 *hala* or *hāla*

= about 10½ *bighas*

= about 3½ acres

375 *halas* would thus be about 3,937½ *bighas* or about 1,312½ acres of land. Although in verse 19 the land granted is stated to be 375 *halas* with 296 houses, the totals of the figures actually given in the descriptive portion under the two heads are respectively about 451 (excluding 20 *kēdāras*) *vila*; and about 423 But I am not sure if these figures have not been manipulated

TEXT ¹

[Metres — Vv 1, 8, 9 and 10, *Śārdḍulavikrīḍita*, v 2, *Pushpātāgrā*, vv 3, 4, 11 and 18, *Āryā*, v. 5, *Upajāti*, v 16, *Upēndravajrā*, vv 6, 7 and 15, *Vasantatilaka*, vv 12 and 17, *Vamśasthāṭila*; v 13, *Prūhī*, v 14 *Sragdharā*, vv 19, 20, 21 and 22, *Anushtubh*]

Obverse

1* 'Om namah Śivāya || Yah karttā bhuvana-trayasya tanubhir=viśvam pṛthi-
vy-ādibhir=yasy=ēdam dhriyatē ya Īśvara iti khyātō=

2 bhavan=n=ā[pa]rah | yah samjñā-trayam=ēka ēva bhajati traiguṇya-bhēd-āśritō
Vrahm Ōpēndra-Mahēśvar=ēti jagatām=īśāya ta-

¹ Edited from the original

² At the very beginning of the text there appear to be two strokes, one of which is dear

- 3 smai namah || [1*] Tripurahara-śirah-kirītaratnam Smara-yuvatīr-abhishēka-raupya
kumbhah [1*] kusuma-viśīkha-bāna-śāna chakram
- 4 jayati nīśā-tilakas=tushāra-rōchih || [2*] Vamsē='śya bhūmipatayah katitē
nīshpāra-paurush[ā] jātāh [1] yēshūm yaśa[h*]
- 5 praśastir=bhuvī Bhāratasamhit=aiv-āstī || [3*] Atha viśruta prabhāvah prabhavaḥ¹
Śrīharājya-Kamalāyāh | samajanī na[ra] gīrvī-
- 6 nah Kharavānah kshimābhujām śrēshthah || [4*] Tasyā[ā[t*]majō rāja pitāmahō-
'bhūt² mahīpatir=Gōkuladēvanāmā³ | Yasya pratā
- 7 p-ārkaruchō=pī chī[tra]m disanty=arī kshimā patī jādya mudrām || [5*] Tasmād-
amanda-bhujā-mandara-mathyamāna pratyā[r*]tī-pārthivā-
- 8 samudra-samuddhrita-śrīh [1*] Nārāyanō='janī mahīpatir=anvakūrī yāna sphaṭa⁴
sa bhagavāna⁵ śrīta-nandakēna || [6*] Tasmād=asī-
- 9 ma-guna-gaurava gīta-kīrttir=bhūpāla-maulī manī mandita pāda-pīthah | śrīmān kshī-
tindra-tilakō ripu-rāja-
- 10 gōpī-Gōvinda ity=ajanī Kēśavadēva ēshah || [7*] Yah sīm=ūdbhuta paurushasya
yaśasām dhāma śrīyām=āśrayō vidyā-
- 11 nām vasatī[r=*]nayasya nīlayō dhāmnan=tad=chāspadam | tyāgasy=āyatanam
vilāsa-bhavanam vāchah kalānā[m] mīdhah |⁶
- 12 saujanyasya nīkētanam vijayatē mūrītō gunānām ganah || [8*] Dūr-
dandēna samuddhrita-kshītibhritā samrakshya gō mēnda-
- 13 lam sad-vrindāvanam=ādarēna⁷vidadban=nachchhanna-Kams ūtsavamā⁸ | śrīmat-
Kēśavadēva ēsha niyatam chakrē-vaśēsha[m*] rushā ya-
- 14 tr=aikam Śīsupālam=apy=arī-kulē kshīpt-ārī-chakrō nripah || [9*] Kṛtvā yēna
bhuj-aujasā vasumatīm=ēk-ātapatrām=ī-
- 15 mām lōkē=smīnn=abhilashyatē vajayiny=an-any=ādihikāra-sthithim⁹ | pānīh kalpa-
tarōh padē dinakritah kṛtyē
- 16 pratāpō yasah śītāmśōr=vīshayē nyadhāyī bhujagādhiś ādhikārē bhujah || [10*]
Yasmina¹⁰ śāsati nīkhlām=ā-
- 17 di-mahīpāla-dīkshayā kshōnīm [1*] śruti-patha-langhana-māhasa-sāsīt¹¹ kāntā-dṛi-
śām=ēva || [11*] Ayam suhrich-chakra-
- 18 mudam vibhāvayan prasādhīt-āśah karavāla-līlayā [1*] sudūram=utsārīta-rāja
mandalō rarāja pūrvv-āvanībhrit-
- 19 śnōmanīh¹² || [12*] Karōti dhavalam jagat vinayātē=rī-pa[dm] ūdgamam
tanōti kumudam yaśah sadṛīśam=asya cha-
- 20 ndr-ōjvalam¹³ | sitam kim=a[tha] rañjakam¹⁴=bhramad=anāratam kim sthīram
sa-kāranam=idañ=cha sat=kim=iva nītyam=ity=adbhu-

¹ Read the following word as *Śrīhātārājya*^o Dr Mitra read it as *stachchha rājya* [The use of the vowel *rī* for the consonant *rī* is noteworthy —Ed.]

² Read *°bhūn-mahī*^o

³ Compare line 5 of the 2nd Bhātera plate, *P A S B*, 1880, p 153 The name may also be read as *Kongana*^o.

⁴ Read *sphutam* or *sphuṭah* Dr Mitra read it as *stayam*

⁵ [Danda not needed.—Ed.]

⁶ Read *°utsavam*

⁷ Read *°yagavān*

⁸ Read *°bhāgavān*

⁹ Read *°bhāgavān*

¹⁰ Read *°bhāgavān*

¹¹ Read *°bhāgavān*

¹² Read *°bhāgavān*

¹³ Read *°bhāgavān*

¹⁴ Read *°bhāgavān*

¹⁵ Read *vidadhad=āchchhanna*^o

¹⁶ Read *vijayinā nā=nyādihikāra-s'hīti*

¹⁷ Read *°lamghana sāhasam=āsīt*

¹⁸ Read *°ōjvalam*

- 21 tam || [13*] Bāshpair-urvvipatīnām yad-ayam-anumitō mūrchchhitō yad-
ripūnām kilālair-yat-tanōti dvishad-avani-bhujām
- 22 jādyaṃ-archchir-vitānaih | kāshtānām yad-vyatītya prakaram-upayayāv-ambaram
lēlīhānas-tēn-āścharyy-aika-sisā¹ jayati nara-
- 23 patēh kō-pi tējah-kṛśānuh || [14*] Kshōpibhujā yugapad-āhava-sangatēna
tēn-ōnnata-dvayam-anā[mī] guna dvayēna [1*] ēkē-
- 24 [na]² kārmmukam-asīma-ma[ha]h-prakarsha-gamyēna vairi-nivahah sahasā-parē
ṇa || [15*] Mahibhujā-jīyata chandrahāsa-karēṇa tē-
- 25 [n-ā]*mita-vikramēna [1*] vilanghit-ānēka-payōdhin-ēyam svēn-ēva³ kṛtsnā-
yaśasā dharitṛi || [16*] Ath-āsti Kailāsa-n-
- 26 [vāsa]⁴-nishpṛihah kṛt-āvatārō bhuvī Bhattapātakē | an-ādi-rūpō jagad-ādir-apy-
ayan-tri-lōka-nāthō bhaga-
- 27 [vāna⁵ Vatē]⁶śvarah || [17*] Śaśi-śekharaṇya tasmai nrīpa-śekhara ratna-
visphurach-charaṇah | pradadau nūna⁷-grāmē nikhīla-nrīpa-

Reverse.

- 28 grā[ma]nir-ū[sha]h || [18*] Adhikam pañcha-saptatyā bhū halānām śata-
trayam | śata dvayaṇ-cha vātīnām shaṇṇavatyā sa[ma]nvitam || [19*]
[Nā][nā]⁸.
- 29 pariṇāms-tasman⁹ janajātīn-anēkaśah [1*] prādāt Śrīhatta-nāthō-yam¹⁰ Śivāya
śiva-kīrtita[nah] || [20*] Bhātapadādēvaranvē¹¹ bhū-
- 30 hala 35 || Vātī 110 Vāḍagāmē bhū-hala 13¹² Mahurāpurē vātī 1 Itākhā-
lākē bhū-hala 7 vātī 6 Dēgigām-ōttarē bhū-hala 1 Vara-
- 31 pañchālē hala 5 vāṭī 4 Āmatalikē hala 7¹³ Sīmhaurē¹⁴ vātī 1 Bhā-
sanātēngārīkē¹⁵ bhūkē¹⁶ 6 Guḍāvayīkē vātī 2 Kātārḥā[lē]¹⁷
- 32 bh[ū]-hala 2 Ākhālikulē bhū[ha]la 7 Parākōṇākē vātī 1 Pithāpīnagarē¹⁸ Bhū-
hala 17 vāṭī 4 Vēnūvagāmē vāṭī 2 Pōḍātī-
- 33 thāk-ēmṛitakara¹⁹ samhala²⁰ 2 vātī 11 Kaivāmē hala 8 vāṭī 1 Vālū-sīgāmē
hala 5 Navahāṭī-paśchimē hala 2 Śugharē hala 5 vā-
- 34 ṭī 1 Bhōthrahātākē²¹ bhū-hala 5 vātī 9 Kaḍaḍyā-dakshinē Gōsuyā-pūrvvē
Gōvāt-ōttarē Var[u]nī-paśchimē

¹ Read *śimā*.

² Now lost in the original plate, but clearly shown in Dr. Mitra's facsimile

³ Read *svēn-ēva*.

⁴ Read *bhagavān*.

⁵ Read *nānā*

⁶ Now lost in the original plate, but seen in Dr. Mitra's facsimile

⁷ Read *tasmai*

⁸ Dr. Mitra read it as *nāthāya*. [Read *Śrīhatta*° See footnote 1 on p. 281—Ed.]

⁹ Dr. Mitra read it as *dēvasatṛi*. [The reading seems to be *dēva(ba)ndhē*—Ed.]

¹⁰ The lower part of the figure 1 is effaced and 13 may be read as 2

¹¹ May also be read as 2

¹² May be read *Sīmhaurē*.

¹³ 'ra' in *Bhāsara* looks like 'na'. The word is probably *Bhāśakara*° (see t. 37).

¹⁴ Read *bhū-kēḍāra*

¹⁵ Read *Kāṭākhīlē*.

¹⁶ May also be read as *pithāpīnagarē*.

¹⁷ 'mr' may also be read as 'pr'. The word is probably *Amṛitakara*.

¹⁸ Read *bhū-kala*

¹⁹ Dr. Mitra reads as *athinahātīkē*

- 35 Bhū-hala 19 Saramā-nadī-dakṣiṇē¹ bhū-hala 5 vāṭi 3 tathā nady-uttarē
bhū-hala 35 vāṭi 12 tathā nady-uttarē Nāṭi-
36 [ra]mbha-pūrvvē² vāṭi 1 tathā nady-uttarē Ghaṭṭu-bhū paśchimē Garvvara-
bhū-dakṣiṇē³ bhū-hala 7 Kālyāṇi-nady-uttarē Phōmphūṇi-
37 yā-pūrvvē bhū-hala 9 || vāṭi 7 tathā nadī-dakṣiṇē Kharasōntī pūrvvē Bhāsa-
karatēngari-paśchimē bhū-hala 45 vāṭi 91
38 Jagāpāntarē⁴ Nātapānā-grāma-dvayē bhū-hala 5 vāṭi 20 Saldchāpaḍākē Muti-
kāthi-pūrvvē sāgara-paśchimē bhū-
39 hala 10 Kālyāṇi-nadī-dakṣiṇ-ōttarē bhū-hala 9 || Dhāmāyī-nadī-dakṣiṇē
bhū-hala 6 yāṭi 10 Bhōgāubhūvā-
40 [da]ttarē⁵ bhū-hala 4 vāṭi 4 Nathōśāsana-paśchimē Haṭṭa var-ōttarē Bhū-hala
7 vāṭi 10 Sātakōpā-dakṣiṇē vaḍasō-
41 pūrbhe⁶ hala 10 Chēngachchudīkē bhū-hala 2 vāṭi 1 Āḍānakāthikē vāṭi
9 bhūkē 4 Gānganapāvikē vāṭi 9 Mēghāparā-
42 ka vāṭi 1 bhūkē 6 Pāmāivo-pūrvvē Āthāvi-uttarē bhū-hala 90 vāṭi 12
Nadakutigāmē vāṭi 9 tathāgāmē Dhāma-na-
43 [d]y-uttarē vāṭi 9 bhūkē 4 Gōsuyākhāta-pūrvvē Gōpathasy-ōttarē Jaḍi-
gānga-dakṣiṇē Vanangajōṭti-paśchimē Karagā-
44 mara hala 5 Pōhāniyā Ākhālṭṭāḍākē bhū-hala 10 Vāsudēvaśāsana-purē⁷
bhū-hala 5 Vōvātuḍā-dakṣi-
45 nē Jōgāvanīyā-uttarē vāṭi 1 Bhātapadākē Kēḍākēdi-vāra-grīha 10 tathākē⁸
Amritākādi-gōpa-grīha 1
46 [tathā]k-ōttarē 5⁹ pākādītē grīha 5 tathākē Kāsyā-Gōvindā-grīha 1 Vaḍ-
agāmē gōpa-grīhā¹⁰ 1 tathādagkē ārupā-
47 nākādivāra-grīha 7 Jōgā-uttarā nīdhīsārasuyātē¹¹ grīha 9 Bhātapadā Haye-
khālā Nikuṇṇajagattākādi-grīha 7
48 Bhātapadā Varapañchāla Itākhālātīdivākarakādīmātā¹² grīha 6 Bhātapadā [ā]-
mivākādi gō-grīha¹³ 5 Bhāṭa-
49 paḍāmi nāpita-Gōvindā-grīha 1 rajaka-Sirupā-grīha 1 Vōvāchhaḍā-micham¹⁴ vā-
tāpīpākādi-grīha 5
50 tathāmi Dōṭṭharēttapā[kādi-grīha 5 Navahāṭāmi [Dēgvimā]ti-pākādi-grīha 2
Bhātapadā Nivā[ra]-pākā-
51 di-hattīya-grīha 3 Pithāpīnagarē Dyōtyēnāvīkākādi-grīha 2 Simhāuragrāmē
dantavāra¹⁵ Rajarīgā-grīha¹⁶ [1]¹⁷

¹ 'ma' in Saramā may be read as 'sa' or 'ga', but there is a river named Surma, which is probably a later transformation of Saramā [But the original reads *Sarakā*.—Ed.]

² Dr Mitra read *Vāṇasastapūrvvē*

³ Dr Mitra read *Sarvabhū*

⁴ Dr Mitra reads *jagāyāntarē*

⁵ [Possibly *Aradhya-uttarē*.—Ed.]

⁶ Read *pūrvvā*

⁷ May be read as *pūrvva*.

⁸ A colloquial Bengali word meaning 'there'.

⁹ At first 7 was written and then cancelled.

¹⁰ *Grīha* can also be read as *gadā*.

¹¹ *dhīsāra* may also be read as *nīmāra*

¹² *Tīdvākara* may also be read as *nīdvākara*, and 'mātā' as 'mānā'.

¹³ Read *gōpagrīha*.

¹⁴ Read *nyamā*.

¹⁵ Read *dantakāra*.

¹⁶ May also be read as *Vajarīgā*

¹⁷ Now lost in the original plate, but clearly shown in the facsimile.

- 52 ¹kōshpī hudukā mahāsāchūhō kōshpīsucchhuṇa kōshpīlōkṛtām chhatōbhām
harishpattōtapatrē āpit na pī [thūyā]²
- 53 ³āpiyārē bhālankāḍadayanākādayah pradattāḥ || V(B)ahubhir=vasudhā dattā rā-
jabhiḥ Sagar-ādibhir=yasya [yasya]⁴
- 54 yasya yadā bhūmis=tasya tasyar=tadā⁵ phalam || [21*] Sva-dattām
para-dattām vā yō harēta vasundharām [1*] sa viśthāyām kṛmir=
bhū[tvā pī].⁶
- 55 tṛbhīh saha pachyatē || [22*] Pāṇḍavakulādīpāl-ā-v(b)ḍa 4151 jēta 9⁷

TRANSLATION.

Om Salutation to Śiva !

V 1 Salutation to that Lord of the Universe who is the Maker of the three realms, by whose body (*represented by*) the earth and other elements, this universe is held, who alone is called the Supreme Being and who alone holds, on account of the difference in the three qualities (namely, *sattva*, *rajas*, and *tamas*), the three names—Brahma, Upendra and Mahēśvara

V 2 (May) he be victorious—the crown-jewel on the head of the Destroyer of Tripura, the silver-pitcher⁸ (*used*) in the bath of the youthful wife of Cupid, the circular whet-stone for sharpening the arrows of the god with flowery arrows (*i e*, Cupid), the ornament of the night, the coolrayed (*i e*, the Moon)

V 3 In his (Moon's) well-known dynasty were born those kings of limitless prowess whose record of fame exists in the (*Mahā*)*bhārata*

V 4 Now, was born the greatly renowned Kharavāna, (?) a god among men, the cause of the existence of Lakshmī (lit Prosperity) of the kingdom of Śrīhatṭa, the best among the rulers of the earth⁹

V 5. His son, a king of the name of Gōkuladēva, was the grandfather of the (*present*) king It is indeed strange that his prowess (*which is*) like the rays of the Sun, imposed inactivity on the kings among his enemies.

V 6 Unto him was born king Nārāyaṇa who raised the goddess of Fortune from the ocean of hostile kings violently stirred by his arms (*which were*) like the Mandara (mountain), just like Krishṇa-Nārāyaṇa who obtained Lakshmī as a result of the churning of the ocean with the Mandara mountain, by whom the god (Nārāyaṇa) was verily imitated owing to his pleasing the people (*nandaka*) or owing to his taking help of Nandaka (minister or general in the case of king Nārāyaṇa, and the sword named Nandaka in the case of Krishṇa-Nārāyaṇa).

¹ Dr Mitra reads *kōdyī hukulō mahāsāchūhō kōdyī sahuna kōdyīnō kṛtām vuḍhōbhām harishpattōtapatra āpit na pīthūyā*

² Now lost in the original plate, but clearly shown in the facsimile

³ Dr Mitra reads *āpiyāche bhāla da daya ālādayah pradattāh*

⁴ To be found indistinctly in the facsimile Portion of 'ya' survives in the original plate One *yasya* is redundant

⁵ Read *tasya tadā*

⁶ Indistinctly occurs in the facsimile

⁷ I have doubts regarding the reading of the date which consists of 13 letters or groups of letters (See introductory remarks)

⁸ Rati is conceived of as having her bath in the beautiful rays of the Moon, which accounts for her beauty.

⁹ The fact that the second Bhāṭārā inscription referred to in the introduction does not mention this name Kharavāna, is significant. The verse may refer to an unnamed king who was, in addition to these qualities, sharp in throwing arrows (*kharavānah*)

V 7 Unto him was born this Kēśavadēva *alias* the Rīpurāja-Gōpī-Gōvinda¹ whose fame is sung (*on account of*) his unlimited virtue and glory, whose foot stool is decorated with the crown-jewels of kings, (*who is*) illustrious and prominent among kings,

V 8 who (*is*) the limit of wonderful prowess, the abode of fame and the refuge of riches, the abode (*of all kinds*) of knowledge, the shelter of diplomacy, the only famous dwelling place of glory, the abode of liberality, the pleasure-house of eloquence, the ocean of cultural sciences, the seat of goodness and the group of virtues incarnate—may he be victorious !

V 9 He, by preserving the earth with that force of arms which defeated kings,² protected with kindness the good people openly (*achchhannalam*³) and with festivities (*sōtsavam*), just like Kṛishṇa who gave with kindness the festival of the destruction of Kamsa (*uchchhinnalam-sōtsavam*⁴) to the good people of Vṛndāvana Also (*this*) king Kēśavadēva, who with anger destroyed the circle of (*his*) enemies surely left one (alone, namely,) the protector of a child, to remain (*with life*) from among the race of (*his*) opponents (just like Kṛishṇa) who by being angry killed Śisupāla

V 10 Bringing the earth under one umbrella by the valour of arms this conquering (king), (*as if*), desiring that in this earth there should not be any control of any other (*thing*), placed the palm of his hands in the place of the Wishing Tree, his prowess in that of the Sun, his reputation in that of the Moon and his arms in that of the duty of the king of snakes (*i e*, in bearing the weight of the earth)

V 11 While he rules the earth with the vow (*in virtuous principles*) of the first kings of the earth, the daring attempt to transgress the Śruti (meaning the Vēda and the ear) was found only in the eyes of women

V 12 Having caused pleasure in the circle of friendly kings, having illuminated all the directions by the skilful swaying of his sword, and having expelled the circle of (*inimical*) kings at a distance, he shone forth as the crest-jewel of the Eastern mountain (*i e*, the Sun), thereby producing gaiety among the delighted *chakravāha* (birds), illuminating the directions by the play of the rays and by driving apart the orb of the Moon or the circle of enemies⁵

V 13 His reputation, bright as the Moon, illuminates the world, hampers the growth of enemies (just as moonlight does the growth of lotus) and causes the lily of joy of the world (*kumuda*) to spread It is white (*i e*, spotless) and at the same time pleasing, it is ceaselessly moving about though fixed, it is eternal though it is the effect of some cause It is indeed wonderful !

V 14. His amazing, fire-like prowess whose existence is inferred by the tears of the rulers of the earth (ordinary fire is however indicated by smoke and not water), which is increased by the blood of enemies (ordinary fire is however extinguished by watery substance like blood), by the diffusion of whose rays the inactivity of the hostile kings is increased (ordinary fire however removes inactivity), whose power (*as if*) to lick it repeatedly reaches the sky after surpassing all the directions (ordinary fire is however extinguished as soon as it over-reaches a pile of wood)—may it be victorious !

V 15 By that ruler of the earth engaged in warfares, two great things were bent simultaneously by (reason of his) two *gunas*—by one *guna* (*i e*, the string) the bow was bent, and by the other *guna*, which is guessed by his limitless great prowess, the host of enemies

¹ Rīpurāṇe Gōpī Gōvinda seems to have been a *biruda* of Kēśavadēva Compare ll. 8 and 9 of the second Bhāṭṭarā copper-plate inscription (*P A S B*, 1880, p 153)

² [It seems to refer to Kṛishṇa's lifting the Gōvardhana hill.—Ed]

³ [See f. n. 7 on p 283 above —Ed]

⁴ [But the text gives *achchhanna*°, —Ed]

⁵ *Pūrāṇa*, *bhṛt* suggests that he was a king of the eastern countries,

V 16 By that ruler of the earth, with a sword in hand, of unparalleled valour, with an army of elephant-riders, was the whole of the earth conquered just as (*it was conquered*) by his fame which like the rays of the laughing Moon crossed many seas in long strides

V 17 Now, this lord *Vatēśvara*, who, though having no beginning (*for himself*) is (*yet*) the beginning of the universe and is the lord of the three realms, has come into this world at *Bhattapātaka* (*i e.*, *Bhātapadā* or *Bhātērā*) as an incarnation and is living here, having given up the desire to live at *Kailāsa*

Vv. 18 and 19 The leader of the kings (*of this world*), whose feet are decorated with the crown-jewels of kings, gave 300 and 75 (*i e.*, 375) *halas* of land with two hundred and ninety-six houses in various villages to that moon-crowned (god *Śiva*)

V 20 This worshipper of *Śiva* (*śiva-līlāna*), the lord of *Śrīhatta*, gave to that *Śiva* different kinds of attendants belonging to (subject) races

Lines 29-51 35 *halas* of land in *Dēva-forest* (?) in *Bhātapadā*, as well as 110 houses 13 *halas* in *Vadagāma* One house in *Mahurāpura* 7 *halas* in *Itākhālā*, as well as 6 houses One *hala* in the north of *Dēgigāma* 5 *halas* as well as 4 houses in *Varapañchālā* 7 houses in *Āmatalī* One house in *Simhajara* 6 *kēdāras* of land in *Bhāsanātēngārīka* 2 houses in *Guḍāvayīka* 2 *halas* in *Kātākhālā* 7 *halas* in *Ākhālikulā* One house in *Parākhōnāka* 17 *halas* and 4 houses in *Pithāpinagara* 2 houses in *Vēnūvagrāma* 2 *halas* and 11 houses belonging to *Amṛtakara* of *Pōtātithāka* 8 *halas* and 1 house in *Kaivāma* 5 *halas* in *Vālūsīgāma* 2 *halas* in the west of *Navahātī* 5 *halas* and 1 house in *Sūghara* 5 *halas* and 9 houses in *Bhōtilahātika* 19 *halas* (lying) to the south of *Kadadivā* to the east of *Gōsuyā*, to the north of *Gōvāta* (lit a pasture ground) and to the north of *Varunī* 5 *halas* and 3 houses (lying) to the south of the *Saramā*¹ river 35 *halas* and 12 houses (lying) to the north of that river 1 house (lying) to the north of that river and to the east of *Nātīrambha* 7 *halas* (lying to) the north of that river, west of *Ghatābhū* and south of *Garvarabhū* 9 *halas* and 7 houses (lying to) the north of the river *Kālyānī* and east of *Phōmphātīpā* 45 *halas* and 91 houses (lying to) the south of that river, east of *Kharasōntī* and west of *Bhāskarātēngārī* 5 *halas* and 20 houses in the two villages of *Jagāyāntara* and *Nātapānā* 10 *halas* in *Salāchāpadāka*, and to the east of *Mutikāthī* and to the west of *Sāgara* 9 *halas* lying north and south of the river *Kālyānī* 6 *halas* and 10 houses (lying) south of the river *Vāmāyī* 4 *halas* and 4 houses in the north of *Bhōgāu* and *Bhuvāi* 7 *halas* and 10 houses in the east of *Nathōśāsana* and north of *Hattavara*. 10 *halas* south of *Sātakōpā* and east of *Vadasō* 2 *halas* and 1 house in *Chēngachchhudika* 4 *bhū-kēdāras* and 9 houses in *Ādānakāthika* 9 houses in *Mānganapāvika* 1 house and 6 *bhū-kēdāras* in *Mēghāparāka* 90 *halas* and 12 houses in the east of *Pamśivō* and north of *Āthāvi* 9 houses in *Nadahutīgāma* 9 houses and 4 *bhū-kēdāras* in the same village in the north of the river *Dhāma* 5 *halas* in *Karagāma*, east of *Gōsuyākhātā*, north of *Gōpatha* (lit a track for cattle to pass), south of *Jadīgāng* and west of *Vanangajōtti* 10 *halas* in *Pōhāniyā* in *Ākhālitadāka* (*Ākhālikulē* ?) 5 *halas* in the east of *Vāsudēvasāsana* One house (lying in) the south of *Bōbāchhadā* and north of *Jōgāvaniyā* In *Bhātapadā* 10 outside houses² belonging to *Kēdāka* and others 1 house belonging to *Amṛtāka* and other *Gopas* 5 houses to the north of that 5 houses as kitchens 1 house belonging to *Kāśya-Gōvindā* (lit *Gōvindā*, the bell-metal worker)³ In *Vadagrāma* 1 house of *Gōpa* and 7 outside houses with kitchen etc belonging to *Ārupā* In my own (*village*) *Gārasuyā*, north of *Bhōgā*, 9 houses In *Bhātapadā-Itākhālā* 7 houses belonging to *Nikuñjabhatta* and others In *Bhātapadā*, *Varapañchālā*, *Itākhālā* etc 6 houses belong-

¹ [See footnote 1 on p 283 above — Ed]

² *Vāragrīna* This word is probably the same as the modern colloquial *Vārāṇḍī*

³ *Kāśya* may imply either *kāśyākīra* 'bell metal worker' or *Kāśyapa gōtra*, *i e.*, 'of the line of *Kāśyapa*, the sage'

ing to the mother of Tdivākara and others In Bhūṭapadā 5 cow-sheds belonging to Simivāka and others In Bhūṭapadā 1 house belonging to washerman Śarupā 5 houses including kitchen and pasture lower down Bōbāchhaṇā 5 houses including kitchen there belonging to Dottharēṭṭa (?) In Navahāṭi kitchen and other houses (belonging to) D-gvīnā 2 In Bhūṭapadā kitchen, shop houses etc. (belonging to) Nivāra 3. In Pithāpanagara 2 houses (belonging to) Dyōjyē the boatman (rariḷā) and others In Simhajara village 1 house (belonging to) Rajavigū the ivory-worker ¹

L. 52 (The language of a portion is not known) have been given.

Verses 21-22 (the well-known imprecatory verses).

The date . Jyaishtha 9, 4151, the era of the first of the Pāṇḍavas

NO 50—A NOTE ON THE VAPPAGHOSHAVATA GRANT OF JAYANAGA

BY R. D. BARNETT, M.A.

The *ustaya* of Udumbara mentioned in the grant of Jayanaga recently published in this Journal is better known than is supposed by Dr. L. D. Barnett or Dr. Sumit Kumar Chatterjee. Audumbara existed as the name of a division of Bengal and elsewhere in India up to at least the end of the sixteenth century. It is mentioned as a *Sarkār* of the *ḡubāḥ* of Bengal in the *Ā'in-i-Akbarī*. Blochmann read the name correctly as Audumbar, but unfortunately he did not live to translate the second volume of the *Ā'in*, and Jarrett who took up the work, was not sufficiently acquainted with the topography of Bengal to recognise the difference between Udrer and Audambar. Consequently in the translation published by the Asiatic Society of Bengal in 1891 the name is given as "Sarkar of Udrer commonly known as Tarda." Blochmann read the name correctly as Audambar and included it in the Sarkārs to the south of the Ganges and the west of the Bhāgīrathī. Among the *Mahalls* mentioned as being included in Sarkār Audambar in the *Ā'in* there are at least two which bear the same name in early British Revenue Papers; e.g., Ākmahal and Kunwarpartab. The name of Ākmahal was subsequently changed into Rājmahal, and it is now a *parganaḥ* of the Southal Parganas District. Kunwarpartab is really *Kumārāpratāpa*, and bears this name even now. It is a *parganaḥ* in the northern part of the Murshidabad district. There cannot be any doubt therefore that portions of Sarkār Audambar lay to the south of the Ganges and to the west of the Bhāgīrathī. I have proved before that even up to the time of Akbar ancient or pre-Muhammadan names of Revenue Divisions continued unchanged. Rāmāvatī, the new capital built by Rāmapālā after the suppression of the Kaivartta revolt in Northern Bengal,² continued to be a *Mahall* or *Sarkār* Jannatābād or Lakhnauti.³

Writing of the Revenue Divisions of Bengal in the reign of Akbar, Blochmann says, "Sarkār Audambar or Tandah, comprising the greater portions of Birbhum. The name Audambar occurs also in other parts of India, e.g., in Kachh."⁴ After the publication of Blochmann's paper

¹ *Ā'in-i-Akbarī Eng Trans. Calcutta, 1891, Vol. II, p. 129*. The translator failed to notice Blochmann's important contributions to the history and geography of Bengal.

² *Memoirs, A. S. B., Vol. V, p. 12*.

³ *Ā'in-i-Akbarī Eng Trans. Vol. II, 1891, p. 131*.

⁴ *Journal, A. S. B., Vol. XLII, 1873, part I, p. 217*. Audambar was also the name of a *ustaya* in the *mandala* of Kāśānjara and *bhukti* of Kānyakubja in the time of the Gujara-Pratihāra Emperor Bhōja I. See his *Varah* plates of v.s. 893-*Ande*, Vol. XIX, pp. 15-19.

Cunningham, in the fifteenth volume of his report, spells the name correctly as Audambar¹ I cannot understand how Jarrett came to read it as Udner, unless his Maulawis mistook م and ب for ن and ي .

As the name of an ancient Revenue Division of Bengal is known to have been Audumbar or Andambar in the sixteenth century, there cannot be any reason to suppose that the name of the *Vishaya* in Jayanāga's grant, which is also the same, was situated in the Delta of Bengal near modern Ranaghat, where no such Revenue Divisions can be proved to have existed. The term *Gaṅginikā* is the diminutive of *Gaṅginī*. *Gām* and *Gāṅgina* are common terms in Western Bengal for a dried up river bed or a small river. The name *Gaṅginikā* was equally common in Northern Bengal, cf. Khalimpur plate of Dharmapāla II 31-32, *paśchimēna Gaṅginikā*, 1-38-*Asya ch-ōttarēna Gaṅginikā-simā*; II 39-40 *srōṭikāyā Gaṅginikām pravṛṣṭa*; II 40-41 *Uttarēṇa Gaṅginikā*²

No 51 —JURA PRASASTI OF KRISHNA III

By N LAKSHMINAPAYAN RAO, M A, OOTACAMUND

This inscription was discovered by Mr R D Banerji, M A, in 1921. It is incised on a stone slab which, Mr Banerji says, is being used as a lintel in a modern bungalow erected inside an old fort in the village of Jura which is a hamlet some twelve miles away from the Maihar railway station on the G I P railway line. A brief notice of its contents has already appeared in the Annual Report of the Archaeological Survey of India for 1921-22³. I edit it below from the impressions sent by Mr Banerji in 1922 and kindly placed at my disposal by the Government Epigraphist for India.

The writing comprises 37 lines covering a space of 9 inches by 4 feet and is generally well preserved except in lines 3-13. The language of the record is Hale-Kannada, lines 1-13 and 33-37 being written in prose and lines 17-33 in verse and the *landa* metre. The use of the word *nōḍire* as an interjection meaning "behold" is noteworthy. Only one more instance of the use of this interjection is known to me, viz, in verse 11 of the Sogal Inscription⁴. The characters are Kanarese referable to the 10th century A D. The size of the letters varies from about 1½" to about ½". The vowel *u* subscript is denoted in three different ways, e.g., see (1) by *ru* in *marula* l 4, (2) by *du* in *sōḷadu* l 26, and (3) by *dhu* in *vadhu*, l 28. The *ē* sign is formed sometimes by a superscript mark, as in *mē* of *paramēśvara*, l 2, and sometimes by a mark on the left of the letter, as in *bē* of *bērinde* l 19. No distinction is made between *e* and *ē* when they are combined with consonants. The sign for the vowel *a* which occurs only once in *Kāmar*, l 34, is worth notice. In respect of orthography, we may note (1) the correct use of the archaic *ḷ* in *kḷṭa* (ll 20-21), *Chōḷa* (l 20) and *ṷḷ* (l 32), (2) the doubling of consonants after *r* as in *vanṭeyarḷḷal* (l 11), and (3) the wrong use of *s* for *ś* as in *prasast* (l. 36).

The inscription is a panegyric of *Paramabhattāraka*, *Paramēśvara*, *śrī-Pruthvivallabha*, *Mahārājādhirāja*, *Kannaradēva*. In the prose passage, with which the record opens, this king is introduced with the *brūdas* of *nallara-marulam*, *āne-vedamgaṇa*, *chalāke-ñallātara*, *vairi-vilāsam*, *madagaja-mallam*, *parāṅgaṇa-putraṇ*, *gaṇḍa-māṛṭaṇḍam*,

¹ *Archaeological Survey Reports*, Vol XV, p 38

² *Ante*, Vol. IV, p 249

p. 119

Ep Ind., Vol. XVI, p 3 and add.

Akālavarsham, Nṛpatungam and Kachchegam.¹ All these epithets except those of *nallara-marulam, varri-vilāsam, parāṅgānāputram* and Nṛpatungam²—which are met with for the first time in the present inscription—are known to have been borne by the Rāshtrakūṭa emperor **Kṛishṇa III**, as has already been pointed out by Dr Fleet³. Again, as is shown by the Atakur,⁴ the Solapuram⁵ and other records, it was Kṛishṇa III who uprooted the **Chōlas**. Accordingly, the king eulogised in this record must be identified with him, namely, **Kṛishṇa III of the Rāshtrakūṭas of Malkhed**.

The only historical event alluded to in the record is the destruction of the Chōla power by Kṛishṇa. Verse 2, describing this achievement, tells us that the **Āne-veḍeṅga** (i.e., Kṛishṇa) "rooted out the Chōla who had uprooted the Pāṇḍya". It may be noted in this connection that the expression *Chōlana bēram bērinde kīlān* of this record is a Kanarese rendering of **चौलान्वयोन्मूलनं** found in the Karhad grant,⁶ where we are told that Kṛishṇarāja uprooted the race of the Chōlas with the intention of subduing the southern region. The Chōla who is said to have uprooted the Pāṇḍya was **Parāntaka I** who ruled from A.D. 907 to 953, for not only was he a contemporary of Kṛishṇa III, but is also known to have waged three wars against the Pāṇḍyas and captured their capital **Madura**.⁷ And we learn from the Kanyākumārī inscription⁸ that Parāntaka killed the Pāṇḍya king. It was during the reign of this Parāntaka that Kṛishṇa III fought the famous battle of **Takkōlam**, killed the Chōla prince **Rājāditya** and took possession of the Chōla territory.⁹ Thus, it is evidently this incident that is alluded to in the present inscription. Kṛishṇa's occupation of the Chōla dominions is also borne out by the large number of his records, found in that part of the country, which give him the epithet *Kachchayum Taṇṇarayum koṇḍa*, i.e., 'he who took **Kāñchi** and **Tanjore**'.

The existence of the present record in **Jura** near Jubbulpore shows clearly that Kṛishṇa's conquests were not confined to the south, but extended to the north also. The Karhad grant tells us that he conquered the **Kalachuri Sahasrārjuna** though he was an elderly relative of his mother and wife. The grant, however, says explicitly that this success was one of those achieved by Kṛishṇa while he was yet a prince (*kumāra*) and acting under the orders of his father (*janakāyānāvaśa*). But it is clear that the expedition during which our inscription was engraved, was undertaken after he became king, since in this record he is described as a paramount sovereign. Consequently, the latter expedition must be different from the one mentioned in the Karhad grant. The record is not dated and it is, therefore, not possible to ascertain precisely the time when this expedition took place. But the allusion to the crushing of the Chōla power made in the epigraph would show that it was undertaken after the overthrow of the Chōlas and after Kṛishṇa III had killed the Chōla prince Rājāditya in A.D. 947.¹⁰ It is quite reasonable to surmise, therefore, that the expedition to the north was led by Kṛishṇa III after A.D. 947. In the

¹ On p. 119 of the *A S R*, for 1921-22, the word is read as *kabbega* and it is stated that it occurs as *kabbega* in the Atakur inscription, but the facsimile of the latter (facing p. 54, *Ep Ind*, Vol. VI) shows clearly *kachchega* which is Fleet's reading.

² On the significance of the Rāshtrakūṭa titles ending in *tuṅga* see *Ep Ind*, Vol. VI, p. 189.

³ *Ibid*, pp. 178-179.

⁴ *Ibid*, pp. 50 ff.

⁵ *Ibid*, Vol. VII, pp. 194 ff.

⁶ *Ep Ind*, Vol. IV, pp. 278 ff.

⁷ *Madras Ep. Report*, 1907, p. 72.

⁸ *Trav. Arch. Series*, Vol. III, p. 111.

⁹ *Ep. Ind*, Vol. XIX, p. 82.

¹⁰ See above, Vol. XIX, pp. 82 and 83 and *A S R*; for 1912 f. n. Here it may be pointed out that the late Dr. Hultzsch was of opinion that this event took place in A.D. 949-50.

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Śravana-Belgoḷa epitaph of the Gaṅga chief Mārasimha¹, we are told that he became known as the King of the Gūrjaras by conquering the northern region for Kṛṣṇarāja (II). Evidently, the same campaign is referred to in the Kūḍlūr plates of A.D. 963 which were issued by the same chief and which tell us that Kṛṣṇarāja, when setting out on an expedition to the north, himself performed the ceremony of crowning Mārasimha as the ruler of Gaṅga-pāḍi². If the northern expedition, in the course of which our inscription was written, is identical with the one mentioned in the Śravana-Belgoḷa and Kūḍlūr records, it must have taken place in A.D. 963-64 which was, according to Fleet,³ the first year of Mārasimha's rule. Consequently, the inscription under publication will have to be ascribed to that very year, viz., A.D. 963-64.

The *prasasti* was written by Chimmayya at the instance of Tuyyala Chandayya, the younger brother of Kāmaiseṭṭi. Both these persons appear to be new, for they are not known from other records.

TEXT.

- 1 Svasti [||*] parama-bhattāra-
- 2 ka paramēśvara śrī-⁴pri-
- 3 thvi-va[llabha] maharājā[dhi]-
- 4 rā[ja ne(na)]llara-maru[an-ā-
- 5 ne-[vede]mgarṇ chalake-na[llā]-
- 6 tam [vairi]-vi[āsam mada[ga]-
- 7 ja-mallam parāṁganā-pu-
- 8 traṇ ga[nda]-mārtandan=Akālava-
- 9 riṣaṇ⁵ Nṛi[patu]mgam ka[ch]chegam⁶ śrī-
- 10 mat-Kannaradēvam || kanda [||]
- 11 vaniteyarkka-
- 12 gaḷum bama-
- 13 kaṇḍum nōḍa-
- 14 du kaṇ-nudiyadu bā[y-kū]—
- 15 ḍadu chittam Parāṁganā-
- 16 putrakana || [!*, ||] Bhārata-
- 17 do[=i]ndan=I]ndranol=ōr=ā-
- 18 sana-[jū]ṇan=enipa Pā-
- 19 ṇdyana[kula]mam bērinde
- 20 ki[ta [Chō]lana bēraṇ
- 21 bēri[ndek]i]tan-Āneve-
- 22 ḍeṅgam || [2 ||*] [Sō]lade para-va-
- 23 nitege [ka]ṇ-sōladu mo-

¹ *Ep Ind*, Vol. V, pp 151 ff

² *Mys A. B* for 1921, pp. 17 ff

³ *Ep Ind*, Vol. V, p 172. Rice held that Mārasimha commenced to rule in A.D. 961 (*Ooorg Ins.*, p 12, table)

⁴ Read °prithvi°.

⁵ Read °Akālavareṣaṇ

⁶ Though the upper letter in *ch* of this word looks like *h*, it is apparent from the subscript that *ch* was the letter intended as in the Ātakūr inscription - see also *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XXXII, p. 216, f. n. 12.

- 24 le-vālan=ūdi nadapida
 25 tō(tā)yam(ṛim) mēl=ene bagegum
 26 nōdire sōladu chittam
 27 Parāṅganāputrakana || [3||*]
 28 Nōdire para-vadhuge
 29 manam kūdadu sūl-sū-
 30 lol¹=etti na[da]pida
 31 tōl=und=ādida mole ba-
 32 sir=olag=iḷd=ādida chittam
 33 Parāṅganāputrakana || [4||*]
 34 Svasti [||*] Ubhi-Kāma²setṭiya
 35 tammam Tuyyala Chanda-
 36 yyam prasa(śa)stiyam barey[si*]-
 37 dam [||*] baredane Chi[mma]yyam [||*]

TRANSLATION.

(Lines 1—10) Hail ! Supreme Master, supreme Lord, favourite of Fortune and Earth, great emperor, he who amazed good men (*by his goodness*), a marvel with elephants, he who is beautiful on account of firmness of character, he to whom (*encounter with*) the enemy is a sport, a wrestler against rutting elephants, a son to other men's wives, a (*very*) sun among heroes, Akālavarsha, Nripatunga, he who wears the girdle of prowess; the illustrious Kannaradēva

(Verse 1) women the eye of Parāṅganāputra (*i.e.*, Krishna III) seemg does not see, (*his*) mouth does not speak and his mind does not unite.

(Verse 2) Ānevedenga (*i.e.*, Krishna) rooted out the Chōla who had uprooted the Pāṇḍya that had become famous as one who had killed (*his enemies*) in the Bhārata (*war*) and who was so skilful as to share with Indra one half of his throne *

(Verse 3) Unless one is overcome (*with love*) for another's wife, his eye will not be captivated (*by her*) But see ! the mind of Parāṅganāputra regards another's wife as more than his mother who has fed (*him*) on her breast milk and taught (*him*) to walk.

(Verse 4) Behold ! (*His*) mind cannot be attracted towards others' wives, for it is the mind of Parāṅganāputra who considers himself as having remained in the wombs of others' wives and sported there, who regards their arms as those that repeatedly carried him and taught him to walk and their breasts as those which he had sucked (*as a child*) and played with.

(Lines 34—37) Hail ! Tuyyala Chandayya, the younger brother of Ubhi Kāma²setṭi caused this eulogy to be written and Chimmayya wrote it.

* Read sūl sūlo²

² Evidently a shortened form of Kāmayya

³ These legendary accounts of the achievements of the Pāṇḍya kings are also mentioned in the Vēlviṇḍ. and the Sinnamanūr grants (*Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XVII, p. 228, text-line 9 and *S. I. I.*, Vol. III, Pt. IV, pp. 480 and 463)

No 52 —THE BHADAVANA GRANT OF GOVINDACHANDRADEVA OF KANAUJ.

By N C. MEHTA, I C.S.

The Gāhadavāla dynasty of Kanauj has left abundant inscriptional material during its short period of glory—*circa* 1000-1193 A D. Twenty five copper-plates were discovered at Kamauli near the confluence of the Berna and the Ganges at Benares in October 1892 which have been fully described by Kielhorn in Volume IV of this Journal. Another copper-plate of this dynasty was presented to me by the Taluqdar of Tālā, 6 miles from Partābgarh, United Provinces, who found it in the possession of one of his tenants, the latter having got it in exchange from a village woman for new utensils. The place where the plate was actually discovered is not known. The plate measures 17 5 inches by 13 inches and weighs 342 *tolā*s. 9½ inches of the plate are covered with inscription on one side only. The writing is well preserved. A small space, left blank in the centre at the top, was probably intended for perforating the usual ring-hole. The absence of the perforation seems to indicate that the plate was never issued from the royal record room.

The inscription is written in Sanskrit language and engraved in the Nāgarī script. Regarding the orthographical peculiarities it is to be noted that 'ज्ञ' is sometimes used for 'य', as in 'जयो' (=ययो) and that the letters र, व, ख, च and छ in some places appear very much alike in form. The distinction between the different sibilants is not adhered to. The medial vowel 'उ' is sometimes indicated by merely a stroke attached below the consonant, as, for instance, in अनुमन्ता in line 19. The name of the writer of the grant is not given.

Like all the published grants of this family the plate recites the genealogy from the time of Yaśovigraha. After describing the prowess of king Gōvīndachandrādēva (ll. 1-8) it goes on to say that the village of Bhadavanā together with the hamlets of Bhatavālī and Laghu-Bhadavanā in the pattaḷā of Mahāvīsa was granted by the king to two Brahmans by the name of Kumāraśarman, son of Vāchhā and grandson of Thakkura Śrī Pithā of the Kāśayapa-gōtra, and Śīlaśarman, son of Tingula and grandson of Thakkura Śrī-Vāvana of the Bhāradvāja-gōtra. While the three pravaras of Śīlaśarman are clear, those of Kumāraśarman of the Kāśayapa-gōtra are not quite so explicit¹. Gōvīndachandrādēva says that the grant was made by him after he had bathed (*probably*) at Prayāga (Allahābād) according to the sacred rights, holding water and the sacred darbha grass in the palm of the hand and having worshipped (*god*) Vāsudēva—the protector of the three worlds—and having made oblations to the fire. The object of the grant is said to be the acquisition of merit and renown for the donor and his parents. The grant was formally announced in the presence of the queen, the heir-apparent, the minister, the priest, the commander-in-chief, the treasurer, the keeper of the legal documents, the astrologer, the chamberlain, the officer called *Dūsa-Pattanākara and the officer-in-charge of agricultural stock. The village was given subject to the payment of taxes fixed and customary but inclusive of the rights of mining, salt, waste-land and the enjoyment of the fruits of mahuā, mangoes, wood, natural growth, other trees, grass pūti and pasture. The exact meaning of the technical terms such as 'dūsapattanākara, pūti', and the

¹ See below, p 294, n 2

² ['Dūsa' is evidently a clerical mistake for 'dūta' and *adhikārti* is to be taken with *pattan* and *ālāra* also. The expression 'dūta' would in that case signify the Dūta, the City Magistrate and the officers in charge of mines and of herds of kine—Ed.]

³ [As in the other grants of this ruler, the word reads *yūti* and not *pūti*. *Pūti* signifies a particular grass—Ed.]

various kinds of taxes described are not easy to determine. The word वणती¹ is probably a local term signifying the *Truēnī* at Allahābād

[The date of the grant is Thursday, Phālgunī-Amāvāsya of the (*Vikrama*-) Samvat 1184 In this year Phālgunī-Amāvāsya fell on Friday, the previous Thursday having 99 of Chaturdaśī. But in the following year the *tithi* fell on Thursday and lasted up to 90 So the latter appears to be the intended date which, according to Mr L D Swamikannu Pillai's *Ephemeris*, corresponds to March 21, A D 1129 —Ed.]

I have been unable to trace the village of Bhatavali in the Allahābād district The village of Bhadavanā may be the same as the modern village of Budawan in *tahsil* Karchhana in the district of Allahābād

TEXT :

- 1 ओम्² स्वस्ति [1*] अकुण्ठोत्कंठवैकुण्ठकंठपीठलुठत्करः । संरम्ह³सुरतारंहे⁴ स त्रिय. अ⁵यसेत्सु वः । [१*] आसीदशोतद्युतिवस⁶जातः क्षमापाल⁷मालासु दिव गतासु । साक्षाद्विवस्वानि-
- 2 व भूरिधाम्ना⁸ नास्त्यजिमो⁹विग्रह इत्युदारः ॥ [२*] तत्सुतोभूग्महीचद्रयद्र¹⁰धाम- निभ निजम् । वेवा¹¹पारमकूपारपारव्याप्य(पा)रित णसः¹² ॥[३*] तस्यासीत्तनयो तय¹³करसिकः कान्तद्विप-¹⁴
- 3 माण्डलो विध्वस्तादत¹⁵वीरयाधतिमिर¹⁶ श्रीचंद्रद्वो¹⁷ नृपः । येनोदारतरप्रतापस- मिता¹⁸शेषप्रजोपद्रवं श्रीमहाधिपुराधिराज्यमस[म*]द्वोर्विक्रमेणाजितम्¹⁹ ॥[४*] तोद्यानि कासिकुसिकोचरकोस²⁰
- 4 लट्स्थानोयकानि परिपालयतातिगम्य²¹ । हेमात्मतुल्यमानसं²² ददता द्विजेभ्यो येनाकिता²³ वसुमती सतशः तुलाभिः²⁴ ॥[५*] तस्यात्मजो मदनपाल इति क्षितोन्द्रचूडामणिर्विजयते
- 5 निजगोत्रचद्रः²⁵ । यस्याभिषेककलशोन्नसितैः पयेभिः²⁶ प्रक्षालितं कलिरजःपटलं धरिच्याः ॥[६*] यस्यासीद्विजयप्रयाणसमये तुङ्गाचलोच्चलन्माद्यत्कुभिपदे-²⁷ क्रमासमभरन्-

¹ [The original reads प्रयागे वणती which is probably a mistake for प्रयागेवनती where वनती would mean 'being humble'.—Ed.]

² From the original plate.

³ Read सरम्ह.

⁴ Read चयसेत्सु

⁵ Read आसीदशो

⁶ Read क्षमापाल

⁷ Read मालासु

⁸ Read साक्षाद्विवस्वानि

⁹ Read भूरिधाम्ना

¹⁰ Read नास्त्यजिमो

¹¹ Read विग्रह

¹² Expressed by a symbol [which possibly stands for 'siddhāh' —Ed.]

¹³ Read हेमा

¹⁴ Read पारम

¹⁵ Read कूपार

¹⁶ Read व्याप्य

¹⁷ Read पारित

¹⁸ Read णसः

¹⁹ Read तनयो

²⁰ Read करसिकः

²¹ Read कान्तद्विप

²² Read तत्सुतो

²³ Read भूग्मही

²⁴ Read चद्रयद्र

²⁵ Read धाम

²⁶ Read निभ

²⁷ Read निजम्

²⁸ Read वेवा

²⁹ Read पारम

³⁰ Read कूपार

- 6 अमहोमडले¹ । चूडारद्वविभिन्नतालुगलितस्त्यानासृगुद्भासितः शष² पेधवसा³ दि-
व चणमसौ क्रोडे विलाना⁴ ननः ॥[७*] तस्मादजायत निजावतवाहु-
वस्त्रिवधावरुन्दन-
- 7 तरंगजो नरत्रै⁵ । सान्द्राद्रवसुवो⁶ प्रभवो गवां यो गोविन्दचन्द्र⁷ इति
चन्द्र इवाह्वु(म्बु)रासेः⁸ ॥[८*] न कथमप्यलभन्त रणक्षमां सिसृषु⁹
दिक्षु गजानन्य वज्रिणः [1*] ककुभि
- 8 [५*]भ्रसु¹⁰रभ्रसुवक्षभप्रतिभटा इव यस्य घटागजाः ॥[९*] सोयं समस्तराज-
चक्रसंसी(से)वितचरणकमलः स च परमभट्टारकमहाराजाधिराजपरमेश्वर¹¹परम-
9 माहेश्वरनिजभुजोपार्जितश्रीकन्यकुलाधिपत्यश्रीचंद्रदेवपादानुध्यातपरमभट्टारकमहा-
राजाधिराजपरमेश्वरपरममाहेश्वरश्रीमडन¹²पाल¹³पालदे-
- 10 वपादानुध्यातपरे(र)मभट्टारकमहारा[जा*]धिराजपरमेश्वरपरममाहेश्व(श्व)राश्वपति-
गजपतिनरपतिराजत्रयाधिपतिविविधविद्याविचारवाचस्पतिश्री(म)होवि-
- 11 न्दचन्द्रदेवो विजयो महाविसपत्तलायां भटवलीग्रामेण सह लघुभदन(व)णा¹⁴
सह भदवणाग्रामनिवासिनो निखिलजनपदानपि राजराज्ञोयुवराजमन्त्रिपुरो-
हितसेना-
- 12 धिपतिभांडागात्रिवा(का)क्षपटलिवीत्त[?] (कनैमिच्छि-Ed.)कान्त पुरिकदूस(त-Ed.)प-
त्तनाकरगोकुलाधिकारिपुरुषानाज्ञापयति वो(बो)धयत्याडिश¹⁵तिच विदितमस्तु
भवतां यथोपरिलिखितग्रामः सजलसथल¹⁶
- 13 सलोहलवणाकर¹⁷ सगर्तोखर¹⁸ समधूक¹⁹ साम्प्रतकंटिकाविटपतृणपूति²⁰गोरच
(चर-Ed.)पर्यन्तः सोह[ति](सोहोध-Ed.)श्चतुराघाटविशुषः संवत् ११८४
फाल्गुन्यामावास्यायां गुरुतिथे(तिथौ गुरौ-Ed.)
- 14 आयेह²¹ श्रीमप्रयागे²² वणतो²³ श्रीवधि²⁴वत्स्नात्वा कुशलवा(ता)पूतकरत-
लोदकेन त्रिभुवनत्रातु²⁵ वासुदेवस्य पूजां विधाय हविषा हविर्भुजं
हुत्वा मातापित्रोरात्मनत्पुण्य-²⁶

¹ Read °अमहोमडले

⁴ Read विलीना°.

⁷ Read °चन्द्र°

¹⁴ Read वक्षसु°.

¹⁸ Read °मदन°.

¹⁴ [This should end in the instrumental case or the word ग्रामेण will have to be supplied.—Ed.]

¹⁵ Read °दिश°.

¹⁶ Read °धर

²¹ Read अयेह ?

²² Read वणतो ? [See f. n. 1 on page 292.—Ed.]

²⁶ Read °विधिवत्सात्वा.

² Read शेष.

⁵ Read °बडावहनवराज्यगजो नरेन्द्रः

⁸ Read °रासे°.

¹¹ Read °वर [But the text reads °वर correctly—Ed.]

¹² Drop one पाद

¹⁶ Read सजलसथल

¹⁹ Read °मधूक.

²³ Read श्रीमप्रयागे.

²⁵ Read वात

³ Read °वशा°.

⁶ Read सान्द्रासुतद्रवसुवां.

⁹ Read तिसृषु.

²⁰ [See f. n. 1 on page 291.—Ed.]

²⁶ Read °तमय पुण्यश्रीभिद्वये°.

- 15 यस्येतिवृद्धये कासप¹गोत्राय काश्यपावत्सानैकर²तिव्रात्रिप्रवराय ब्रा(ब्रा)ह्मणजातीय-
ठकुरश्रीपोथापौत्राय वाह्यापुत्राय कुमरसर्मण³ ब्रा(ब्रा)ह्मणाय तथा भा-
16 रद्वाजगोत्राय भारद्वाजाङ्गिरसबाह्⁴स्यत्यरि⁵प्रवराय ठकुरश्रीवावनपौत्राय तिङ्गुल-
पुत्राय श्रीसीलिसर्मण⁶ ब्रा(ब्रा)ह्मणाय ग्रामोयं⁷मन्माभिः शसनी-
17 कृत्य प्रदत्तो यथादीयमानभागभोगकरप्रवणिकरनियतानियतप्रभृतिसमस्ता-
दायानाज्ञाविधेयोभूय दास्यथेति ॥ तवन्ति⁸ चा श्लोकाः । ॐ ॥
18 भूमि⁹ यः प्रतिगृह्णाति यच्च भूमि⁹ प्रयच्छति । उभौ तौ पुम्य¹⁰कर्माणि
नियतौ स्वर्गगामिनौ ॥[१*] शंख भद्रासनं कृत्वा वराखा(श्लो) वर-
वारणाः । भूमिदानस्य चि-
19 न्हानि फलमेतत्पुरन्दर ॥[२*] षष्टि वर्षसहस्राणि¹¹ स्वर्गे वसवि¹² भूमिदः ।
आच्छत्ता¹³ चानुमन्ता च तान्येव नरके दसेत् ॥[३*] स्वदत्तां परदत्ताम्वा
या हरिद¹⁴
20 मुंरोम् । स विष्टायां किमि¹⁵भूत्वा पितृभिस्सह मज्जति ॥[४*] गामेकां
सुव(स्त)र्णमेकं स्वमेरस्यक¹⁶मंगुलम् । हरद्वरकमानोति यावदाहृतसं-
21 प्लवम् ॥[५*] व(व)हुभिर्वसुधा भुक्ता राजभिः सगरादिभिः । यस्ययस्य
यदाभूमिस्तस्यतस्य तदा फलम् ॥[६*]¹⁷

¹ Read कासप°² [काश्यपावत्सारनैधुवेतिवि° —Ed.]³ [The way in which the superscript r is written is noteworthy —Ed.]⁴ Read °शीलसर्मणे⁵ Drop the anusvara⁶ Read भवन्ति चाव⁷ Read भूमि⁸ Read पुण्य°⁹ Read °सा°,¹⁰ Read वसति¹¹ Read °स्ते°¹² Read हरित वसु धराम्¹³ Read त्विनि°¹⁴ Read वा भूमेरस्येक°¹⁵ Mr. Diskalkar of the Watson Museum, Rajkot, has kindly helped me in writing down the text of the inscription.

No 53—THE REWAH INSCRIPTION OF MALAYASIMHA, THE YEAR 944.

BY PROF. R. D. BANERJI, M.A., BENARES

The existence of this and two other inscriptions was brought to my notice by Diwan Bahadur Pandit Janki Prasad, M.A., LL.B., Home Member of the Council of Regency in the Rewah State, in April 1920. No information is available at present regarding the find-spot¹ of this inscription and the date when it was brought to Rewah.

The record is incised on an oblong plain slab of sandstone, measuring 4' 3½" × 1' 8½". It consists of twenty-seven long lines of writing, and, with the exception of the words *ōm śvaśti*, at the beginning, and the date in numerals in l. 26, is entirely in verse. The inscription is probably **Buddhist** as it opens with an invocation to Mañjuhōsha, the Buddhist deity of learning, and mentions Buddha as *Bhagavān* in l. 20. There are altogether fifty-four verses in this record which are devoted to the description of the family of a feudatory chief named **Malayasimha**, his chief officers, the composer of the *prāśasti* and of the mason.

The characters belong to the central variety of the Nāgarī alphabet of the twelfth century A.D. The language of the record is Sanskrit, but on account of the carelessness of the mason, apparently, it contains many mistakes. The record refers itself to a king named **Vijayasimha** who is mentioned in verse 5 as born of the family of **Karṇa**. This king is again mentioned in l. 26 in connection with the date in numerals². He is, no doubt, the same as the last homonymous **Chēdi king** who ruled in **Dāhala** at least up to 1196 A.D.³ The date of the inscription is expressed both in words and in numerals (*Kalachuri-Chēdi*) year 944, the *śaka* named⁴ **Sāhasamalla** on Friday the first of the bright half of Bhādrapada.

In the description of the family of **Malayasimha**, the river Narmadā is introduced in the fourth verse (l. 2). On the banks of that river was the city of **Tripurī** where ruled a king named **Vijayadēva**, born of the family of **Karṇa** (v. 5). There was a chief named **Jāta**, who was the adviser of the ancestors of this prince (v. 7). The illustrious **Karṇadēva** had defeated his enemies with the aid of the force of the arms of **Jāta** (8). From him was born **Yaśahpāla**, who was devoted to King **Gayākarṇa** (v. 9). **Yaśahpāla**'s son was **Padmasimha** (v. 11), who was the unrivalled minister of **Vijayasimha** (v. 12) and the younger brother of **Chandrasimha**; **Padmasimha**'s son was **Kirttisimha** (v. 13), his son was **Malayasimha** (v. 15). The description of this family occupies seven lines of this inscription.

The next seven lines are devoted to the description of **Malayasimha**. **Talhanadēvi** seems to have been his mother. Some of his principal officers are named in ll. 14-15. The chief officer (*Sarvādhikārin*), who was probably the Master of the Horse as well as the treasurer, was **Rapasimha**, son of *śrī-Gargga*. The minister and Superintendent of the distribution of betel-nuts (*Tāmbūla-dān-ādhikṛitiprayuktah*) was **Harisimha**, son of **Jagatsimha**. Verses 34-40 are devoted to the description of the tank⁵ on the occasion of the excavation of which the *prāśasti* was composed. In the 41st verse we are informed that the tank was completed at the cost of 1,500 *ṭankakas* stamped with (the effigy) of **Bhagavān** (i.e. the Buddha).

¹ [According to the label on the impression of this inscription received from the Director General of Archaeology in India, it was found near the **Kastara tank** in the Rewah *taluk*.—Ed.]

² [V. 5 gives **Vijayadēva** but l. 26 has **Vijayasimhadēva**.—Ed.]

³ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XVII, pp. 227-28.

⁴ [The significance of *sāhasamallāntē* is not clear. Does it mean 'the year of **Sāhasamalla**'? The word *śaka* is at times used for *abda* or year, and **Sāhasamalla** literally means athlete in boldness. But whether **Sāhasamalla** refers to **Vijayasimha** or to some other personage or whether it has some other significance here is not known. **Sāhasānta**, it may however be observed, is one of the epithets of **Vikramāditya**.—Ed.]

⁵ [Is it not the same tank where the inscription was found?—Ed.]

Such coins, if they were current in the Chēdi country, have not been discovered as yet. The genealogy of the officer who was in charge of the excavation of the tank is given in ll. 21-23. The son of Uddharana was Śrīdhara and the latter's son was Thakkūra Lakṣmīdhara. His son Vidyādhara was the Superintendent of the excavation of this tank (vv. 43-46). The genealogy of the poet is given in ll. 24-25. The son of Rāmachandra was Divākara. His son Purushōttama, the composer of the *prāsasti*, is described as belonging to the Krishnātrēya-gōtra, an inhabitant of Benares, well versed in Logic, Grammar (*Śabdāsāstra*), *Mīmāṃsā*, *Vēdānta* and the *Yōga* philosophy. The mason was Ananta, son of Galhana (l. 26). In the last line we are introduced to an artisan named Balhana, son of Dalha[na*] whose connection with the record is not made clear. [The context shows that he was a door-keeper—Ed].

In the genealogy of Malayasimha the first person mentioned is Jāta, a contemporary of King Karnna, who reigned from 1041 to about 1070 A.D. Karnna's son Yaśahkarnna is not mentioned but Jāta's son Yaśahpāla is, as the contemporary of Gayākarnna, the grandson of Karnna and the son of Yaśahkarnna. Evidently Jāta, as a young man had served under Karnna in the latter's old age and was therefore the contemporary of king Yaśahkarnna as well. Yaśahpāla's elder son Chandrasimha is mentioned as the minister of Vijayasimha. Thus, the kings Narasimha and Jayasimha are passed over. Padmasimha, the grandfather of Malayasimha, and the latter's father Kirttisimha were most probably the contemporaries of Gayākarnna and his sons. The earliest known date of Vijayasimha is Kalachuri-Chēdi year 932 (=1180-81 A.D.), the date of his Kumbhi plates. His latest known date is 1196 A.D. mentioned in the Rewah plates of the *Mahārāṣaḥa* Salakhanayarmman of Karkarēdi², a feudatory of Vijayasimha. The date of this inscription is earlier than the last known date, viz. V.S. 1253, by three or four years.

Among the places mentioned in this record Tripurī is the modern Tewar, lying six miles from Jubbulpore and Karkarēdi (l. 12) is the modern Karkarēṭi situated on the border of the Rewah and Pannā States in Central India. The *Mahārāṇas* of Karkarēdi, it may be stated here, were at first the feudatories of the Haihayas of Tripurī and then, of the Chandēllas of Jēṭakabhukti.

TEXT³

- 1 [Om] Svasti || Ashtīra-chakr-ākṛiti-pūrṇ(ṇ)na chandra[m] padmī āsanasthami humasaula-gaurān | savy-ētarā(a)-pāṇiga-khadga pustam=vakshyāmi natvā khalu Mamjaghōsham || [1*]⁴ Malayasimha=kulāṁ gunān=atha svā-samayēna yathōchita⁵-śaktika(tah) [] avataramti padām yatah svatah sumaha-
- 2 -tām nanu kēna na kirttyatē ||⁶ [2*] Vāchaś=ch=chmā[h*] pravrittā mē Ravēṭṭiva marichayah | Malayasimha-kulā[bja]-pray(h)ōdhāya sahasraśah || [3*]⁷ Ati-vimāna-jal-aughaṁ plāvayantī pavitrāir=muni-vāra-pura-lōkāt=samstutā siddha-girbhīh | apanayati suvamśā=jāta-mātrā kumārī kaliya-kalusha-bhāram dar-sa(sa)nān=Narmmadā yā || [4*]⁸ Tasyās=tatē=stī Tripurī-pur-īti tasyām=a-
- 3 bhūt-Karn(n)na-kula-prasūtah | rājñām guruh śrī-Vijay-ākhyā-dēyō rāj=ādhisāstā vidiśān=diśān=cha || [5*]⁹ Yasya pratāp=ānala-śushka-kanthā rājñā[m] gaṇā angulī-samjñay=āpī | s-āsamkam=ēvam vivadanti chū(ni)tyam sēvā-phalās=tat¹⁰=sadasī prapannāh || [6*]¹¹ [Tat]-pārva-pūrvā bhuvi yē [babhū]vus=tēshām vāśc-varddhana-mantra-mantrī |

¹ J. A. S. B., Vol. XXXI, pp. 116-22

² From the original

³ There is a superfluous superscript ē in ya of yathā

⁴ Anushtubh

⁵ Read °phalam tat.

⁶ See Ind. Ant., Vol. XVII, pp. 224 ff.

⁷ Indravajrā.

⁸ Drutavilambita

⁹ Mālinī

- 4 śrī-Jāta-nāmā vishayē nyukto Vāchaspatih sarvva gunair-iv=ābhūt || [7*]¹
 Dharmma dhvajānām dhuram-atra gurvīm=visrānanēn=āvahatō dvijēbhyah |
 yasy=aiva v(b)ābhvōr=a[pi] paurushēna śrī-Karn(n)na-dēvō jītavān=ripūmś=cha ||
 [8*]¹ Tasmād=Gayākarn(n)na-mahisa-bhaktō mantrasya gōptā bhūvi vandi-
 jīvah | jṛjñē Yaśahpāla iti pratītas=Tārātmaajah
- 5 Saumya iv=Ēndu-dēvāt || [9*]¹ Tasy=ātha putrō=pi visāla-v(b)āhuh srashtṛā
 jagad=vikshya tamō=dhīrūdham | tad=dyōtanāy=āvayavī śu(su)d(dh)-āmśur=
 ddīpah prakīptah khalu mūrttmān=iva || [10*]² Padmam hi padm-ālaya(ē?)
 Padmasimhah sat-patra-subhīr-āmkura suddha-gōtrah | kshātrasya vamśē sa
 nidāna-vijī śrī-Chandrasimh āvarajō vijajñē || [11*]¹ Sarvatra di-
- 6 lshu(nmu)kha-visarppi-yaśah prachanda-Chēd-īndra-rād=Vijayasimha-grīh-aika-man-
 trī | yō vipra-vīryya-vara-dāha v(b)alēna rakshēd=ādīdrya-danā-patalā-dviya-
 ruddha-dēham || [12*]³ Śrī-Padmasimha-vidashō=tra nitāmta-v(b)āhuh śrī-Kīrtti-
 simha iti simha-v(b)alō vijajñē | Ārāti-chakra-hrīdi śamkur=aśau viśamkō
 Rāmah purā Dasarathād=iva Kōsalēśah
- 7 || [13*]³ Sadasi yasya hitā vividhā v(b)udhāh surapatēr=iva mantra-vidah surāh |
 sūsubhūrē śasi(śi)nah kirīhāmīrah⁴ prati[ga]tā jagatas=tamasas=chhīrē || [14*]⁵
 Sīmanta-mandala-śrōruka-dhūnenēna nihpāmka-pāda-vanājō Mālayānusi[m⁴]hah |
 śrī-Kīrttisimha-tanayah sa babhūva vīrah kshātrasya vāmśāja-śamuddharan-
 aī a-mallah || [15*]³ Vi
- 8 dy-ādhi-kāra kumud ākara-v(b)ōdha-chandrō ratn-ākarō=rthi-manujēshu cha ratna-
 dānaih | sarvāt gunā Malayasimhā nara-pratishthā dōshō=pi sō=sya na mrigāmka-
 kritō guṇ āmkah || [16*]³ Ārāti mitra-kamal-augha-vighātā-v(b)ōdhās=abhīyōm
 dadan=daśa-dig-am(vb)aram=u[jva]lam yah | śītāmśur=arkka iva tikṣṇa-susakti-
 hasta urvvyām=abhūn=Mālayasimha itī pra-
- 9 vīnah || [17*]³ Āndōlayēd=yasya kripānā(a)-vāyur=vvichī-gataṁ bhānūm=iv=ām[bu]-
 madhyē | Ārāti-sūnām=av(b)alām v(b)alshthah sō=bhūd=ishū -- maha --
 visuddhah || [18*]¹ Āvartta-sukti(śukti)-harijē samudrē phānam mukhē vardhm⁶
 padē=pi vikshya | magn-āri-sēnā na v(b)alur=jagāma yasy=aśu sō=bhūn=
 Malayasya simhah || [19*]¹ V(B)ahir=vvī-
- 10 rah prādā[t*]=tripada-nimitam kṛm tri-bhūvanam padaṁ dāsyām=Īndō(u)-Ravi-
 Hara-Har-Īndr-Ājasu nrinām⁷ | aham jītvā tēbhyah śapadī karavālēna
 cha vahu . yah sākām v=ēti vyavasīta-v(b)alō yah sa jayatu ||
 [20*]⁸ Yasy=āri-sāmanta-śrō-visarppi-rakt-ājya-dīpt-āsi-śikhā-kriśānuh | sam-
 prāpā⁹ tāvat=tu ranō=tra triptam Lamkāṁ
- 11 hi dag[dh*]v=āpi na Mārutēr=yah || [21*]¹ Tūrāsāham jītvā śasi(śi)nam=api dēvān=
 rana-mukhē mahādēvī-Śāchyā vicharati mrigāmka=tribhūvanē | ahō tē-
 shām prā(?)gāt(d)-bhujaga-pata=Śēsho vilasitum prithivyām dēvō=yam
 janapada-janair=ukta iti yah || [22*]⁸ Kāmam yath=āgnir=Īhava-nētra-janmā
 krōdh-ātmakah śatru-v(b)alam dadāha | vaidhavya-

¹ Indrajyā² Vasantatilaka³ Read *Iranāyātāh* [The reading is *Irī(a)nāgrah*.—Ed.]⁴ Read *mūrdhni*⁵ [Presumably some different reading is intended.—Ed.]⁶ Śikhāgrī.² Upajūh ?⁵ *Drutavilambita*.

- 12 dukkh-ēndhana-dīrgha-vāshpaih samdhukshutō yat-pratī-kūla-vadhvā || [23*]¹ Sa-lakshanō nirggata-lakshanō=bhavat=suKarkkarēdyām=adhipō ranē yadā | vilūna-v(b)āhu-vyasanah ślimukhaih karād=vimuktair=mMalayasya simhajāt || [24*]² Rē rē Vikrama-śūra dhāvasi vrithā mach-chāpa-v(b)ān=āmbhaśi(s) magnō yāsyasi n=ā-
- 13 tra kim tava kṛitē khadg-āgṇim=ujālam yē | ³ ity=uktv=ābhihatō ranē nava-daśa-sthānēshu v(b)ānair=hrīdi yātō=dhah paribhūta-vikrama-v(b)alō yasmāt=sa jīyād=itī || [25*]⁴ Prāsāda-mālā dvija-dēvatānām srishtā vichitrā gaganam vilagnā | yēn=āpī yābhyas=tv=avarōdha-bhityā yāt=īva Bhānō=ratha āśu tī[ryak] || [26*]¹ Tivram tapō dukkha-karam prakri-
- 14 tya(?) siddhā vrajamtō divam=ūrdhavam=uchchaih | yad=Rāma-dēv-ālaya-v(b)ādhitā yē prāyēna [tē] viśva-padam prayātāh || [27*]¹ Yō=yam sutas=Talhana-dēvi(vi)-dēvyās=trāyēta mitrāni nihanti śatrūn [!]² Bhishmō yath=ānēka-sam-ānuvarttī jīyāt=sa Prithvidhara[s*]=sānujō=pī || [28*]¹ Śrī-Gargga-nāmā ruchir-āmśu-dhāmā yasy=ābhavach=chhrī-Ranasimha-sūnuh | Dharmmasya vidyā-haya-kōśa-lē-
- 15 khī sarvv-ādhikārair=iva Chitruguptah || [29*]¹ Tām(v)būla-dān-ādhikṛitī prayuktah śrīmaj-Jagatsimha-sutah sumamtrī | yasy=ābhavach=chhrī-Harisimha-nāmā sarvv-ārthi-sampat-paripūrit-āśah || [30*]¹ Praudha-prachand-ārī-karī-pramāthī nārācha-pās-āmkuśa-khadga-yōddhā | v(b)āhu-prasāktiy=ātī-dṛiḍha-prahārah sēn-āgrayāy=iva ranē kumārāh || [31*]¹ V(B)rahmanō
- 16 yāna-vādēna vēda-tat-pārtha-⁵yōgīnā | nistūrn(n)nāni pāshandāni yatra māna-vakair=apī || [32*]⁶ Sa-sōma-śyēn-āgṇin=nayatī chayanāmtar=dvija-gaṇō mahīm kṛitvā yūpai=ravikarā-chashāl-ōrddhva-katakām | tatō vēdī-śrōṇīm vidhi-vihita-mantraih kṛita-gṛam vasan=yasmims=tishtan=n[ri]puram=iha Kāsthālakam=itī
- 17 || [33*]⁷ Bhuktv=āpī yasmin=vara-pāni-pātrē chakrās=tu naktam sva-vadhūr-vvīhāya | ambhō-nirīksh-āhata-jīva-samghās=tivram tapō vā munayaś-charamti [[]] [34*]¹ Tigmāmśu-tāpa-klama-nōda-dakshair=ukshām vichakru[s*]=striya ātmanō=mgē | prānēśa-hasta-pratikṛipta-yantra-nirmukta-dhāra-paya-sām kaṇ-aughaiḥ || [35*]¹ Pītv=ālī-chā(a)krair=mmadhu-
- 18 matta-mugdhaiḥ=padmākar-ālīdha-mukhair=nnadadbhiḥ | ākarn(n)nya mugdhā anujāpayanti gītam yaśō yasya cha nāga-kanyāh [!]² [36*]¹ Sēvāla-³ kalhāraka-vāripārn(n)nī-sālūka-samghātakar = ēva-māshair⁴[!] = bhbhakshair = abhakshair=yutam=amḇu-vījair=vvapraiḥ sasarij=ārthi-śa(sa)rō ya idṛik || [37*]¹ Kridā-pravrittāh patibhiḥ śa(sa)r-ōrvvau¹⁰ samya[mya]
- 19 ch=ābhūt=¹¹ katham=āsthitānām | tāsām bhruvō=mgāni kuch-ōru-jamghā dṛishtv=āksha-sūtrān(n)y=apatan=munīnām || [38*]¹ Yasmims=tirē marakata-śulā-ratna-

¹ Indravajrā.² Read °ujjvālayē.³ Read °latv-ārtha.⁴ Anushṛubh.⁵ Read Śaivāla².¹⁰ Read °ōrmma.² Vamhastha³ Śārdḍūlavikṛīḍita⁷ Śiḥharāṇi⁸ Read °samghāṭaka evam=ādyaḥ | bhakṣā⁹.¹¹ ch=āsan

- v(b)addh-ā[sa]nasthair=vvīchī-lōlā-rajata-s(ś)apharī-vamchit-ōru-pradēśaih | viprais=triptā amara-pitarah eapta divyā manushyā āsamsamti prathī[ta]-
- 20 yasasam yam sa jīyād=bhuv=īti || [39*]¹ Divy-āṃgan-āṃga²-nava-kumkuma pamka-piṃga-vāri-prapūra-lava-chitrīta-rōma-mālāh | krīdamti yatra sukhinō bhuvī rājahamsā ambhō-nidhānam=atalam pras(s)arah sa[sa]rjja || [40*]³ Ētad=ambhō-nidhānāya śatāni daśapañcha cha | bhagavan-mudrayā yō=pi tamkakānā[m] vya-
- 21 yē=karōt || [41*]⁴ Sarvv-ārtha-sārthai[s*]=stutijair=vvachōbhīr=vvamdī(di)-janaiḥ sa[m]s-tuta ēva yō=bhūt | Siddhārtha-yōgī Malayānu-simhas=v(t)asmai bhavēyuh śubhadās=tridēvāh || [42*]⁵ Vāstavya-vṛitti-pratham=aika-līngam nāmn=āpya=abhūd=Uddharanō vipaśchit | uddhṛitya mahyāma(m=a)mṛitam grīhitum lōk=aika-nāthō=tha yath=ēsa-mūrttiḥ || [43*]⁶
- 22 Tasy=ātha putrah pramad-ābhīrāmō y(j)ushtah śriyā Śrīdhara-mūrttir=āsīt | yēu=āvanī sarvva-gunā guṇ-aughaiḥ punyair=anēkaś=cha kritā pavitrā || [44*]⁷ Tasy=āpi sūnur=bhuvī Thakkurō yō Lakshmīdharō lakshana-kāvya-vēttā | Vidyā-dharas=tasya babhūva putrah sarvv-ādhikār-ārtha-guna-pravīnah || [45*]⁸ Artha-trayānām⁹
- 23 m=api tatva-yuktah kāmasya sārēna tu kimchid=ēva | Vidyādhārō=th=āsyā ś(s)arō-dhikarttā hētur=yath=ābdhēh Sagarō babhūva || [46*]¹⁰ Ś(S)arah=samsthāpanē(?) vidvān=vāstavyah Purushōttama | h(h) |)śrīmad-Valhana-putrō=bhūd=āchārya-Śrīdharō yathē || [47*]¹¹ Pañcha-kratūnām=api- yaś=cha karttā śrī-Rāma=chandrō=tha babhūva vidvān | tasy=ātha pu-
- 24 trō=pi Divākar-ākhyah sarvva-jña-kalpō dvija-mukhya ēva || [48*]¹² Tasy=ātha putrō guru-bhakti-chittō daivā[ch*]=chhriyā yah parihīna jātah | Ātrēya-gōtrō nanu Krishna-pūrvvah Kāśī-nivāsī cha par-ōpakārī || [49*]¹³ Tarkkē jñānam=atīva yasya chaturah śabd-ārtha-śāstrē tathā mīmāms=ādhigatō vipaśchid=abha-vad=vēdām-
- 25 ta-yōg-ādhi-dhīh | vēd-ā[bhyā]sa-ratah sadā suvidushām mūrdhni prava(ba)ddh-āñjalir=viprah śrī-Purushōttamō bhuvī mahān=v(b)uddhyā cha Vāchaspatih || [50*]¹⁴ Tēn=ēyam=īst=āṃga-suvṛitta-vṛittā hārasya yashtīś=cha sad-ārtha-guchehhā [| *]sad-vamśa-muktā-phala-kīrtti-sūtrā śastā prasastih suvinirmmit=ēva || [51*]¹⁵ Utkīr(n)nā sūtra-
- 26 dhārēṇa śrīmad-Galhana-sūnunā | nāmn=Ānamtēna chandrēr=yāh¹⁶ śuddh=ēyam vamśa-paddhatih || [52*]¹⁷ Chatvārimśaty-adhikē=v(b)dē chaturbhīr=nnavamē śatē | Śukrē Sāhasamall-āmkē Nābhasyē prathamē dinē || [53*]¹⁸ Samvat 944 Bhādrapada-s(ś)udī | Śukrē śrīmad-Vijayasimhadēva-rājyē || Mam-
- 27 galam mahāśriḥ || O || Śriḥ || [D]jauva(ā)rya-kārya-kshama-Ra[lha]ṇ-ākhyō yasya=ābhavad-Dalha[ṇa*]-sūnu-vīrah | dvār=īva Na[m]dī Girīśasya yuktah samgrāma-sū(śū)rō ripu-darppa-marddī || [54*]¹⁹

¹ Mandākrāntī² Vasantatilakā³ Indravajrā.⁴ Śāradūlankrīḍita.⁵ There is a symbol between °ga° and °na°⁶ Anushūbh⁷ This °m° is superfluous.⁸ Read Chāndrī yā.

No 54—THREE SEMITIC INSCRIPTIONS FROM BHUJ

BY A COWLEY, CLERMONT-GANNEAU, BUCHANAN GRAY AND MAYER-LAMBERT

Colonel H¹ F Jacob, the Political Agent of Cutch, picked up during 1909-10 three inscribed stones from the Raos' Tombs (or *Chhatris*) at Bhuj, as has been noticed in the Bombay Gazetteer, Volume V, Cutch, page 218, and these remained with Mr N M Billimoria of Bhuj for some time till Mr D R. Bhandarkar noticed them. Mr Billimoria, with the permission of Colonel Jacob, sent them over to the Poona Museum. In the month of April 1917, Mr Bhandarkar forwarded copies of them to Sir John Marshall, noticing them first in his Report for 1917¹, page 50. Sir John sent the impressions on to Dr F W Thomas with the request that they might be deciphered by some Semitic epigraphist. The result was that the inscriptions were examined by Dr Cowley, Dr Buchanan Gray, M Mayer-Lambert and M Clermont-Ganneau. The following note comprises what each of these scholars has stated about them.

The largest of the three epigraphs is in Hebrew and the other two are Himyaritic. Regarding the Hebrew Inscription M Clermont-Ganneau and Dr. Cowley say —

The inscription is of a later date and forms the epitaph of Rabbi Hyya, son of Joseph, who died in the month of Marheshwan of the year 1563 (?) (of the Seleucids ?=1251 A D), with the usual eulogistic funeral formulae "may his soul rest" and "may his soul be bound up in the sheaf of the living" [C-Ganneau]

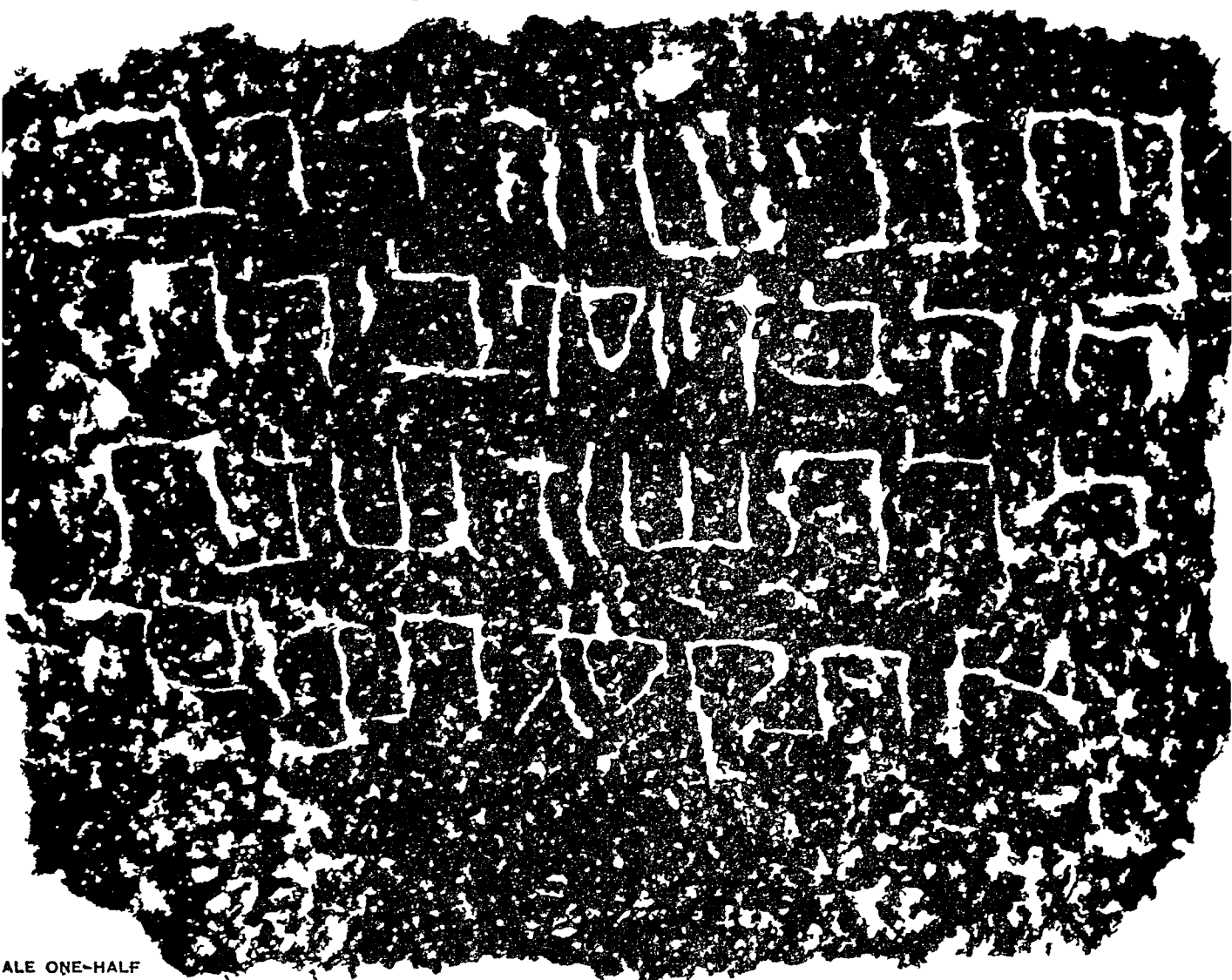
Dr Cowley remarks as follows —

Text in Hebrew	Text in Roman.	Translation
<p>נח נפשיה דרבי חיה חיה בן יוסף מר מר חשגן שנת התקס"ג תשרי</p>	<p>Nah naphsheh d'rabbi Hyya ben Yoseph b'yerah Marheshwan sh'nath MDLXIII T N Z B H</p>	<p>The soul of R¹ Hyya ben Joseph went to its rest in the month of Marheshwan in the year 1563— R I P</p>

The inscription is of an ordinary type. The only uncertainty in the reading is with regard to the name which looks like **חיה** (for **יחיא** Yahya), but probably the first stroke is unintentional and we should read **חיה**. The letters at the end, after the date, give a common abbreviated formula 'may his soul be bound up in the sheaf of the living' (1 Sam 25, 20). The date 1563 is no doubt of the Seleucid era, and is, therefore, equivalent to 1252 A D. It is difficult to say if the style of the letters either agrees or disagrees with this, because the inscription was evidently cut by an unskilled person. The **W** with a flat base, is the most noticeable letter: the distinction between **י** and **ס** is small, and the top of **י** (**י**) is exaggerated.

Three Semitic Inscriptions from Bhuj

I Epitaph of Rabbi Hiya the year 1563



SCALE ONE-HALF

II Sabaeen Inscription A



SCALE ONE-THIRD

F W THOMAS

III Sabaeen Inscription B



SCALE ONE-THIRD

WHITTINGHAM & GRIGGS PHOTO-LITH.

It is highly improbable that an epitaph of this kind should belong to Bhuj or any other place in Northern India, and doubtless the Report of the Archaeological Survey, Western Circle, 1916-17, p 50, is right in supposing that all the three stones came originally from South Arabia, perhaps from Aden. A number of tomb-inscriptions (of a later date) from the Jewish cemetery at Aden, were published in 1903 by H. P. Chajes in the *Sitzb d ph hist Kl d h Akademie* of Vienna. As is well known, there have been Jewish settlers in South Arabia since early in the Christian era—if not before it.

The fact that this epitaph was associated with two South Arabian fragments is some reason for thinking that all three came originally from the same region. [A. Cowley]

On the two Hymyaritic inscriptions which are on two smaller stones and bear South Arabian writing Mayer-Lambert and Dr. Gray write —

“The inscription in two lines (from left to right) is transcribed below —

Y	B	M	II
B	A	D	W

The second line is very clear, although W has never the form ⊗ in Hymyaritic but is always expressed by the form ⊙. It is a formula *Wadd'ab* (*Wadd*=father), frequently met with on talismans - see the *Corpus Inscriptionum Semiticarum*, Part IV, Volume II, page 178.

With regard to the first line, I am not able to make it out and should think that, though it is very strange, it reads B(o)mb(a)y.

The second inscription in one line reads —

S	M	H	M	B	C	Q
---	---	---	---	---	---	---

which is entirely unintelligible. It may, perhaps, be read thus —

Q	C	B	M	H	M	S
---	---	---	---	---	---	---

that is to say. Qa, ‘the son of Hamis’? though the meaning of BM=son is very doubtful. The monuments are probably bad copies of original stones. [Mayer-Lambert]

‘The rubbings are of two inscriptions, one of two lines (A), and the other of a single line (B).

A

Both the lines are read from left to right and, with the exception of the left hand letter of the top line, the reading seems to be obvious, the first letter (II) is probably *ghain* and, transliterating into Arabic letters read from right to left, the inscription reads — *ربي عم دادات هي*

. Wadd'ab

The inscription thus belongs to the group of short Sabaeen inscriptions, found on buildings and amulets, which mention *Wadd'ab*, *Wadd'abum*, *Waddum*, *Abum*, *Abwadd* or *Abum Waddum*, see *Corpus Inscriptionum Semiticarum*, Part IV, Chap IX, Art VI, Nos 470-486. The Bombay Museum possesses, in addition to the present, another inscription of this group (C.I.S. 482), first published by J. Bird in the *Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society*, Vol II, No VIII, 1844, p 30; it was also published by W. F. Prideaux in the *Transactions of the Society of Biblical Archaeology*, VI, 1879, p 305. This inscription is engraved over the figure of a man wearing a cap and a loin cloth extending to the knees, but otherwise nude and has been interpreted as “image of Waddab.”

In the present inscription the first word is obscure. If, as can be judged from the rubbing, the inscription is complete, it consists of not less than four, nor more than five, letters, the last letter of the word (ي) should therefore be the ending of the construct case dual. The root عيب is, it must be admitted, unknown and improbable; but with the less improbable alternatives for the first letter, the words عيبني, عيب, give nothing more satisfactory. If the third letter should be regarded as a mutilated ص, ط, or س, though for this there seems no good ground, roots known from the Arabic (عيس, ععي) would result, but the interpretation would remain obscure.

Both the direction of writing and the forms of the letters point to an early date for the inscription—(though the M is not quite the earliest type)—, say to the earlier part of the period of the kings of Sab'a, if the transition from the style of kings of Sab'a to that of kings of Sab'a and Dhu Raidan be correctly dated as 115 B C, this inscription must be earlier, perhaps considerably earlier than 115 B C.

The direction of the writing from left to right occurs in the alternate lines of the relatively rare and early boustrophedon inscriptions, see, *e g*, *C I S*. 363, 367, 371, 379, 381, 383, 386, 387, 412, 413, 415, 417, 418, 421, 423, 439, 459 (from Abyssinia), 487, 491. Other examples of this direction maintained in two consecutive lines are much rarer. see *C I S* 474 in two lines.

B

To judge from the form of M, this also is probably to be read from left to right, though the M, round as here, does very occasionally occur in inscriptions read in the usual manner from right to left (see *C I S* 393).

Transliterating into Arabic letters read from right to left, this inscription reads.—

مراءعصني

The line immediately to the left of the first M is presumably the line of division; the similar line to the left of this looks most like a second line of division, but since two such lines together are most improbable, the line must rather be the remainder of a letter,—of what, is not clear.

The first word is obscure and perhaps incomplete, the second seems to be a proper name having the form of a participle of the causative conjugation (Ar IV) without nunation.

The inscription belongs to much the same period as A, of an early, but not of the earliest (note the angular top of the H, and the bottom of the S, see *C. I S*, 379) period. [G. Buchanan Gray] "

No 55.—AN UNPUBLISHED GRANT OF DHRUVASENA I

MADHO SARUP VATS, M.A

This paper relates to two copper-plates which on cleaning have been found to constitute a new Valabhī grant. They were handed over by Dr S K Belvalkar of the Deccan College, Poona, some ten years ago to Professor D R Bhandarkar, the then Superintendent, Archaeological Survey, Western Circle.

The grant is inscribed on the inner side of two copper-plates, each having two holes for keeping them together by means of rings, now missing. The size of the plates is $11\frac{1}{4}'' \times 7''$ and the thickness is $\frac{1}{8}''$. Each plate is broken into two large and several small pieces.

The letters are cut deeply. As to orthography, the use of the *ṛivāmūliya* in line 12 and of the *upadhmanīya* in ll 5, 11 and 14 and the change of the *visarga* into *ś* before *ślokāḥ* (l. 23) may be noticed.

The inscription is one of the *Mahāsāmanta Mahārāja Dhruvasēna I* of the Maitraka family and records the grant from Valabhī, of the village Kalahātaka situated in the *Hastavaprāharanī* to two Brāhmanas, Viśvadatta and Vasudatta, of the Bhāradvāja *yōtra* for the maintenance of the sacrificial rites *balī, charu, vaisvadēva, etc*. That the plates confirm a previous grant is suggested by the expressions *Hastavapr-āharanyām Kalahātaka-grāmah pūrva-bhukta-bhujyamānakah* (l 14), *pūrv-āchāra-sthityā pratipādītah* (ll 18 and 19). The name of the donees' place of residence is broken. These expressions might be translated as "the village *Kalahātaka* situated within the *Hastavaprā-haranī* territorial division which had (formerly) been enjoyed and is being enjoyed (by the donees of the original grant)", "has been granted (by us) in accordance with the usual custom."

The writer of the published charters of Dhruvasēna I, issued by him from the Gupta-Valabhī Samvat 206 to 217 is *Kikkaka*, but there are several changes in the office of the *Dūtaka* or the executive officer. Thus the *Dūtaka Pratihāra Mammaka* who is mentioned in all copper-plate grants of Dhruvasēna I issued from G. V. Sam. 206 to Śrāvana śa 15 of 210, gives place to *Rudradhara* in the *Palitānā* plates of Aśvayuja ba 5, G. V. Sam. 210, issued like the other two grants of 210 from Valabhī. Later, in the year 216, *Rudradhara* is replaced by the *Bhōgika Rājasthānīya Bhatti*. Thus the chronology of various grants, so far as the *Dūtakas* are concerned, is sufficiently clear and leads me to surmise that as the *Dūtaka* of these plates is the *Pratihāra Mammaka*, the charter may, even in the absence of date, be tentatively placed between the years 206 and 210, i.e., before the assumption of the *Dūtaka's* office by *Rudradhara*. This must, however, remain a mere possibility as it is not necessary that there should be only one *Dūtaka* at a time, and that another could not be appointed during the life-time or even the tenure of a certain *Dūtaka*. Of the place names mentioned in the inscription, *Hastavapra* is modern *Hathab*¹. *Kalahātaka* may be identified with modern *Koliāk*² (spelt as *Koliyat* by Col. H. S. Jarrett)³ lying on the eastern bank of the creek near *Hathab*.

TEXT.

First Plate

- 1 ओं स्वस्ति वलभीतः प्रसभप्रणतामित्राणां मैत्रकाणामतुनवलसपत्रमण्डलाभोग-
- 2 संसक्तसंप्रहारशतलक्षप्रतापः प्रतापोपनतदानमानार्जवोपार्जितानुरागोनुरक्त-
- 3 मौलभृतमित्रश्रेणीबलावासरान्यश्री. परममाहेश्वरस्सेनापतिश्रीभटकस्तस्य सुतः
- 4 तत्पादरजोरुणावनतपवित्रोक्तशि[रा.*] शिरोवनतशत्रुचूडामणिप्रभाविच्छुरित-
पादनख-
- 5 प(प)क्तिदीधितिर्हीनानाग्रजना(नो)पजोव्यमानविभवपरममाहेश्वरस्सेनापतिधरसेनः
- 6 तस्यानुजस्तत्पादाभिप्रणामप्रशस्तविमलमौलिमणिर्मन्वादिप्रणोतविधिविध(धा)नधर्मा
- 7 धर्मराज इव विहितविनयश्चवस्थापद्वा(ह)तिरखिलभुवनमण्डलाभोगस्वामिना
परमस्वामिन(ना)
- 8 स्वयमुपहितराज्याभिषेकमहाविश्राणनावपूतराजश्रीः परममाहेश्वरो महाराज-

¹ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. V, p. 314 and above, Vol. XL, p. 106 and notes 1 and 2.

² *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. V, p. 314

³ *Ann.-Akhbari* 1891 edn., Vol. II, p. 215

- 9 द्रोणसिंहः सिंह इव तस्यानुजस्वभु[जव*]लिन परगजघटानीकानामेकविजयो
 10 शरणैषिणां शरणमवबोद्धा शास्त्रार्थ[तत्त्वा*]नां कल्पतरुरिव सुहृत्प्रणयिनां
 यथगभिल-
 11 पितृफलोपभोगदः परमभाग[व*]तपरमभट्टारकपादानुध्यातो महासाम[न्त*]-
 12 महाराजध्रुवसेनपरशुमती सव्व[नि*]व खानायुक्तकविनियुक्तक[द्रा*]गिकम-
 हत्तरचा[ट*]-
 13 भट्टध्रुवस्यानाधिकरणिकदाण्डपा[शि*]कादीनन्यांश्च यथासंबध्यमानकाननुदर्शयत्य-
 14 [स्तु*] व[स्त्रांविदित*] यथा हस्तवप्राहरा(र)ण्या कलहाटकग्रामपरपूर्वभुक्तभुज्य-
 [मा*]नक

Second Plate.

- 15 — — — — नगरवास्तव्यव्राह्मणविश्वदत्तवसुदत्ताभ्यां भरद्वाजसगोत्राभ्यां
 16 — — — — [स*]ब्रह्मचारिभ्या मया मातापित्रोः पुण्याप्यायनायात्मनश्चै-
 द्विकामुषिकयथाभि-
 17 [लपित*]फलावाप्तिनिमित्तमाचन्द्रार्का[र्ण*]वजितिसहित्यर्व्वतस्थितिसमकालीनं
 18 [पुत्रपौत्रा*]न्वयभोग्यं वलिचरवैश्व[देवा*]द्याना क्रियाणां समुत्सर्पणार्थपूर्व[त*]-
 चार-
 19 [स्थित्या प्रति*]पादितः [त*] यतीमयोर्भु[ज*]तोः क्षयतीः कर्षयतोः प्रदि-
 शतोर्वा न कैचि-
 20 [अतिषे*]धो विचारणा वा कार्यान्म[ह*]शजैरागामिभद्रवृषतिभिश्चानित्या-
 न्यैश्वर्याख्य-
 21 [स्थिर मानुष्यं सामान्यं च भूमिदानफ*]लमवगच्छद्भिरियमस्मदनुमतिर[नु-
 22 मन्तव्या यथाच्छि*]न्द्यादाच्छिद्यमानंवानुमो[दे*]त्य पञ्चभिर्नृपापातकै-
 स्त्रोपपातकै-
 23 [त्र संयुक्तस्या*]दिति [त*] चान्न व्यासगौताश्रमलोका [भवन्ति ॥ ष*]ष्टि(ष्टि)-
 वर्षसहस्राणि स्वर्गे मोदति भूमिदः [त*]
 24 [आच्छेत्ता*] चानुमन्ता च तान्येव नरके वसे[त् ॥*] स्वदत्तां परदत्तां
 वा यो हरेत वसुन्वरा[म् ॥*]
 25 गवा शतसहस्रस्य हन्तुः प्राप्नोति किल्बिषम् [॥*] बहुभिर्नृपुधा भुक्त्वा
 राज[भिस्सगरा*]-
 26 दिभिः [त*] यस्य यस्य यदा भूमिस्तस्य तस्य तदा फलमिति [॥*]
 27 स्वहस्ती मम महासामन्तमहाराजध्रुवसेनस्य [॥*] दूतकः प्रतोहारमयकः [॥*]
 28 लिखितं किङ्ककेन [॥*] — — — — शु — — — —

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